Influence and Marginalisation

Norway's Adaptation to US Transformation Efforts in NATO,
1998–2004

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Table of Contents

Preface

The ability to exert influence on other allies is a valuable asset in any competitive system. By contrast, those who become marginalised suffer from a significant disadvantage. Understanding the mechanisms that drive small states in one way or the other should therefore be of great interest for any alliance member. Elaborating on Norway's policy towards US transformation efforts in NATO, this thesis attempts to contribute to that understanding.

My interest for this project grew out of practical experiences made in the Norwegian Army during much of the post-Cold War period. Why did the Armed Forces conceptualise the way they did – and what political effect could be gained from it? Along the way, I examined theory and practices in the effort to put the military profession into context. This 2002–2005 project is part of that enduring effort.

I am first of all thankful to the Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies, which has provided me with excellent working conditions. Underscored by funding from the Ministry of Defence and the Armed Forces, the people at the Institute have been my best resource. I am particularly indebted to the Director of the Institute, Professor Rolf Tamnes; his guidance and patience has been crucial for the outcome. I am also indebted to my advisor at the University of Oslo, Professor Arild Underdal for his always clear-sighted guidance.

I have profited from interviews with several US and Norwegian defence officials and academics. In particular, I am grateful to the Defence Counsellors in Washington D.C. and Brussels; Erling Wang, Finn Landsverk and Morten Rognmo provided me with both valuable information and access to numerous sources. A special thanks also to the people at the Norwegian Embassy in Washington D.C.; they provided an excellent framework for my family and me during the one-year field research in Washington D.C. I am also grateful to Chris Prebensen and the Norwegian Atlantic Committee for their assistance on this project. A special credit also to Tora Fæste and Kjetil Skogrand for discussions and comments, and to Therese Klingstedt and Ann Skarstad for layout and orthography. But as always – any shortcomings and mistakes are all mine.

Part I: Building A Conceptual Framework

This thesis is about Norwegian security and defence policy between 1998 and 2004. The study deals with Norway's adaptation to military requirements set forth by the United States in NATO. A central feature in that respect was NATO's new strategic concept of April 1999, and the need for forces that could operate outside as well as inside the member states' national territories. To accomplish a refocused defence effort towards more out-of-area operations, American defence officials launched the Defence Capabilities Initiative (DCI). The initiative was directed towards her European counterparts and became a programmatic expression of a new NATO, with a new strategic concept and a new force structure.

Our main interest is a small state's adjustment to these US-led transformation efforts. In this formative process, the United States with her unprecedented military preponderance and economic output is the dominant actor. Norway, despite her good standing as a solid ally, energy exporter and peace negotiator, is the client. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) is their common arena; here, initiatives are presented, pressure is displayed, and loyal fulfilment of adaptation is expected. As the United States expected her European counterparts to engage more actively in international operations,[1] a number of questions may be raised as to how a superpower's transformation effort inside NATO affects a small state's security and defence policy. How did Norway respond when her primary ally pressed for a fundamental reorientation of NATO? What were the motives and evidences of a Norwegian policy that by and large aimed to maintain a US leadership role in NATO? More generally, what can the Norwegian policy towards US initiatives in NATO tell us about small states' quest for security of today? To grasp the logic behind these phenomena, this thesis will focus on two questions.

First, *how can the United States' influence on Norwegian security and defence policy be explained?* Second, *what are the domestic consequences to Norway of this particular influence?*

Analysing the two questions, the Norwegian room for manoeuvre will be explored with regard to allied expectations and domestic restraints.

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[1] Stortingsproposisjon nr. [St.prp. nr.] 45 (2000–2001): *Omleggingen av Forsvaret i perioden 2002–2005* [Defence Bill no. 45 (2000–2001): *The Restructuring of the Norwegian Armed Forces in the Period 2002–2005*] (Oslo: Forsvarsdepartementet), p. 22.

As policies often tend to arise from this interplay,[2] the thesis may provide us with a more comprehensive understanding of how small states forge their security policy to preclude political marginalisation.[3]

Why do we choose this approach? Firstly, because an analysis of Norway's adaptation towards US requirements in NATO may provide more general insight into the phenomenon of how small states adjust militarily to ensure their political room for manoeuvre. Secondly, by putting the Norwegian adaptation into a domestic context, we may become more aware of the dilemmas that a superpower's transformation effort in NATO may imply. Finally, as the military reforms in this period have been characterised as one of the most fundamental reorganisations undertaken in any public sector in Norway,[4] a closer investigation of the nature and character of the changes may be required.

When analysing the Norwegian approach to US requirements in NATO, we will do what many social scientists prefer to do. We will *explain* the different mechanisms of US influence; we will, through a case study of the DCI, *interpret* the security political approach; we will *evaluate* the domestic implications; and finally, we will *generalise* this knowledge into a broader universe.[5]

Defining the Norwegian Room for Manoeuvre

As the thesis analyses a small state's response to US transformation efforts aiming to underscore a more viable NATO, the research implicitly elaborates on Norway's political room for manoeuvre. As the work by Bjørn Olav Knutsen et al. illustrates, this room for manoeuvre is influenced by external as well as domestic variables.[6]

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[2] Bjørn Olav Knutsen, Alf Granviken, Mats Ruge Holte, Anders Kjølberg & Finn Aagaard (2000): "Europeisk sikkerhet i en foranderlig tid: En analyse av Norges utenriks- og sikkerhetspolitiske handlingsrom", *FFI Rapport*, no. 46 (Kjeller: Forsvarets forskningsinstitutt), pp. 25–26.

[3] In this thesis, the term "marginalisation" is defined as a gradual slide towards a situation where a state's interests and viewpoints no longer benefit from the same degree of reception among other actors as compared to previously (ibid, p. 27).

[4] Innstilling til Stortinget [Innst. S. nr.] nr. 234 (2003–2004): *Innstilling fra forsvarskomiteen om den videre moderniseringen av Forsvaret i perioden 2005–2008* [*The Report of the Standing Committee on Defence on the Continued Modernisation of the Norwegian Armed Forces in the Period 2005–2008*] (cf. St.prp. nr. 42 (2003–2004): *Den videre moderniseringen av Forsvaret i perioden 2005–2008* [*The Continued Modernisation of the Norwegian Armed Forces in the Period 2002–2005*]), Oslo, June 7, p. 8, accessible at: http://www.stortinget.no/inns/2003/index.shtml.

[5] The three principles *explain*, *interpret* and *evaluate* are borrowed from Professor Stanley Hoffman in his foreword to Joseph S. Nye, Jr. (2003): *Understanding International Conflict An Introduction to Theory and History* (New York: Longman).

[6] Knutsen et al. (2000): "Europeisk sikkerhet…", pp. 25–26.

The external variables relate to the international structures and institutional processes upon which Norway attaches much of her security and defence policy. Within the context of 'structures' and 'processes', allied expectations towards Norway include both a perceived pressure for adjustments, but also a sense of accommodating new international requirements.[7] Parallel with this process, the Norwegian room for manoeuvre is also influenced by internal variables. Specific national attitudes, values and political factors both constitute and limit the governmental room for manoeuvre. According to Knutsen et al., it is in the intersection between the external pressure and internal restraints that Norwegian policies towards other states are framed. Conceptually, the Norwegian room for manoeuvre can thereby be regarded as the relationship between the political costs and the potential benefits; it relates to states on the international arena as well as domestic limitations of cultural and political character.[8]

As this thesis aims to explain Norway's adaptation to US expectations in NATO – with its political costs and benefits, the analysis will have to include both external and internal dimensions; Parts I and II elaborate on external expectations, Part III focuses on the domestic implications.

Limitations

To reach our twofold objective, the thesis has to limit itself in time, on issues and on the level of analysis.

On time, the thesis will initially focus on the period between 1998 and 2002. This time span allows us to interpret the Norwegian room for manoeuvre in a crucial period: the lessons learned from NATO's engagement in the Balkans in the late 1990s, and the lessons learned from the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001. As the thesis also evaluates the domestic restraints to allied adaptation, the time span needs to be extended into 2004 to grasp the political repercussions of these dramatic events. This allows us to exploit data concerning the much-heated debate over the US-led Operation Iraqi Freedom, and how this affected the Norwegian Defence Bill No. 42 of March 2004: *The Continued Modernisation of the Armed Forces for the Period 2005-2008*. Extending the thesis into 2004 also enables us to scrutinise the Ministry of Defence's (MoD's) strategic concept for the Armed Forces', "Styrke og relevans" ["Strength and Relevance"], from October 2004.

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[7] Ibid, p. 26.
[8] Ibid, p. 38.

On issues, the research will focus on the security and defence co-operation that took place within NATO, as portrayed by the DCI. As a programmatic expression of NATO's new strategic concept, the US initiative aroused an extensive set of political requirements towards European member states for more usable capabilities. The issue of military capabilities that could address new challenges more effectively became paramount for the usability and relevance of the Alliance.[9] When Norway's adaptation to US requirements is explained, the interpretation of the Norwegian policy will focus on those motives that have a bearing on transatlantic issues. Norway's military adaptation thereby limits itself to those motives and evidences that point directly towards allied security guaranties. Controlling for other intervening variables that may have an effect on the Norwegian reform process, but not necessarily related to the United States or the DCI, is excluded.

On level of analysis, the thesis will initially explain and interpret the Norwegian room for manoeuvre from an international perspective. The Norwegian effort to live up to NATO's new strategic concept between 1998 and 2002 will be analysed with regard to 'structure' in international politics, as well as to institutional 'processes' between co-operating partners in NATO. At this level, the thesis focuses on the small network of Norwegian defence officials, and their interaction with key allies in NATO's Force Goal process. In the latter part, which extends into 2004, implications of the Norwegian adaptation will be evaluated with regard to political implications at the domestic level. The level of analysis thereby changes focus from influence *between* large and small states, towards consequences *within* the state that gets influenced.

Building A Case Study Research Strategy

This thesis aims to produce more knowledge about one specific phenomenon: how can the Norwegian policy towards the United States in NATO be comprehended? To grasp the logic behind this issue, and to deduce knowledge that is generalisable to a larger universe, a case study research strategy may be a viable analytical tool. A reason for this is because the research takes place within a context characterised by many contemporary social processes.

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[9] The term "capability" is defined as "... the ability to underscore a defined part of the Armed Forces' total tasks" (FD (2004): "Styrke og relevans. Strategisk konsept for Forsvaret", Oslo, October 11, p. 76). An example may be the ability to provide real time intelligence of high quality. A structure element "... is a unit or a detachment that underscores the provision of such a capability" (ibid). An example may be satellites for realtime communication.

