# Resilience

## The total defence concept and the development of civil defence 2021-2025

In this report the Swedish Defence Commission presents a number of proposals regarding the Swedish total defence concept and the future development of Sweden's civil defence for the next defence bill period 2021-2025. In a future report to be presented no later than May 14, 2019, the commission will provide a comprehensive assessment of the security situation and its consequences for Swedish defence and security policy. That report will include suggestions concerning Swedish security policy and the consequences and ambitions regarding military capability in the period 2021-2025.

## Summary

According to Swedish law, total defence is defined as the preparations and planning required to prepare Sweden for war. When the government has declared highest alert all societal functions are defined as total defence, which consists of military defence and civil defence. In accordance, the Parliament, the Government, government authorities, municipalities, private enterprises, voluntary defence organizations as well as individuals are all part of the total defence.

The Swedish Defence Commission finds that the global security situation is characterized by instability and unpredictability. What the future may bring is hard to foresee and transformation may come quickly.

Sweden will not remain passive if another EU Member State or Nordic country suffers a disaster or an attack. We expect these countries to take similar action if Sweden is affected. Sweden should therefore be in a position to both give and receive civil and military support.

An armed attack on Sweden cannot be excluded, nor can the use of military measures against Sweden or threats thereof. A security crisis or an armed conflict in our neighbourhood would inevitably also have an impact on Sweden. The total defence concept will be developed and formed in order to meet armed attack against Sweden including acts of war on Swedish territory.

If Sweden is attacked the Swedish Armed Forces, supported by the rest of our total defence, will defend Sweden to win time and create room for manoeuvre and options in order to secure Sweden's independence. A resolute and perseverant resistance will be mobilised.

According to the commission, armed attack against Sweden prior to or during a war in our neighbourhood, could have the goal of seizing Swedish territory in order to support military efforts or deny another actor access to Swedish territory to stage countermeasures. A larger European conflict could start with an attack on Sweden. If Sweden is attacked and at war, the commission's assessment is that parts of Swedish territory will see intensive combat with severe consequences locally and regionally. Overall, the

commission finds the greater Stockholm area, Gotland, the Öresund region, the west coast around Gothenburg, western Svealand, and the counties of Jämtland and Norrbotten are geographic areas of strategic importance in a crisis or war.

The Defence Commission suggests that the aim for the total defence is to, alone or in cooperation with others, on Swedish territory or abroad, defend Sweden in case of armed attack and to protect and promote our security, freedom, and autonomy.

By clarifying that an attack against Sweden will be costly, the total defence concept together with diplomatic, political and economic measures will deter an aggressor from attacking Sweden or exerting influence by military means. In the extreme situation, the total defence must have a credible war fighting capability with both a military and civil defence.

In a severe security crisis, it is the assessment of the commission that it will take a relatively long time before the necessary decisions on international support of Sweden have been made. It will take even longer for the international support to make a practical difference. Meanwhile, Sweden must have the capability to defend itself and endure the hardships unaided.

The basis for total defence planning and the foundation of the Swedish total defence concept will be a capability to resist serious disturbances in the functionality of Swedish society for three months, where there will be war part of this time. In a situation of war or when there is a risk of war, the total defence efforts will be focused on military defence. The commission underlines the necessity of transforming society to manage warlike conditions, mobilise society and the military and civil resources to strengthen the defence efforts. This will take up to a week.

Individual responsibility is an important part of the aggregated capability in society to withstand and mitigate the consequences of serious disturbances in the functionality of society. The commission underlines that the individual has a responsibility given the circumstances in a crisis or war and suggests that each individual should have a preparedness to manage his or her basic provisions and care for a week without public support.

Willingness to defend the country and support from the people in the defence efforts are key factors in mounting a credible defence. Residents and decision makers alike have to be aware of what wartime conditions requires of them. Awareness of crisis and war is necessary to withstand the initial shock and resist an attack.

In the beginning of this century Sweden ended most of its planning for raised alert and war. As a consequence, large parts of the previous total defence was decommissioned, not least on the civilian side. For many years, there has been no systematic planning or preparation for a decision of raised alert or wartime conditions. With the defence bill of 2015, this type of total defence planning resumed. However, up until now there has been limited strategic direction or defined ambitions in these planning efforts.

Over the last few decades, Sweden has gone through considerable societal change. For example, society is dependent on electricity, information technology, communications, transportation, fuel and financial services.