As these processes are compound and complex, surveys or statistical analysis may be of less relevance. As argued by King, Keohane and Verba,

> the qualitative interviewer conducting a long, in-depth interview with a respondent whose background he has studied is less likely to mismeasure the subject's real political ideology than is a survey researcher conducting a structured interview with a randomly selected respondent about whom he knows nothing.[10]

As the thesis intends to study a contemporary phenomenon where the punctuation mark to the contextual surrounding is hard to demarcate, a case study design may be appropriate.[11] The thesis thereby builds on a controversial scientific method. According to Robert K. Yin, "... most social science textbooks have failed to consider the case study a formal research method at all".[12] Being part of a larger debate, i.e. between so-called positivists and anti-positivists, case study research has often been labelled as non-scientific, or at best an introductory stage leading to more scientific research. As pointed out by King et al., "... indeed they sometimes seem to be at war".[13] The opposite approach has been to label case study research as an alternative to conventional science, a critical, qualitative research able to grasp the contextual meaning involving social interaction.[14] In this thesis, case study is defined as a comprehensive research strategy that includes an all-encompassing method, "... covering the logic of design, data collection techniques, and specific approaches to data analysis".[15] How the research strategy is used, however, depends upon what is to be achieved.

In this thesis, the desired achievement relates to small states in their effort to extend own leverage and preclude marginalisation under new and more demanding circumstances. Methodologically, this achievement can only be attained by a conscious manipulation of the applied theories and data.[16]

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[10] Gary King, Robert O. Keohane & Sidney Verba (1994): *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press), p. 31.
[11] Robert K. Yin (2003): *Case Study Research. Design and Methods*, third edition (London: Sage Publications), p. 3.
[12] Ibid, p. 12.
[13] King et al. (1994): *Designing Social Inquiry...*, p. 3.
[14] Svein S. Andersen (1997): *Case-studier og generalisering* (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget), p. 10.
[15] Yin (2003): *Case Study Research...*, p. 14.
[16] Andersen (1997): *Case-studier...*, p. 59.

Contrary to experiments where spurious effects can be accounted for in more or less "closed systems",[17] case studies cannot measure partial relationships by replicating social interaction consistently.[18] Attaining this achievement requires us to control for intervening variables to preclude measurement errors. This brings in the challenge of controlling for confounding influence.

Controlling for Confounding Influence

Generating knowledge deduced from the study of people within social relationships and institutions may easily exaggerate the effect of those processes that lead to a specific result.[19]

As this thesis aims to explain US influence on Norwegian security and defence policy, the analysis may easily slip into situations from where any Norwegian military reform can be interpreted as a consequence of US influence. That would be a serious fallacy. When the effects from possibly spurious variables occur in complex social processes, how can we be sure that the theoretical model conveys the most relevant factors only? In his article *Small N's and Big Conclusions*, Stanley Lieberson argues that "measurement errors" are a serious challenge to social science; "a given data set may deviate somewhat from a hypothesized pattern without the hypothesis being wrong".[20] Is it, therefore, possible to control for confounding influence? Can the effect of US influence on Norway through NATO be identified and isolated from simultaneous processes of reform at home?

The complexity of identifying and isolating US leverage from other variables increases even more as most indicators for military reform point in the same direction. Whether or not military reforms were due to DCI requirements, domestically reformulated threat assessments, or lessons learned from the Balkans, the changes tended to recommend the same recipe: a smaller but more deployable force able to respond quickly to any challenge at home or abroad, with improved logistics and effective engagement.[21]

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[17] A closed system is defined as experiments undertaken when it is possible "... to identify a simple causal relationship between two (or a limited number of) observable things without any recognition of external complexity" (Mark J. Smith (1998): *Social Science in Question* (London: Sage Publications), pp. 33, 116–117).
[18] Stanley Lieberson (1992): "Small N's and Big Conclusions: An Examination of the Reasoning in Comparative Studies Based on a Small Number of Cases" in Charles C. Ragin and Howard S. Becker (eds.): *What is a Case? Exploring the Foundations of Social Inquiry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 108; Andersen (1997): *Case-studier...*, pp. 140–143.
[19] Andersen (1997): *Case-studier...*, p. 92.
[20] Lieberson (1992): "Small N's and Big Conclusions...", p. 106.
[21] Jacob Børresen, Gullow Gjeseth & Rolf Tamnes (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring 1970–2000*, vol. 5 in *Norsk forsvarshistorie* (Bergen: Eide forlag), pp. 140–145, 375–378.

The analysis therefore has to take into account the fact that the Norwegian effort to underscore NATO's new strategic concept evolved within a cluster of variables; among these, US requirements set forth in NATO were but one. This thesis positions itself with regard to this specific issue. To ensure analytical validity, in the sense that the thesis explains what it sets out to do, the theoretical propositions and the empirical data will focus on the political motives and evidences for accommodating the American DCI. Controlling for confounding influence thereby has a methodological implication. Norwegian motives for accommodating the DCI require us to emphasise the political level rather than the military sphere. A reason for this is because the motives for close ties with the United States are more pronounced the closer we approach the network of defence officials that deals with transatlantic security and defence related co-operation. The more we distance ourselves from this political interaction centre, the stronger is the effect from other intervening variables. Unwanted variation is thereby likely to increase because actors positioned further away from transatlantic security concerns are more likely to bring in other perspectives.

On the one hand, bringing in other perspectives may increase our understanding of the Norwegian reform process. On the other hand, the same perspectives may not necessarily underscore our analytical objective of gaining more knowledge on how US influence on Norwegian security and defence policy can be explained. This may invalidate the analysis because inference is made on a less rigorous and focused fundament. Searching for possible explanations for US influence outside this network is thereby related with a risk for measurement errors.

An example from the contemporary debate in Norway as to how military reforms can be explained may be illustrative. While generals in the Norwegian Armed Forces explained military reforms out of national requirements, such as new threat assessments and economic necessities, former diplomats explained the same phenomenon with regard to allied expectations.[22] Being more exposed to allied sentiments, there may be reason to believe that diplomats in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) and civil servants in the MoD tend to interpret military adaptation from a broader perspective. This may contrast a senior officers corps that spend most of their career within a national context.

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[22] See former diplomat in the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Øystein Steiro (2004): "Norges beredskap i nord", *Aftenposten*, November 22; General in the MoD, Arne Bård Dalhaug (2004): "Utfordringer til Forsvarets kritikere", *Aftenposten*, December 3; and the reply by Øystein Steiro (2004): "Utfordringer i Forsvaret", *Aftenposten*, December 15.

The Chief of Defence's Defence Study 2000, which was accomplished between 1998 and 2000, may underscore this point. Even though the study recommended reforms that coincided with US ambitions on how NATO's new strategic concept could be enhanced militarily, the DCI was hardly mentioned. The example also has analogies to Graham T. Allison's study *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missiles Crisis* (1971). How the Russian deployment of missiles was addressed differed between the domestic actors. Depending on where key decision-makers were situated, in the government, in the military, or in the state bureaucracy, Allison interpreted their preferences with respect to where they had their primary points of reference.[23] As pointed out by Allison himself:

> Our understanding of such events depends critically on more self-consciousness about what observers bring to the analysis. What each analyst sees and judges to be important is not only a function of the evidence about what has happened, but also of the 'conceptual lenses' through which he looks at the evidence.[24]

Why Do We Choose the DCI?

There are several reasons for choosing the DCI as a case study. First, it fulfils the methodological criteria set forth by Robert K. Yin that a case study should be both unique and critical.[25] The uniqueness of DCI points to the fact that this was the first time since the end of the Cold War that the United States presented a comprehensive plan to make the Europeans refocus their defence effort towards out-of-area deployments. The effort to underscore NATO's new strategic concept was so ambitious that it is worth documenting and analysing. The DCI may also be claimed to be critical. By organising the data along different theoretical configurations, the study may confirm, challenge, or extend models used to comprehend states' interaction with each other.[26]

A second reason for choosing the DCI is because the DCI is an American initiative that explicitly deals with Norway and the other European member states of NATO. The case thereby merits a particular relevance to our thesis because the DCI put our research into context:

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[23] Graham T. Allison (1971): *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missiles Crisis* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co).
[24] Graham T. Allison (1969): "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missiles Crisis", *The American Political Science Review*, 62 (3), p. 689.
[25] Yin (2003): *Case Study Research...*, pp. 40–41.
[26] Ibid, p. 40.

By analysing the Norwegian response to the DCI, we may gain a deeper understanding of how small states behave to sustain their room for manoeuvre vis-à-vis key allies. We thereby include one critical assumption: the DCI aimed to promote US objectives as to how Europe should live up to NATO's new strategic concept.[27] According to Geir Lundestad, "NATO gave the United States a unique instrument with which to guide developments in Europe".[28]

Thirdly, the DCI has, at least from a political viewpoint, been regarded as an important part of the transformation process until "the Son of DCI", Prague Capabilities Commitment (PCC), took over in November 2002. As the MoD claimed, "Norway will highlight the DCI as the appropriate and adequate way, for the Alliance and nations, to deal with the ... gap between US and European forces".[29]

The DCI, however, is clearly not a bilateral case. On the contrary, 19 Heads of States and governments approved the DCI at NATO's 50th Anniversary at the Washington Summit in April 1999. It may therefore be questioned to what extent the DCI has validity in terms of explaining US influence on Norwegian security and defence policy. Would it not be better if the case were confined within a strictly bilateral relationship, thereby explaining US influence as a result of direct interaction between the two states' defence officials? Would a bilateral case study, like The Norway Air-Landed Marine Expeditionary Brigade (NALMEB), provide a more coherent analysis regarding the relationship between US influence and the shaping of Norwegian security and defence policy? In other words, could it be that the decision-making process in NATO is a "filter" when motives for Norwegian adaptation to US requirements are to be explained? After all, decisions are made in consensus by sovereign member states, not through dictate by the United States.

The methodological issue of NATO as a "filter" for US influence should not be exaggerated. As long as our case study emphasises military capabilities, there seems to be little discrepancy between the United States and NATO. Since the Balkan experiences in the 1990s, the United States and NATO's Secretary General between October 1999 and December 2004, Lord George I.M. Robertson, have stressed capabilities unanimously. Moreover, in NATO's Force Goal process, force proposals derive initially from the two US Commanders in Chief for the European and the Atlantic Command.

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[27] Hans Binnendijk and Richard L. Kugler (2003): "Dual-Track Transformation for the Atlantic Alliance", *Defense Horizons*, no. 35.
[28] Geir Lundestad (2003): *The United States and Western Europe Since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 271.
[29] FD, 1998/03424–30/FD III/ØKS/200.19, "Defence Capabilities Initiative – Norwegian Progress Report to the High Level Steering Group", September 8, 1999.

It is natural to assume these capability requirements to be influenced by US thinking. This is also confirmed by reports from the Norwegian Research Defence Establishment: NATO works in many ways as a framework for bilateral contacts between the United States and the individual European member states.[30] Even though NATO decisions are made unanimously, the dominant role of the United States in European security is likely to have an impact on how the Alliance evolves, and what capabilities they acquire.[31]

Furthermore, NATO's decision to launch the DCI was more or less a blueprint of the transformation programme as presented in Joint Vision 2010, the leading intellectual guidance for the transformation of the United States' Armed Forces.[32] Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen proposed the notion of a Common Operational Vision to his NATO counterparts in 1998; the concept was regarded as pivotal to the DCI and stemmed from the US transformation programme initiated in the mid 1990s.[33]

Among civil servants in the MoD, NATO's new role in out-of-area operations was wielded seriously. According to political guidelines for the transforming force, the Defence Minister urged the Chief of Defence to pay particular attention to NATO injunctions:

> The development in NATO is a decisive factor for the Norwegian Armed Forces. The range of tasks and capabilities that are visible in the Alliance's strategic concept, Ministerial Guidance and Defence Capabilities Initiative (DCI), is to be the primary agent for any structural development within the Armed Forces.[34]

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[30] Knutsen et al. (2000): "Europeisk sikkerhet...", p. 27.

[31] In this thesis, the term "alliance" is defined as "... a formal or informal relationship between two or more sovereign states" (Stephen M. Walt (1987): *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press), p. 1, fn. 1.

[32] Interview with Captain Sam J. Tangredi, Senior Military Fellow at the Institute for National Strategic Studies/National Defense University, Washington D.C., October 12, 2002. This information was also confirmed through interview with Finn Landsverk, Special Advisor in the MoD and former envoy to the Norwegian Delegation to Brussels (NORDEL), Oslo, October 14, 2004. Regarding the comparability between DCI and Joint Vision 2010 and Joint Vision 2020, see Joint Chiefs of Staff (1996): "Joint Vision 2010", Washington D.C., July, p. 1, Joint Chiefs of Staff (2000): "Joint Vision 2020", Washington D.C., June, p. 2, and NATO (1999): "The Washington Declaration, signed and issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Washington, D.C. on 23rd and 24th April 1999", *NATO Press Release,* no. 63, accessible at: http://www.nato.int/docu/press.htm.

[33] Harold W. Gehman, Jr. (1999): "Transforming NATO Defense Capabilities", *Joint Force Quarterly*, no. 21, pp. 50–51, accessible at: http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/jfq_pubs/.

[34] FD, 2001/02300–14/FD III/PPIP/201.01, "Føringer til forsvarssjefens militærfaglige utredning 2003", February 13, 2002. It may be of interest to note that this passage has been reformulated into a less explicit formulation on the MoD Internet site, accessible at: http://odin.dep.no/fd/norsk/dok/andre_dok/.

Bilateral initiatives, i.e. intelligence sharing and the pre-positioning of US military stocks in Norway, may certainly be valid case studies. However, the extent and scope of these arrangements are limited to specific segments within the national force structure. Despite their relevancy as cases, they do not illustrate the Norwegian magnitude in underscoring NATO's new role in the 21st Century; forces that were fundamentally different from those employed during the Cold War had to be vigorously pursued. Hence, studying the DCI process not only enlightens us on current practice, like the PCC. It may also foreshadow future processes of transatlantic involvement, and how this affects small states' quest for security.

What is the DCI?

In its essence, the DCI is a programmatic expression for how NATO-Europe best could underscore the new transatlantic rationale after the Cold War.[35] The slogan put forward by the most proactive proponents for a renewed Alliance claimed "NATO can go out of area or out of business".[36] The DCI was based upon US imperatives originating from their leading intellectual manual Joint Vision 2010 from 1996. Consistent with this manual, the DCI recommended a Common Operational Vision for a refocused European defence effort. According to Assistant Secretary General in NATO, Robert G. Bell, the purpose was to provide the US counterparts in NATO with relevant forces to address the security challenges of the 21st Century, across the full range of missions.[37] The DCI thereby underscored the new strategic concept, which opened up for out-of-area engagements "throughout the Euro-Atlantic region".[38]

The DCI was organised into five specific functional areas: (a) strategic deployability and mobility: to move forces to the right place at the right time; (b) sustainability and logistics: to deliver supplies and support in a timely and organised manner under prolonged operations; (c) survivability: to survive and operate by means of better protection against i.e. biological and chemical attacks; (d) effective engagement: to apply the right kind of force at the right time, across the entire conflict spectrum; and (e) command, control and communication systems:

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[35] Interview with Dr Ronald D. Asmus, Senior Transatlantic Fellow at The German Marshall Fund of the United States, Washington D.C., July 24, 2003. Asmus was Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs in the Clinton Administration from 1997 to 2000.
[36] Richard Lugar (1993): "NATO: Out of Area or Out of Business", address at the seminar Open Forum, arranged by the US State Department, August 2, Washington D.C.
[37] Interview with Robert G. Bell, NATO, Assistant Secretary General for Defence Investment, Brussels, November 20, 2003.
[38] NATO (1999): "Washington Summit Communiqué", *NATO Press Release*, no. 64, accessible at: http://www.nato.int/docu/press.htm.

to maintain effective command and control of forces through communication links that are interoperable with national systems.[39] By giving a specified list of 58 (classified) capabilities to be achieved in a particular time frame, the United States expected European allies to achieve significant progress in forging out-of-area operations.[40]

To the Norwegian force structure, the DCI would imply more focus on military concepts that could contribute significantly at short notice, not only within NATO's area of responsibility, but also outside Europe. Conceptually, the force structure would have to take into consideration its usability to conduct multinational operations. To a territorial bound force that primarily was designed to operate inside Norway, prospects for operations "... with no, or only limited, access to existing NATO infrastructure" became a daunting challenge.[41] This clearly indicated a fundamental transformation towards an expeditionary force structure that would put anti-invasion, universal conscription and national acquisition projects under severe pressure. The ability to deliver a military force with high readiness, strategic deployability and interoperability with sophisticated US forces would accelerate the already existing problem between operating costs, new investments and allocated funding. This was primarily so as the new approach was regarded as being capital intensive, emphasising quality rather than quantity.

Officials in the Norwegian MoD, acknowledged early on in the process that underscoring NATO's new strategic concept with relevant forces was a fundamental challenge to the way security had been attained. Allied security guaranties and military assistance now had to be more actively cultivated through active military participation abroad. The DCI was the recipe of how to earn it. According to the MoD:

> The DCI presents many difficult questions as to how future defence co-operation within the Alliance is to be arranged; in its most extreme consequence, it will imply a fundamental rearrangement of the existing framework. Potentially, the initiative has a number of positive aspects, but also numerous challenges.[42]

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[39] Ibid.
[40] Interview with Franklin D. Kramer, Executive Vice-President of Change Word Technologies, Washington D.C., June 20, 2003. Kramer was Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs from March 1996 to February 2001.
[41] NATO (1999): "Defence Capabilities Initiative", *NATO Press Release*, no. 69, accessible at: http://www.nato.int/docu/press.htm.
[42] FD, 98/03424–6/FD II–3/ESP/200.19, "Det amerikanske Defence Capabilities Initiative", December 15, 1998.

Sources

The choice and availability of sources has at least two implications: for the validity of the case in itself, and for the validity of the thesis' conclusions. As Robert K. Yin points out, one of the advantages of case study research is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence – documents, archival records, interviews, direct observation and participant-observations.[43] The use of a variety of sources strengthens the inference drawn from the case, and alleviates the danger of internal invalidity.[44] The sources used in this research are interviews, public documents and statements, organisational assessments and reports, as well as documents from the Norwegian MoD's archive. Interview objects are listed in the bibliographies. In order to reduce subjective interpretations and biased accounts, many interview partners are quoted directly – with their permission. Even though interviewed partners often have their personal biases, direct quotes may at least avoid yet another interpretation from the researcher. In this way, the thesis can benefit from direct and uncensored statements, as well as potentially high value assessments and firsthand insights.

Many of the textual sources were retrieved from the Internet, such as from official websites and electronic archives. These have been central because many of them put the DCI into context, thereby making it easier to comprehend differences in transatlantic perspectives. When using governmental and official sources from the Pentagon (the US Department of Defense), the Norwegian MoD or NATO, cautious steps had to be taken to ensure objective and well-documented accounts. These institutions often tended to justify the DCI for domestic and diplomatic reasons, thereby neglecting the contextual background.

Moreover, the research took place simultaneously with ongoing capability processes in NATO, notably the PCC. In that process, the United States played a key role in convincing Europe that investments in relevant capabilities had to be taken seriously – and differently than before. The advantage of limiting the research to the DCI was thereby obvious. Interviews and fact-finding, particularly among US officials in the Pentagon and the State Department, became less dangerous and risky for those informants that also were engaged in the ongoing PCC process. Furthermore, American informants previously occupying central positions in the last Clinton administration were easier to approach as compared to their successors in the new Bush administration.

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[43] Yin (2003): *Case Study Research...*, p. 83.
[44] Ibid, p. 35.

However, as the transatlantic tension arose during the Iraq conflict in 2002–2003, the same sources tended to be more outspoken and less discreet in their description of Europe's defence efforts. On the one hand, this made it more difficult to interpret the information in a balanced manner. On the other hand, their bluntness also made it easier to get beneath the diplomatic rhetoric, and thus get a clearer and more honest message from the US officials. Similar challenges were also evident on the European side. European sources became increasingly coloured by subjective opinions as the Bush Administration launched its war against terrorism following 9/11.

Structuring the Thesis

The thesis confines five parts that build on the case study research strategy as outlined above.

Part I *explains* Norway's adaptation to US requirements by identifying various mechanisms occurring in a patron-client relationship. Designing a conceptual framework for the subsequent analysis, the section consists of two empirical and one theoretical chapter. Chapter 1 presents a short historical background for the security and defence co-operation between the United States and Norway. The purpose is to get a clearer understanding of the dominant role that the United States played in Norwegian security and defence policy before the DCI was implemented. This makes it easier to commence on chapter 2, which provides a "thick description" of the DCI as a case study object. American strategic fundamentals for why, how and what the European NATO allies should do if they were to be taken seriously, is explained. The purpose is to create a contextual explanation that may underscore the thesis' analytical fundament when US influence on Norwegian security and defence policy is to be interpreted. Thereafter, chapter 3 presents two theoretical propositions. This rather abstract exposition of how US leverage can be comprehended provides our theoretical underpinning. Part I ends with a conceptual explanatory model. The model aims to provide a rigorous structure so that the subsequent empiricism can be analysed in an orderly and consistent manner.