Disturbances or an interruption in the flow of goods and services will quickly have an impact on large parts of society. Digitalisation has meant considerable changes to society and impact on our daily lives. Cyber attacks are a real threat today. Systems for electronic communications are not designed to operate in war-like conditions. Public services that the government previously operated are now under private ownership. These changes are important preconditions when resuming Swedish total defence planning.

Sweden has substantial judicial regulations for how Swedish society should function in a state of war. This includes planning and preparations for these situations. The commission notes that the present laws and regulations give a far-reaching set of legal instruments to mobilise and use societal resources in order to maximise the defence efforts. The commission means that the present laws give the government freedom of action and flexibility to decide on increasing preparedness. Furthermore, the government can also decide on measures to facilitate the total defence efforts and secure the functionality of society and its decision-making capabilities. Consequently, the commission finds that Sweden has the basic legal requirements to manage either a hybrid situation or a war. At the same time, the commission maintains that some of our laws will need revisions and new laws may be needed. The commission underlines the importance of increasing knowledge and understanding of the legal framework and its implications.

The report presents a number of suggestions that would provide the total defence with an increased capability and perseverance to manage an armed attack or war on Swedish territory, as well as a hybrid situation. The suggestions will also strengthen crisis preparedness efforts in peacetime. The proposals entail that the present defence bill, that states that civil defence will be built on the crisis management structures, is complemented with measures required in wartime.

The report presents suggestions that clarify mandates and command structures on central, regional and local levels. Prior to and in a situation of raised alert, the central government has to decide on a number of strategic questions and national priorities. The commission argues for the importance of well-organised Government Offices and prepared staff in order to fulfil these tasks. The commission further suggests that one ministry in the Government Offices should be given the overall responsibility for coordinating the total defence efforts. The commission proposes that the coordination of the total defence should reside in the Ministry of Defence. At the same time, the commission recognizes that the organisation of the Government Offices is the Prime Minister's prerogative.

In order to create a comprehensive planning process in peacetime and coordinated action in war, the command structures of civil defence in government agencies have to be clarified and strengthened. The commission finds that this calls for a central government agency for planning, command and coordination of the civil defence efforts. The commission proposes that the Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency (MSB) gets a clarified and extended mandate in this regard. Within every sector a specified agency should get a clear

mandate and resources to coordinate planning, preparations and actions within the sector.

The commission also proposes the clustering of the 21 counties into larger geographic civil defence areas with 3-6 counties in each respective area. Within every civil defence area, one of the county governors will be the assigned Civil Defence Commander. In the event of a raised alert, the Civil Defence Commander will have a mandate to coordinate and direct the civil defence efforts in the civil defence area. In order to achieve a coordinated geographical organisation, the commission proposes that the military regions of the Swedish Armed Forces are adapted according to the civil defence areas.

Manning in the civil defence will to a large extent be based on personnel working in their regular functions. However, the commission finds that the wartime organisation of civil activities in the total defence requires the application of total defence conscription. Personnel working for example for central government agencies, municipalities, county councils or private enterprises involved in the total defence efforts will be assigned a role in the war organisation. After the overall demands for personnel have been identified, basic training of civil conscripts may be necessary. The commission stresses the importance of voluntary defence organisations in educating and manning of the civil defence as well as involving the population in the total defence efforts and strengthening their willingness to defend the country.

In order to manage and diminish the hardship of civilians in case of armed attack, the commission deems that plans have to be prepared and resources committed in peacetime for civil defence. The civil defence will contain personnel in regional reinforcement pools for the rescue services and a home protection organisation in the municipalities as well as shelters and plans for evacuation of particular areas. The voluntary defence organisations will have an important role in the civil defence organisation.

The Swedish total defence concept rests on the will of the population to defend the country, their commitment in peacetime, and resilience and resistance in war. The commission argues that the importance of actively protecting our open society, the rule of law and our sovereignty has increased. It is necessary to ensure the resilience and willingness of the population to defend the country. The commission proposes an inquiry concerning a new agency with the general responsibility to develop and coordinate the psychological defence. An inquiry will have to clarify tasks and roles to maintain and strengthen the psychological defence, propose a suitable structure for the agency, as well as discuss the research and development requirements.