Part II *interprets* the theoretical propositions and hypotheses developed in the previous part. Empirical findings are organised along the dimensions as presented in the model. Norway's external room for manoeuvre is analysed from a realist and institutionalist perspective. In chapter 4, the realist interpretation emphasises a small state's quest for a benevolent ally. The institutionalist perspective in chapter 5 focuses on a small state's effort to keep NATO cohesive.

The purpose is to illustrate how American leverage can be interpreted along different perspectives. Chapter 6 sums up the empirical analysis by evaluating the explanatory power provided by the two perspectives.

Part III *evaluates* the implications of US influence. We thereby change focus from explaining and interpreting influence *between* states, towards evaluating the consequences *within* the state that gets influenced. Domestic restraints are analysed along two dimensions: Parliamentary accountability and foreign policy consistency. More specifically, chapter 7 evaluates the MoD's effort to accommodate US requirements set forth through NATO while simultaneously being accountable to Parliamentary preferences. Chapter 8 brings the preceding analysis one step further; debating to what extent the military adaptation coincides with Norway's broader foreign policy portfolio. Chapter 9 brings the previous two chapters into context: What made the Norwegian political environment particularly receptive or hesitant to US proposals, and what were the political and military challenges in that respect?

Part IV aims to bridge the perceived dilemmas that exist between allied expectations and domestic demands. Suggesting a military concept that grasps the essence of what has been analysed in Part II and III, chapter 10 first elaborates on various operative mechanisms that may be of relevance. Chapter 11 builds on this logic and proposes a military concept based on so-called 'first in, first out' forces and 'follow-up' forces. The purpose is to reconcile – affordably – the broad range of values and interests prevailing within Norway's broader portfolio of interests.

Part V seeks to extract some general assumptions from the case study. Being organised into two sections, the first passage deals explicitly with Norway. The essence of the empirical findings is extracted into a limited number of mechanisms that may increase our understanding of Norway's policy vis-à-vis the United States. The second section deals more specifically with small states; empirical assumptions from the Norwegian case are deduced into general reflections related to a broader universe of small states.

Chapter 1. Historical Context

As part of the contextual and conceptual framework, this chapter seeks to explore the strategic fundamentals for the US-Norwegian relationship between 1948 and 1999. The purpose is twofold. First, it aims to give a brief outline of the dominant role of the United States, as a patron and donor of economic and military assistance. Second, it aims to visualise Norway's role as a client and a recipient of the same benefits. By this, we want to identify the underlying mechanisms that tend to activate when clients feel insecure, and try to "get a hook

in the nose" of their patron. This may again strengthen our analytical framework, because distinctive features in Norwegian security and defence policy are identified more clearly. Moreover, we want to illustrate the dialectical relationship between insecurity and invitation, as the client's strategic significance fluctuates with the international circumstances and her patron's preferences. This again may empower our conceptual understanding, as we address the main theme: *How can US influence on Norwegian security and defence policy be explained?*

How do we identify the relevant mechanisms, and how is the dialectical relationship between insecurity and invitation made conspicuous? By selecting periods of flux, we may more easily identify a client's policy of invitation, to address insecurity and ensure a patron's continued assistance. Emphasising periods of flux may as such provide us with contextual knowledge of how a client operates, and how her *operandi vivendi* affects transatlantic processes in the field of security and defence policy.

Periods of Flux - How did Norway Respond?

The German assault in 1940 convinced Norway about her new geopolitical location, and her subsequent exposition to great power rivalry. The traditional policy of neutrality would therefore have to be revised.[45] The new strategic vulnerability would make it difficult for Norway to stay neutral in the possible wake of a new war between the great powers. The unprecedented collapse in 1940 entailed at least two aspects of grave concern: (a) Norway would depend on committed allies to her territorial defence; and (b) the Norwegian Armed Forces would have to fight alone, until reinforcements arrived. As the historian, Professor Rolf Tamnes points out, these fundamentals were formative for the Norwegian policy of invitation.[46] If military assistance to Norway should bear any credibility, considerable preparations would have to be prearranged in peacetime. Another historian, Professor Olav Riste puts it this way: "military co-operation and assistance from outside could not be improvised".[47]

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[45] Olav Riste (1979): *London-regjeringa: Norge i krigsalliansen 1940–1945*, vol. 2 (Oslo: Det norske samlaget), p. 310.
[46] Rolf Tamnes (1997): *Oljealder 1965–1995*, vol. 6 in *Norsk utenrikspolitisk historie* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget), p. 61.
[47] Olav Riste (1991): "Isolasjonalisme og stormaktsgarantiar", *Forsvarsstudier*, no. 3 (Oslo: Institutt for forsvarsstudier), p. 41.

The First Example: 1948–1953

The events in 1948, the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia, the Berlin crisis, and the Soviet pact imposed on Finland, convinced both the United States and Norway that a transatlantic *security community* was both natural and desirable.[48] US threat perception gradually changed from political-ideological concerns towards military aspects. This was particularly so as the Soviet Union acquired nuclear weapons, and increased their military presence in Eastern Europe.[49] The decision to be founding members of the Atlantic pact in 1949 seemed even more convincing after the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950. To Norway, the war acted as a formidable catalyst towards binding Western powers to the Northern Flank.[50] Many people in the West thought the North Korean assault signalled a Communist expansion towards Western Europe.[51] Through NATO, the Korean War thereby accelerated an extraordinary development in Norway, towards a strongly integrated joint defence structure. As the Minister of Defence, Jens Christian Hauge claimed, "It is perhaps putting it too mildly to say that this is unusual. It is of a revolutionary character of all countries – just as much for others as for us".[52] In this context, it became increasingly clear for Norwegian defence officials that the United States would be Norway's primary patron and donor of security guarantees.[53]

It has been argued that hardly any country in Western Europe experienced US influence more clearly than Norway.[54] Between 1950 and 1965, Norway became the recipient of military procurements worth between 65 and 103 billion 2002-kroner from her donor, depending on value method.[55] The United States also funded 40 % of the total Norwegian defence expenditures in the same period.[56] As the events in 1948 and 1950 had demonstrated, substantial security arrangements were required to balance the asymmetric relationship with the Soviet Union.

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[48] See Karl W. Deutsch et al. (1957): *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press).
[49] Kjell Inge Bjerga (2001): "Sikkerhetspolitikk, militærstrategi og kommandoordning" in Rolf Tamnes (ed.): 'Kommandospørsmålet på flanken. Utviklingen i to formative perioder,' *IFS Info*, no. 4, p. 12.
[50] Rolf Tamnes (1985): "Norway's Struggle for the Northern Flank, 1950–1952" in Olav Riste (ed.): *Western Security. The Formative Years* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget), pp. 215–243.
[51] Knut Einar Eriksen and Helge Ø. Pharo (1997): *Kald krig og internasjonalisering*, vol. 5 in *Norsk utenrikspolitisk historie* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget), p. 36.
[52] The Norwegian Minister of Defence, Jens Christian Hauge addressing the Norwegian Parliament (The Storting) in December 1951 (quoted from Rolf Tamnes (1987): "Integration and Screening. The Two Faces of Norwegian Alliance Policy, 1945–1986", *Forsvarsstudier*, no. 6 (Oslo: Institutt for forsvarsstudier), p. 69.
[53] Eriksen og Pharo (1997): *Kald krig og internasjonalisering*, p. 33; Tamnes (1985): "Norway's Struggle...", pp. 215–247.
[54] Tamnes (1997): *Oljealder*, p. 61. A plausible explanation for the extensive influence of American values is, according to Eriksen and Pharo, related to the massive wave of Norwegian immigrants in the 19th Century (Eriksen and Pharo (1997): *Kald krig og internasjonalisering*, p. 79).
[55] Kjetil Skogrand (2004): *Alliert i krig og fred*, vol. 4 in *Norsk forsvarshistorie* (Bergen: Eide forlag), p. 213.

As a net recipient and a dependent client, Norway became one of the strongest advocates for an integrated defence structure, with the United States as the driving force.[57] Only this way could Norway prevent a bilateralisation of her relationship with the Soviet Union. However, despite an unprecedented transfer of military aid, insecurity persisted among Norwegian authorities: Would the clients, in particular the United States, arrive in time? Would the United States respond with sufficient forces and determination? Could it be that a Soviet attack would be too demanding for the Norwegians, but too insignificant for allies to respond to?[58]

These uncertainties, it has been claimed, were formative in Norway's effort to make principles of reciprocity and solidarity sustainable within NATO. As the two historians, Professor Knut Einar Eriksen and Professor Helge Øystein Pharo argue, the Washington Treaty did not explicitly guarantee automatic military assistance to Norway. On the contrary, allied, and in particular American, determination to assist her patron hangs on "... the strategic and political significance of the Scandinavian Peninsula".[59] The conditional circumstances for a client's commitment therefore required a proactive and sustained Norwegian engagement. A prominent Norwegian feature in the transatlantic relationship was therefore to spell out the strategic significance of the Northern flank.

To illustrate Norway's quest for US commitments, at least three initiatives may be worth mentioning. Firstly, the struggle for an *allied command structure* on Norwegian territory. A command link from the operational centre to the periphery would signify a patron's attachment to US commitments. It would also underline the fact that Norwegian and transatlantic security were inseparable. From the start, Norway therefore put much effort into tying Canada rather than France into what was to become NATO's Standing Group.[60] Moreover, as the Northern European Regional Planning Group (NERPG) was formed, the United States and Great Britain were put under intense pressure from Norwegian authorities to participate as fully-fledged members. As one European and one Atlantic Command in

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[56] Eriksen and Pharo (1997): *Kald krig og internasjonalisering*, p. 74.
[57] Norway constructed 11 modern airports financed by allied donors: Gardermoen, Rygge, Torp, Lista, Flesland, Ørland, Værnes, Bodø, Andøya, Bardufoss, Banak (Johan Jørgen Holst (1967): *Norsk sikkerhetspolitikk i strategisk perspektiv*, vol. 1 (Oslo: Norsk utenrikspolitisk institutt), p. 67).
[58] Tamnes (1997): *Oljealder*, p. 61. See also Tamnes (1985): "Norway's Struggle...", p. 215. The last question is closely related to NATO's strategic concept from 1967, *flexible response*. By responding more flexibly, the prospects for deterring a limited war became more credible, as the Soviets had gained their own nuclear arsenal (Kjetil Skogrand and Rolf Tamnes (2001): *Fryktens likevekt Atombomben, Norge og verden* (Oslo: Tiden norske forlag), p. 49; Tamnes (1997): *Oljealder*, p. 75.
[59] Eriksen and Pharo (1997): *Kald krig og internasjonalisering*, pp. 66, 73.
[60] Tamnes (1985): "Norway's Struggle...", p. 226; Tamnes (1987): "Integration and Screening...", p. 68.

NATO came into being, Norway also "toyed with the idea of a link-up with the Atlantic Command only".[61]

The focal point was nevertheless the establishment of the Northern Command in Norway, and the composition of allied officers. Despite Anglo-Saxon scepticism towards more commitments in the North, Norway succeeded in connecting an Allied command authority to the top position. A British Admiral led the Northern Command, and under him a US Air Force Commander, was appointed. This may have been crucial to Norway, as the US Air Force was the primary deterrent, and the hub in the US nuclear arsenal. As Hauge pointed out, this made sure of "... a hook in the nose of the US Air Force".[62] From a Norwegian perspective, the overall rationale was to build a more sustainable "defence readiness in North Europe and "nailing" the British and Americans to the region".[63]

Secondly, on *allied defence plans and force allocations*, Norway put much effort into intimate and integrated defence collaboration. This toil was first of all a Continental struggle over priorities: How many resources should the donor allocate to a vulnerable flank? After all, it was estimated that Scandinavia would fall within two to three months.[64] Hence, as Tamnes points out, "Norway proposed a bridgehead on the Northern Flank, as her claim to a place in the sun".[65] The client's ambition of a forward defence in Norway, as part of a Continental defence, nevertheless proved difficult. The Anglo-Saxons possessed scarce resources that had to be spent cautiously, and few allies reckoned a Soviet attack would come from the North.[66] Moreover, Scandinavia and the Northern Flank were less exposed as compared to Central-Europe. Neither did it pose any existential threat for the Anglo-Saxons, nor did it have any decisive effect if Central-Europe were recaptured.[67] With the Korean War however, Norway may have received a welcome "window of opportunity". The US Navy became more empowered and changed operational focus from the Mediterranean towards the direct defence of Western Europe.[68] As such, Eisenhower now regarded the flanks as being indispensable. Following Tamnes,

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[61] Tamnes (1987): "Integration and Screening...", p. 68.
[62] Morten Aasland (1984): *A Hook in the Nose of the US Air Force..., Norge og opprettelsen av NATOs Nordkommando, 1950–51*, MA Thesis at the University of Oslo, p. 119.
[63] Tamnes (1985): "Norway's Struggle...", p. 231.
[64] Tamnes (1987): "Integration and Screening...", p. 69.
[65] Ibid, p. 68.
[66] Skogrand (2004): *Alliert i krig og fred*, p. 3.
[67] Tamnes (1985): "Norway's Struggle...", p. 216.
[68] Mats Berdal (1993): "Forging a Maritime Alliance. Norway and the Evolution of American Maritime Strategy 1945–1960", *Forsvarsstudier*, no. 4 (Oslo: Institutt for forsvarsstudier), p. 13.

> Since the central front in Europe was too poorly armed, especially in the air, as an alternative one could attack from the flanks and utilise aircraft-carriers deployed for example in the North Sea to hammer away at the advancing Soviet forces. On this basis he conceived of a "hedgehog" defence on the flanks with a sea/air organisation.[69]

Even though the concept was hampered by too few aircraft carriers and British reluctance, the Norwegian effort witnessed a strong willingness to earmark US forces to Northern Europe.

Thirdly, the *Strategic Air Command (SAC) arrangements* may also illustrate Norway's effort to exploit her strategic importance, and thereby make Norwegian and Atlantic security inseparable. Norwegian defence authorities clearly acknowledged the American interest for Northern Europe, particularly regarding strategic warfare. Airfields in Norway would play a crucial role in the United States' effort to sustain a credible nuclear airborne deterrent towards Northwest Russia. In that context, forward basing of fighter escort in Norway would be a vital contribution. This strategic significance could also, to a certain extent, compensate for the allied shortage of force allocations, as noted above.[70] According to Hauge:

> For these reasons I am quite clear in my own mind that as well as maintaining good relations with Great Britain, Norway must lay considerable weight on co-operation with the Americans and the support they can give us, both directly and through their influence within the organs of the Atlantic Treaty.[71]

After protracted and secret discussions in Oslo, Norwegian authorities granted permission for the SAC to use Sola and Gardermoen as operational bases "in case of hostilities".[72] Despite Norwegian efforts to canalise the SAC arrangement into more legitimate Alliance channels, a bilateral agreement to extend the base facilities at the two airports was implemented.[73] As such, the Norwegian accommodation of nuclear base facilities on national territory may be characteristic for her Atlantic profile. Even though nuclear weapons had an explicitly negative resonance in the official Norwegian policy, defence authorities nevertheless appreciated incentives that could make allied reassurance more credible.[74]

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[69] Tamnes (1987): "Integration and Screening...", p. 71; Berdal (1993): "Forging a Maritime Alliance...", p. 14.
[70] Tamnes (1987): "Integration and Screening...", p. 71.
[71] Quoted from Tamnes (1985): "Norway's Struggle...", p. 233.
[72] Skogrand and Tamnes (2001): *Fryktens likevekt...*, p. 81.
[73] Ibid, pp. 82–83.
[74] Skogrand (2004): *Alliert i krig og fred*, pp. 165–182; Skogrand and Tamnes (2001): *Fryktens likevekt...*, pp. 114–128.

The Second Example: 1975–1985

After a period of détente, the decade between 1975 and 1985 signalled a colder climate between the superpowers. This again brought Norway closer to the crossroads of US-Soviet rivalry. The underlying propellant can be seen within the context of (a) an intensified antagonism between the superpowers, (b) an accelerated build-up of Soviet naval forces, particularly in the Barents region, and (c) a more proactive Norwegian effort to consolidate US commitments.[75] The last aspect may be regarded as a consequence of the previous two, and may have catalysed increased US engagement on the Northern Flank. In particular, the build-up of a comprehensive Soviet blue water capacity from the late 1960s was regarded as a great challenge for both countries. Demonstrated by the naval exercises *Sever* in 1968, and *Okean* in 1970 and 1975, the Soviet Union could prevent US and NATO maritime forces to operate outside the Norwegian coast.[76]

From a Norwegian perspective, this could undermine credible allied assistance in times of crisis. The US change from a Continental strategy towards a more pronounced Maritime perspective thereby coincided with a more proactive Norwegian effort to nail US forces to the defence of the Northern Flank. More concrete and earmarked assistance, as well as increased funding of the military infrastructure, illustrated this.[77] At the end of the period, approximately 24,000 troops (ground and air) were either designated for operations in Norway, or had Norway as a probable operational theatre.[78] In addition, between 14 and 17 squadrons consisting of approximately 200 to 300 aircraft were allocated to the region.[79] Adding a substantial increase in NATO's infrastructure program, the robust military commitments signified the High North as a key strategic area.

Why this dramatic increase? What was the transatlantic concern, and how did it manifest itself? The client-patron relationship galvanised in response to the gradual build-up of a Soviet naval fleet at the Kola Peninsula. To the United States and Norway, this was disturbing for several reasons. Firstly, a Soviet "blue-water capacity" threatened crucial sea lines of communication (SLOC) across the Atlantic. As the Northern Fleet extended their anti-access operations further South into the Norwegian Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, the Norwegian Defence Minister Gunnar Hellesen pointed out:

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[75] Tamnes (1997): *Oljealder*, p. 76.
[76] Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring*..., p. 85.
[77] See in particular the overview on earmarked allied assistance to Norway, as presented in Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring*..., p. 59.
[78] Ibid. See also Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring*..., pp. 58–66.
[79] Ibid, p. 59; Tamnes (1997): *Oljealder*, p. 76.

"When the Russians are carrying out exercises and operations, we are being steadily more circumscribed by activity at sea, on land and in the air".[80] This was also confirmed by the Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic (SACLANT), Admiral Isaac C. Kidd, claiming "the days of the free lunch are gone".[81]

Secondly, as the Northern Fleet matured into a more vital deterrent component, a larger operational space was deemed necessary to protect the Soviet second-strike capability.[82] The requirement of strategic depth would as such deprive the US Navy of operational control in the High North, and also make it more difficult to obtain intelligence regarding Soviet activities and strategic manoeuvres. Thirdly, the relatively short geographical distance between the Barents region and the American homeland made the operational theatre in the High North of greater significance. As Soviet sea launched ballistic missiles from the Barents Sea had their shortest projector line across the High North, some analysts labelled the region a new strategic front rather than a mere flank for Central-Europe.[83]

As such, Norway's primary contribution to the United States therefore consisted of early warning and intelligence gathering.[84] This sensitive and intimate aspect signified Norway's 'special relationship' with her donor. Norway's unique position may as such have been exploited strategically, to get attention, funding and material resources from her donor.[85] In that respect, it has been claimed that large parts of the *Norwegian Intelligence Service* (NIS) were designed in accordance with American demands and preferences.[86] Particular emphasis was put on the strategic submarines in the Northern Fleet, and the consecutive activity within Leningrad Military District, Northwest Russia. Through intimate collaboration with the NIS, particularly on SIGINT, ACINT and ELINT,[87] the United States obtained precise information on a continuous basis, thereby also tracking Soviet strategic submarines in the Barents region.[88] The US Ambassador to Norway, Philip K. Crowe put it this way:

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[80] Cited from Rolf Tamnes (1991): *The United States and the Cold War in the High North* (Oslo: Ad Notam), p. 324.
[81] Admiral Isaac C. Kidd, cited in Tamnes (1997): *Oljealder*, p. 34.
[82] In particular, the technological development of the nuclear powered submarines with inter-continental ballistic missiles made the Northern Fleet a vital strategic asset for the Soviet second-strike capability.
[83] Tamnes (1997): *Oljealder*, p. 76. For an example, see Nils Morten Udgaard (1986): "Fra flanke til front", *Aftenposten*, August 16.
[84] Tamnes (1991): *The United States and the Cold War...*, pp. 210–213; Olav Riste and Arnfinn Moland (1997): *"Strengt hemmelig" Norsk etterretningstjeneste 1945–1970* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget).
[85] Olav Riste (1999): *The Norwegian Intelligence Service 1945–1970* (London: Frank Cass), p. 66.
[86] Skogrand (2004): *Alliert i krig og fred*, pp. 210–231.
[87] The acronyms represent three of the most common activities of intelligence gathering: Signal Intelligence, Acoustic Intelligence and Electronic Intelligence.
[88] Tamnes (1991): *The United States and the Cold War...*, p. 212; Tamnes (1997): *Oljealder*, p. 71.