Cyber attacks are a serious threat to the population, the functionality of society and our capability to maintain our basic values. The commission underlines the importance of a strong cyber capability paired with a systematic total defence planning process in case electricity supply or electronic communications fail. The commission notes that many agencies are involved in the surveillance of cyber security issues. Therefore, the government needs to consider how to best coordinate surveillance and monitoring efforts regarding information and cyber security in all sectors of society. Cyber attacks may have

similar consequences for the operation of society and critical infrastructure as a conventional kinetic attack and in some circumstances a cyber attack can be considered to be an armed attack. With an active cyber defence capability, Sweden can act proactively to identify or gather information on a cyber breach, different cyber attacks or cyber operations, and gather evidence to attribute the origins of a cyber operation.

The commission argues that securing necessary and reasonable access to food, potable water, energy and pharmaceuticals is crucial for the total defence capability in a severe security crisis situation or war. Sweden has to secure access to critical resources. Priority has to be given to goods and services necessary for survival and for the basic functionality of society.

In an armed attack, the supply of electricity will most likely be severely limited. In order to manage such a situation, there has to be a plan for prioritised services and rationing. Actors responsible for critical services will be required to build independent emergency power solutions in order to secure supply of electricity. In general, the commission argues that switching to renewable energy sources will have benefits from a total defence perspective.

Storage of fuels for transportation must increase on a regional and local level. Private businesses will have to meet these requirements and critical actors dependent on fuel will have to participate in the planning. In peacetime, there has to be a prepared national system for prioritising fuel. The commission stresses that peacetime service levels and living standards will not be maintained in war.

The standard and availability of food will be lowered considerably during wartime, as will the calorie intake. Certain strategic food stuffs will have to be stored. On a national level, general principles for prioritising and rationing scarce resources in a war situation will have to be prepared and prescribed. Methods for prioritisation will have to be developed in most sectors with critical operations. This is also important in order to apply the laws concerning rationing.

The commission finds that the capability of the Swedish health-care system to transition from regular operations to caring for mass casualties needs to be strengthened considerably. In wartime, the number of wounded may reach tens of thousands. Such a situation would severely strain our health-care system. Requirements for such a situation are resilient staffing, a resilient organisational structure and a continuing supply of pharmaceuticals, etc. The planning ought to begin with the principles for health care in crisis and war. Consequently, health-care operations will focus on sufficient care for maximising survival rates. This is a departure from regular priorities in our health-care facilities. The commission proposes that the county councils designate at least one hospital in every civil defence area as a war hospital, as well as additional war hospitals in Gotland and northern Norrland for geographical reasons.

Raised alert, war, or a hybrid situation in peacetime all demand substantial police resources to protect critical infrastructure and other critical functions, but current police resources are limited for these tasks. The commission proposes a reinforcement personnel organisation that is designed for and available in

situations of raised alert. The aim should be to have reinforcements comprised of about 1,000 personnel by 2021. By the end of 2025, police reinforcements should reach about 3,000.

Many sectors and operations are dependent on the transportation infrastructure. In peace, raised alert and war, there has to be a relevant and concrete total defence planning process and preparations for the transportation sector. The total defence planning in the transportation sector should include plans to receive international support, both civilian and military. The commission argues that there also should be an organisation tasked with building, repairing and rescuing services in the total defence.

Public actors should in close dialogue with private enterprises assess the necessary preparations for disposition and rationing, as well as other measures to secure preparedness. Private enterprises have knowledge, organisational structures and creativity to draw upon in the total defence planning process. According to Swedish law, there is also a requirement for businesses to participate in the total defence planning process. Enterprises important for the war effort should be identified and regulated. The commission proposes a national business council for total defence in order to establish long-term cooperation between public and private actors on the central, regional and local level. This will be important to be able to use business resources in the total defence effort. The purpose of the council is mutual information sharing to produce joint direction, plans and requirements for cooperation between public and private actors on all levels.

The commission highlights that the Swedish population needs to be able to perform basic economic transactions during war. Consequently, it is necessary to have access to cash, alternative means of transaction or some sort of credit to uphold basic economic relations. This is important to maintain the willingness to defend the country. The commission stresses that the government has to secure the availability of cash also when there are severe disturbances in the payment system.

The commission notes that there is a need and opportunity to develop bilateral cooperation with Finland and Norway regarding civil defence. The Commission recommends that the government further explore conditions for trilateral cooperation with Finland and Norway. Such a cooperation could strengthen preparedness in all three countries.

The commission argues for strengthening the capability to evaluate and monitor total defence activities. A new independent agency should be tasked to audit, evaluate and monitor total defence activities in general, including military and civil defence.

The cost estimate for the commission's proposals to strengthen civil and total defence presented in this report is about 4.2 billion krona per year towards the end of the defence bill period 2021-2025.