> Norwegian co-operation in the military and intelligence fields is of considerable strategic importance to us in keeping watch on the growing Soviet naval and submarine threat from the Murmansk area...[89]

This impression was moreover shared by Norwegian defence authorities, which became recipients of substantial US funding. Up to 1992, approximately 50% of the intelligence-based projects in Norway were paid for by the United States.[90]

How did Norway exploit her exalted status as a strategic partner in what has been called "an Alliance within the Alliance"?[91] After all, there had been a gradual shift of US emphasis towards the flanks, in particular since the strategy of *flexible response* appeared in the early 1960s. Even though the 'continental fixation' still prevailed, the strategic significance of the High North gradually became more conspicuous. As Tamnes points out, the emergence of a multifaceted dialogue with various US communities on the security and defence arena is the most interesting phenomenon in the Norwegian policy in the 1970s.[92] The most influential channel was the Bilateral Study Group (BSG), which was established in 1976. Chaired by then Deputy Minister in the MoD, Johan Jørgen Holst and Director of European and NATO Affairs, Richard C. Bowman from the Pentagon, the initiative was according to Holst, "... one of the most significant initiatives we have faced in the field of security policy for many years".[93] It provided a back-channel into the US Administration, and was as such "... an important contribution to the "rediscovery" of the Northern regions".[94]

The US rationale was based on the provision of a more credible fundament for *flexible response*. The Pentagon explored war-gaming of conflict scenarios against the Soviet Union that were limited both in aim and scope.[95] In that context, the vulnerable flanks were of particular relevance, especially "under circumstances of low Western cohesion and high likelihood of keeping the conflict isolated".[96] Participation would thus facilitate substantial Norwegian access to US decision-makers.

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[89] US Ambassador to Norway, Philip K. Crowe, cited in Tamnes (1991): *The United States and the Cold War...*, p. 236.
[90] Tamnes (1997): *Oljealder*, p. 72.
[91] Eriksen and Pharo (1997): *Kald krig og internasjonalisering*, p. 77; Tamnes (1997): *Oljealder*, p. 61.
[92] Tamnes (1997): *Oljealder*, p. 83.
[93] Ibid, p. 85.
[94] Tamnes (1991): *The United States and the Cold War...*, p. 245.
[95] Ibid, p. 287; Skogrand and Tamnes (2001): *Fryktens likevekt...*, pp. 31–32, 47–52.
[96] Tamnes (1991): *The United States and the Cold* War..., p. 244.

As Holst previously had pointed out, a Norwegian participation in these processes could significantly affect the decision-making cycle in Washington, before final decisions were approved.[97] American decision-makers would be "educated" on Norwegian concerns, and therefore be regarded as a Norwegian policy of emergency planning".[98] While the United States was more preoccupied by the technological impact of precision-guided munitions (PGM), Norwegian authorities advocated more the strategic implications of allied reinforcements. This was also to become the primary focus, as the BSG addressed the political and military challenges in North-Norway.[99]

Simultaneously, the Atlantic profile became more conspicuous in the Norwegian long-term defence planning process. According to Holst, the focal point should no longer be defined within the prerogatives of national defence arrangements. Consistent with the recommendations in the BSG-report from 1979, Norwegian defence planning should more focus on (a) how Allied reinforcements could appear more decisive and robust, and (b) how reinforcements could arrive *before* war broke out.[100]

It may be claimed that the recommendations from the BSG had a tremendous effect on the Norwegian quest for US commitments: "In several aspects, the Norwegian influence was apparent".[101] Allied obligations to assist Norway had not been stronger than at this particular moment, and the United States was the primary donor. The success of nailing the patron and donor to the defence of Norway was first of all visualised in the reinforcement arrangements. In the air, between one and three US fighter squadrons would be transferred to Norway in the early stages of a crisis. This also led to a NATO retest, as aircraft operations on the Northern flank became more salient.[102] On the ground, a particular emphasis was put on the swift transfer of allied land power. The recommendation of earmarking one light airborne US Marine Brigade, NALMEB, was accepted.[103] The heavy war-fighting equipment was to be stockpiled in advance, on a permanent basis in Trøndelag. As Holst pointed out, the earmarked reinforcement and the pre-positioned US arsenals would imply a significant breakthrough, regarding a credible defence of Norway.[104]

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[97] Tamnes (1997): *Oljealder*, p. 83.
[98] Tamnes (1991): *The United States and the Cold War...*, p. 241.
[99] Tamnes (1997): *Oljealder*, p. 85.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Tamnes (1991): *The United States and the Cold War...*, p. 248.
[102] Tamnes (1997): *Oljealder*, p. 86.
[103] Even though the US commitment constituted the main bulk of the reinforcements, other allied units were also earmarked; a UKNLLF brigade (marines) from Great Britain and the Netherlands, and a CAST-brigade (infantry) from Canada, were considered important contributions.
[104] Tamnes (1997): *Oljealder*, p. 86.

In January 1981, Bowman was appointed Knight Commander of Saint Olav's Order for his achievements in the defence of Norway.[105]

The Third Example: 1991–1999

During the 1980s, the High North had become a key strategic area for the United States and NATO. As a consequence, the Norwegian MoD enjoyed disproportionately large influence over the Alliance defence planning process.[106]

With the demise of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, Norwegian strategic importance lost much of its clout. Between 1993 and 1997, submarines and larger naval vessels in the Northern Fleet were reduced by one third; aircraft within Leningrad Military District were reduced by 20%, and motorised infantry divisions were cut from eleven to four.[107] The United States' concern for Norway's geopolitical location became less conspicuous.[108] More imminent threats related to instability in the newly independent states of Europe received more attention, particularly in the US State Department.[109] From a security policy perspective, we may therefore claim that Norway risked being marginalised. Germany cancelled a thirty years old pre-storage arrangement for her Navy in 1994. The same year, Canada announced her withdrawal from the NATO Composite Force. This was the only formation with North Norway as her primary operational theatre.[110] The year before, the US Air Force in Europe had suggested a reduction of the Collocated Operational Bases (COB) in Norway, from nine to two. The Norwegian Defence Minister, Jørgen Kosmo, had put much effort into convincing the Pentagon of Norway's exposed position. By this, he managed to maintain five of the nine COBs. Norway nevertheless had to undertake a stronger economic commitment to the reminiscence of the COB-arrangement.[111]

On this basis, a traditional policy of invitation should not come as a surprise. If valuable commitments from key allies should be maintained, a proactive but nonetheless accommodating attitude was required.

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[105] Ibid.
[106] Interview with Professor Samuel Wells, Associate Director at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington D.C., August 7, 2003.
[107] Stortingsmelding nr. [St.meld. nr.] 22 (1997–1998): *Hovedretningslinjer for Forsvarets virksomhet* [White Paper no. 22 (1997–1998): *Main Guidelines for the Norwegian Armed Forces' Activity*] (Oslo: Forsvarsdepartementet), p. 14.
[108] Interview with Kramer.
[109] Interviews with Asmus; interview with Dr Bowman Miller, Director of Analysis for Europe and Canada/Intelligence and Research, US State Department, Washington D.C., August 6, 2003.
[110] Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring*..., p. 36.
[111] Interview with Bård Bredrup Knudsen, Deputy Director General in the MoD, Oslo, January 20, 2004. See also Tamnes (1997): *Oljealder*, p. 144, and Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring*..., p. 36

As several MoD officials noticed, after decades with substantial US interest, Norway suddenly had to fight to achieve sufficient attention and resources.[112]

How can this aspect of invitation be illustrated? Two cases of particular importance may illustrate Norway's policy of invitation. Both illustrate the Norwegian emphasis on an Atlantic profile, as a way of making US security guaranties sustainable during periods of international change: NATO's integrated command structure across the Atlantic, and the pre-positioning of US war-fighting capabilities.[113] As for the *integrated command structure*, this was expedient if Western powers should continue to be committed to Norwegian security. As NATO initiated their reorganisation in 1990, the MoD therefore outlined three guidelines to affect the outcome: (a) Norway should aim to keep a multinational headquarters on national territory; (b) attachments to the United States and Great Britain should be sustained, and (c) the defence of Norway should be tied to the defence of Europe.[114]

A noticeable presence of allied staff-officers on Norwegian soil was as such of great political importance. Such an attachment could increase the Allied awareness of Norway's special position, and also signify to her neighbours that Norwegian and transatlantic security was indivisible. Despite hard negotiations and much complication, it may be claimed that Norway succeeded reasonably well. In 1994, Jåttå was accredited as a NATO Headquarter under the North Western Command at High Wycombe, UK. During a new round of allied streamlining in 1997, Jåttå managed to become a third level Headquarters under NATO's new North Commando at Brunssum, Netherlands.[115] A NATO Headquarter in Norway ensured a crucial link to the Atlantic Europe and indirectly to the United States. This was, according to several MoD officials, of great political significance and cannot be underestimated.[116]

As for the *pre-positioning of US war-fighting material*, the NALMEB-arrangement was still considered crucial for a credible defence of Norway. As the MoD pointed out, the strategic significance of this arrangement went far beyond the military value. However, as the US Congress in 1995 pushed forward cost reductions and dividends for their Armed Forces, demands suggesting a Norwegian acquisition of the operational and maintenance disbursements were presented. The alternative would, according to some US Congressmen, be a termination of the entire arrangement.

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[112] Interviews with Arild Eikeland, Senior Advisor in the MoD, Oslo, January 17, 2003; Svein Efjestad, Director General in the MoD, and Jan Asbjørn Olsen, Deputy Director General in the MoD, Oslo, January 9, 2004.
[113] Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring*..., p. 29.
[114] Interviews with Eikeland; Efjestad and Olsen; Knudsen. See also Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring*..., p. 30.
[115] Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring*..., p. 314.

After negotiations, Norway nevertheless managed to convince the Congress that the stockpiling in Trøndelag entailed a broader strategic significance. As a forward base in the region, US forces could rapidly be deployed to various hotspots in Europe and in the Middle East.[117] Norwegian defence officials even argued that their deployable character could be an example for other and more static US bases in Central Europe.[118] Norwegian defence authorities would nevertheless pay a greater share of the burden, a proposal that finally was accepted in Washington.[119]

The Norwegian policy of invitation seems to be consistent with the Armed Forces' long-term planning process. Throughout the 1990s, emphasis on anti-invasion in North Norway was a persistent criterion, much due to the perceived uncertainty of how Russia would evolve. This required a balanced and territorial-bound force structure that could pursue delaying operations until US reinforcements arrived. However, with the Defence Bill of February 2001: *The Restructuring of the Norwegian Armed Forces in the Period 2002–2005,* anti-invasion was finally abandoned as a valid concept.[120] Until then, the essence and consistency in the Norwegian security policy and defence planning process had remained remarkably stable.

We may therefore claim that the Norwegian approach to own security in the 1990s was characterised by ambivalence and uncertainty. As the Norwegian Intelligence Service claimed, "on the one hand, we actively pursue a policy of integration by different means of confidence building measures. On the other hand however, we still consider it vital to be an active member of a broader security community".[121] This was especially acknowledged from visiting US officials during the Clinton era. As the former Assistant Secretary of State, Dr Ronald D. Asmus pointed out,

> Every time we visited Norway during the 1990s, you reiterated the same arguments again and again, that Russia still maintained a highly unpredictable

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[116] Interviews with Olsen and Knudsen.
[117] Interview with Knudsen.
[118] Interview with Olsen.
[119] Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring...*, p. 152; Tamnes (1997): *Oljealder*, p. 144.
[120] St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), p. 27; Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring...*, pp. 141–142.
[121] Colonel Erling Aabakken (2002): "The Norwegian Strategic Situation – Present Status and Future Prospects", unclassified oral brief by the Norwegian Intelligence Service to Lieutenant General Hans-Ulrich Scherrer, Chief of Staff for the Swiss Armed Forces, Oslo, Huseby, April 23.

> risk. That put you in a conservative corner compared to your European colleagues.[122]

NIS estimates nevertheless claimed that Norway was still located inside a Russian "sphere of influence"; Russian nuclear weapons had become relatively more important due to the decline of conventional forces; and there were still unsolved disputes on borders and resource management at sea. This view enjoyed bipartisan support as Norway entered the new millennium.[123] On the one hand, this made Russia still a critical factor in Norwegian security and defence planning. On the other hand, Russia had ceased to be seen as a military threat in a short and medium term perspective. As former Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thorbjørn Jagland from the Labour Party claimed, "Norway's exposed location next to Russia is a permanent phenomenon, and can never be neglected. It will always affect the Norwegian security policy".[124] This was also confirmed by another former Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Norwegian Ambassador to the United States, Knut Vollebæk: "We have always wanted a Western backup in the case of a Russian resurgence".[125]

How can the Norwegian Approach be Explained?

Based on our short account, how can the Norwegian effort for sustained US security guaranties and military assistance be explained? What impact did the transatlantic command structure, allied defence plans, force allocations and military pre-arrangements have on the bilateral relationship? Clearly, the United States' security commitments towards her client communicated favourably intentions. But did it evoke a sense of gratitude on Norwegian defence authorities; a thankfulness that made Norwegian behaviour more accommodating in the bilateral decision-making 'processes'? Or did it increase Norway's dependency on the United States; a dependency often related to the anarchical 'structure' in international politics? In the next chapter, we will present a conceptual model of explanation that deals more specifically with these issues.

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[122] Interview with Asmus.
[123] Aabakken (2002): "The Norwegian Strategic Situation...". See also Tamnes (1997): *Oljealder*, p. 135.
[124] Interview with Thorbjørn Jagland (the Labour Party), leader of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee, Bardufoss, December 3, 2003. Jagland was Norwegian Prime Minister from October 1996 to October 1997, and Minister of Foreign Affairs from March 2000 to October 2001.
[125] Interview with Knut Vollebæk, the Norwegian Ambassador to the United States, Washington D.C., July 15, 2003.

But so far, regardless of 'process' or 'structure', our conceptual framework may nevertheless present an introductory proposition: The United States' provision of security guarantees and military assistance, like Article 5 in the Washington Treaty of 1949, the NALMEB arrangement in the 1980s, and the new integrated command structure in the 1990s, gave the supplier significant leverage over the recipient. US assistance, as requested from Norwegian defence officials, profoundly affected her security and defence policy. As pointed out by Efjestad and Olsen, an eventual cancellation of American military support would require a fundamental alteration of Norway's defence concept.[126]

The attention and resources allocated to the Northern Flank were consistent with US strategic interests, both in terms of homeland security and the broader defence of Western Europe. This clearly brings in aspects of reciprocity that are often neglected, but may as such provide us with valuable explanatory power: US leverage through military assistance and political commitments is offered and accepted only when both parties believe it is in their interest to do so. Offering and accepting a variety of security arrangements is one way that two states with different capabilities can enhance their own security. Government officials on both sides of the Atlantic confirm this. Asmus pointed out that the Norwegian intelligence gathering was crucial for the early warning of a possible attack on the US homeland.[127] A Norwegian perspective emphasised US security guaranties as a back up, especially in the event of a bilateral dispute with Russia.[128]

We may also argue that the more crucial the security arrangements are, the more effective the arrangements may be regarded as instruments of influence. This logic is obvious, but may nevertheless explain the Norwegian approach towards the United States between 1949 and 1999: When political and military assistance is regarded decisive, and other Scandinavian or European alternatives are absent, Norwegian officials are more likely to accommodate the United States' preferences to ensure a credible and continued assistance. As Vollebæk pointed out, "of course, we are grateful to the United States, for their sustained security guarantees during the Cold War and afterwards. We therefore sometimes choose to go many rounds with US officials before we oppose them".[129] On this basis, it may be claimed that the United States' role as a guarantor of security entails a certain leverage on Norwegian officials. Conversely, if alternative sources were available, it could be argued that US influence would

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[126] Interviews with Efjestad and Olsen.
[127] Interview with Asmus.
[128] Interview with Vollebæk.
[129] Ibid.

have been significantly reduced. Being member of a broader European security and defence arrangement within the EU may be such an example.

Does this rather seemingly accommodating approach towards the United States equivalence with a Norwegian bandwagon image? Do Norwegian defence officials in their US related processes "jog along" unconsciously? According to a senior MoD official, when US interests were high, Norway sometimes had to object to or moderate US proposals; when Norway perceived US security arrangements to be vulnerable, a more active policy of invitation was released.[130] Among US officials, most Norwegian objections were more often than not accepted and respected, because "Norway had consistently built up a credible reputation as a trustworthy partner and loyal ally".[131] Vollebæk also confirms this: "Our colleagues in Washington accept dissension as long as our objections are not deemed opportunistic. It is therefore important that our arguments are consistently pursued over a longer period of time".[132] The correlation between American leverage and the adjustment of Norwegian security policy may therefore be more tacit and compound than is commonly recognised. Norway wants to keep strong bonds to the United States, while at the same time protect herself from being a puppet.

Following this logic, at least four implications that throw light on the dialectical relationship between insecurity and invitation between 1949 and 1999 can be deduced. This may also unveil mechanisms used by the client to nail her patron to a common defence.

The search for allied commitments. The Norwegian approach towards the United States is closely related to the continuous request for credible security guaranties that are sustainable. As we have seen, this may include integrated command structures, pre-arranged stockpiles of war-fighting materials, or earmarked force allocations. Hence, security arrangements that are deemed crucial for states' survival need to be cultivated consistently. They also require frequent rehearsals if they are to be credible. In sum, this gives the donor great leverage, politically as well as militarily. The issue over US anti-personnel mines as part of the NALMEB arrangement is but one example. The MoD's request to the United States Marines Corps (USMC) to abandon its anti-personnel mines, in accordance with the 1997 Ottawa Protocol, resulted in a seemingly grim response.

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[130] Interview with Efjestad.
[131] Interview with John Lis, Senior Policy Advisor at the House International Relations Committee, Raybourne House Office Building, Washington D.C., July 29, 2003. Similar sentiments were also voiced from Kramer and Asmus in interviews conducted on June 20 and July 24, 2003.
[132] Interview with Vollebæk. This impression was also verified through interviews with Efjestad and Olsen.

Several officials in the Congress and in the Pentagon threatened to abandon the entire arrangement, a claim that instantly caused grave concern among Norwegian officials, and which led to a more cautious and pragmatic approach thereafter.[133] The issue may be in contrast to other arrangements that are deemed less vital, that may be replaced, or rectified on a more permanent basis once and for all.[134] It may therefore be claimed that Norwegian defence officials pursued different strategies, depending on the changing circumstances between the great powers.

Strategically exposed. The Norwegian approach towards the United States may also be seen within the context of Norway's geo-political location, on the rim of the former Soviet Union. As such, US security guaranties may be an especially important source of leverage as Norway faced a significant and highly asymmetric military threat. The United States' assistance through credible defence commitments was one way of balancing against the former Soviet Union. This fact also reinforces the idea that the importance of a given security commitment often rests on the context in which it is offered (i.e., on the specific strategic circumstances that Norway faces). The fluctuation with changing international circumstances therefore made it important for Norwegian defence authorities to nurture close and permanent ties with her patron, not only when the cross-border relationship with the Soviets declined.[135] This may especially be so as bilateral bureaucratic processes across the Atlantic often experience "time-lags" related to unexpected and dynamic events in the strategic landcape. It may therefore have been vital for Norwegian defence officials to nurture personal links with influential decision-makers in the various US administrations, particularly in the Pentagon and the State Department.

As such, it may be claimed that the Norwegian achievements have been successful and of great importance. On several occasions, the MoD managed, due to its long-term personal relationships with prominent US officials, to present vital policy papers directly at the table of the Secretary of Defense.[136] As Principal Director of European and NATO Policy in the Office of Secretary of Defense (OSD), Jim J. Towsend claimed, "your Norwegian MoD is among the

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[133] Interview with Olsen; Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring*..., pp. 153–154.
[134] See Robert E. Harkaway (1975): *Arms Trade and International Systems* (Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press), p. 101.
[135] Interview with Efjestad.
[136] Interview with Knudsen.

best, they're doing a terrific job. They know exactly who to contact when they want to address their concerns. This contrasts most other European MoDs".[137]

Asymmetrical relationship. The Norwegian approach may also be explained due to her asymmetrical dependency on the United States, and the client's reliance on a patron's security guarantees. For example, if the Norwegian government faces an imminent threat, but the White House does not, then the latter's ability to influence the former's conduct should increase. This aspect of US leverage is nevertheless tacit, and may commence in new Norwegian policies. For instance, to keep US attention on the High North in the 1990s, the MFA often portrayed potential challenges in a way that would draw US attention.[138] Traditional arguments related to Russia's military strength were first supplemented with environmental concerns. Thereafter, the argument was related to the detention of nuclear waste that potentially could fall into the hands of international terrorists, and subsequently pose a threat to US security.[139] By the same token, when dependence is mutual, both states must adapt to their partner's interests. In short, when one ally does not need the other very much, its leverage thereby should increase. Vollebæk, claiming it has become increasingly hard to get US attention over the past decade, also confirms this: "The mutual dependency we enjoyed during the Cold War has disappeared".[140] This was also recognised in the MoD:

> As the Cold War ended, the Europeans noticed a complete silence from Washington. This caused a European rush towards the US Administration to make sure US security guaranties were sustained. Today therefore, we must work harder to get access and attention.[141]

Norway's decision to boost her funding of the NALMEB arrangement may be an illustrative example. To thwart Congressional suggestions aimed at terminating NALMEB for economic and strategic reasons, Norway voluntarily assumed more of the burden.[142] Another example may be the MoD's effort to attract US forces to arctic exercises from the mid 1990s and

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[137] Interview with Jim Towsend, Principal Director of European and NATO Policy in the Office of Secretary of Defense (OSD), Pentagon, Washington D.C., July 2, 2003.
[138] Interview with Vollebæk.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid. See also St.prp. nr. 42 (2004–2005): *Den videre moderniseringen av Forsvaret i perioden 2005–2008* [*The Continued Modernisation of the Norwegian Armed Forces in the Period 2002–2005*], p. 29.
[141] Interview with Efjestad. See also comments by Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kim Traavik in Ulf Peter Hellstrøm (2004): "EU holder Norge utenfor nye organer", *Aftenposten*, September 6.
[142] Interview with Knudsen.

onwards, turning their cautious Cold War policy of screening completely around.[143] In the effort to stand forth as a constructive and relevant partner, preparing the ground for allied exercises under the most demanding climatic circumstances may be regarded as a valuable contribution.

Conversely, the more important the recipient is to the donor, the more attention and resources it likely receives. In that case, however, the provision of US security arrangements and military assistance may have produced less leverage. The different aspects of screening that Norwegian authorities pursued during the Cold War may best illustrate this. Alternating US initiatives to increase her political and military presence in the High North were now and then met by Norwegian scepticism. This was particularly so if US initiatives could provoke the Soviet Union and lead to increased tension in the High North; provoke the Norwegian population, or complicate a small state's claim of independence, sovereignty and integrity.[144]

Outside the European Union (EU). Norway's approach towards the United States may also be related to the EU and the fear of being politically marginalised. Being a non-member in the EU may have increased the unilateral dependency on the United States, thereby limiting the scope of manoeuvre regarding alternative courses of action.[145] Senior officials from the MFA, working in Brussels, also confirm this: "Norway often turns instinctively to the United States and NATO every time there is a crisis in Europe".[146] Vollebæk, claiming the transatlantic relationship became even more crucial after Norway turned down a EU membership in the 1994 referendum, also confirms this rather one-sided approach:

> Our relationship with the United States became even more important after 1994. It could compensate for not being a member of the EU. Having the Americans on our side gives us more political clout when we meet the EU members in Brussels. However, the drawback is that there is a limit for how much you can oppose them [the Americans], as their negotiating support is important to us.[147]

This is also consistent with defence officials working in the MoD. In the 1993 Defence Bill, the MoD clearly expressed its growing concern: "It is important to Norway not to be deemed

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[143] Interview with Eikeland. St.prp. nr. 45 (2003–2004) points out that "allied exercises in Norway are to be given high priority" (p. 71).
[144] Tamnes (1985): "Norway's Struggle...", pp. 234–240; Tamnes (1987): "Integration and Screening..."; Tamnes (1997): *Oljealder*, pp. 91–101.
[145] Riste (1991): "Isolasjonalisme og stormaktsgarantiar", p. 42.
[146] Informal interview with Elisabeth Walaas, Deputy Minister for the Mission of Norway to the EU, October 15, 2003.
[147] Interview with Vollebæk.

as a small North-European border-state, but rather as an integrated part of the political and economic mainstream of Europe".[148] After the 1994 referendum, it became even more important to coordinate and adjust national preferences with the United States and Canada, before multilateral meetings. This was even so in NATO, as the EU members in NATO often tended to coordinate and harmonise their viewpoints before summits took place.[149] While enjoying much attention from the United States during the Cold War, the challenge now seemed to be the opposite: to prevent political marginalisation. The challenge could best be addressed by increased participation on issues that occupied the United States and NATO. An opposite approach, i.e. non-participation, a reactive stance, or a dormant behaviour, would be equal with neglect and no influence at all.

Conceptually, what may come out of this rather short historical passage? To what extent may this knowledge be relevant to our general understanding of how a patron affects the political output of a client? As we commence on the contextual interpretation of the American DCI rationale, we may more easily grasp the logic behind the Norwegian response. This again may help us to identify which mechanisms are activated when US influence on Norwegian security and defence policy is to be explained.

Chapter 2. Strategic Context

This chapter concerns the American efforts to transform Europe into a more efficient military actor according to US perspectives. The chapter seeks to explore the strategic fundamentals for the DCI. Methodologically, it generates a preliminary contextual interpretation of the case study: How does the United States perceive European defence efforts, and how may these efforts be affected according to US preferences? Through this explanation, we may more easily comprehend why the United States put so much effort into influencing European forces in NATO between 1998 and 2002. Exploring the logic and intent behind the DCI may thus enhance our conceptual framework when US influence on Norwegian security and defence policy is to be interpreted in the empirical analysis.

Among defence officials in the United States, NATO and Norway, "transformation" has become a catchword with a bundle of meanings. What we mean by "transformation" therefore has to be clarified. In this thesis, the term confines to the conceptual level – the level where an

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[148] St.prp. nr. 1 (1993–1994): *For budsjetterminen 1994 [Budgets for Fiscal Year 1994]* (Oslo: Forsvarsdepartementet), p. 13.

idea or construct helps to determine how armed forces are arranged and employed to make political objectives attainable.[150] Hence, "transformation" is defined as a way for organisations, such as the military, to change character and develop new qualities for addressing new threats and requirements. It differs from other reforms in the sense that the effort to reorganise is made into a permanent aspect of the armed forces' activity.[151]

To comprehend more easily the American effort of transforming her European counterparts, three questions will structure our analysis. First the basic question, what was the US rationale for launching the DCI? It will be argued that the United States wants Europe to transform in order to maintain the vitality and relevancy of NATO. As NATO is regarded as the primary instrument for US influence on European security and defence policy, aspects of political and military relevancy are put at the forefront. Relevancy is also intimately related to force projection outside Europe, and the DCI is regarded as a catalyst in that sense. The second question deals with the issue of how the United States wants her European partners to transform. It will be argued that the US wants Europe to spend scarce defence resources differently and more effectively as compared to existing procedures. Joint, common and multinational funding of key capabilities is encouraged in order to get European forces off their own continent. The third question examines the American expectations of the DCI. From a US perspective, it will be argued that the creation of a multinational European expeditionary force structure should be established. This should be closely integrated and interoperable with US forces, and serve as a political instrument for transatlantic co-operation in the field of security and defence policy.

What is the US Rationale for European Transformation?

Why did Defense Secretary Cohen introduce the idea of a focused improvement of defence capabilities to his NATO counterparts at the informal Defence Ministerial in Vilamoura, Portugal, in September 1998? After all, the State Department had since 1992 pursued a strategy of "change is better". This was, according to Asmus, the strategy used to encourage their European counterparts to transform away from static forces towards a more deployable

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[149] Interview with Finn Landsverk, the Norwegian Defence Counsellor at NORDEL, Brussels, November 20, 2003; confirmed through interview with Towsend.
[150] St.prp. nr. 42 (2003–2004), p. 46.
[151] FD, 2003/FDII–I/ERL/HAH, "Militær transformasjon", November 4, 2003.

force structure designed for out-of-area operations.[152] Together with the Partnership for Peace programme (PfP) and the European Security and Defence Initiative (ESDI), the DCI aimed to help Europe to become a more relevant strategic partner for the United States in the post-Cold War era.[153]

It should not come as a surprise that the Secretary's observations at the time relied heavily on NATO's Implementation Force (IFOR) and Stabilisation Force (SFOR) experiences in Bosnia. Between 1995 and 1998, the Alliance had experienced grave operational deficiencies in fields such as strategic mobility, effective and secure communication, as well as operational sustainability.[154] Little European experience in timely and swift power projection that could be sustained over time became unacceptable impediments to mission success. As John Lis, Senior Policy Advisor at the House International Relations Committee pointed out, "This was even so when operations took place on Europe's own Continent, just outside their territorial borders".[155] It was acknowledged, both in Washington and in Europe, that future conflicts most likely would place a premium on the ability to deploy troops and equipment to crisis rapidly. This would, more often than not, be outside NATO territory. But more importantly, the operations would also be pursued with little or no pre-existing host nation support.

This lesson was also consistent with the United States' leading intellectual guideline, Joint Vision 2010: "Power projection, enabled by overseas presence, will likely remain the fundamental strategic concept of our future force".[156] The ability to react swiftly on short notice, before the enemy dispersed or reorganised into looser formations that were hard to locate and attack, became paramount to mission success. This acknowledgement was again emphasised when Secretary Cohen hosted more than 60 NATO representatives to a NATO Transformation Conference in Norfolk, Virginia, in November 1998:

> Our experience in Bosnia ... revealed that NATO's transformation from a fixed, positional defense to a flexible, mobile defense is incomplete. Indeed, IFOR and

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[152] Interview with Asmus. See also Ronald D. Asmus (2002): *Opening NATO's Door* (New York: Columbia University Press).
[153] Interview with Asmus. The Partnership for Peace programme (PfP) was founded in 1994. It aimed to promote peace and stability throughout Europe. All member states of the Euro-Atlantic area, which also were members of the OSCE, were invited to participate in a forum for security policy co-operation. The European Security and Defence Initiative (ESDI) was officially implemented at NATO's Washington Summit in April 1999. It aimed to reinforce the European pillar in the Alliance, by responding to European requirements, as a means to ensure a stronger and more balanced transatlantic relationship.
[154] Wesley K. Clark (2001): *Waging Modern War* (New York: Public Affairs).
[155] Interview with Lis.
[156] Joint Chiefs of Staff (2000): "Joint Vision 2020", p. 4.

> SFOR suggest that should we be forced to operate outside Alliance territory in the future, we should expect to do so without pre-existing communication, logistics, headquarters, or other infrastructure.[157]

The US rationale to stimulate a European capability improvement for operations outside NATO territory became even more evident the year after. As NATO's air campaign Operation Allied Force was launched over Kosovo in March 1999, serious deficiencies among the European forces were exposed. The reason, as most Americans saw it, was due to the fact that the operations were launched outside their partner's prearranged theatres.[158] As Michael Ignatieff argues, "All operations using American assets – such as planes with stealth technology or cruise missiles – were managed not through the NATO chain of command but through EUCOM" [European commander].[159] As new challenges emerged, NATO's first war thereby demonstrated the need to improve the European allies' military capabilities, particularly so within intelligence collection and battle damage assessment capabilities.[160] Secretary Cohen and Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs, General Henry H. Shelton, urgently pointed out before the Senate Armed Services Committee the requirement for major capability improvements in Europe:

> Disparities in capabilities will seriously affect our ability to operate as an effective Alliance over the long term. If the Alliance is to meet the future military challenges effectively, it must successfully implement the Defense Capabilities Initiative, which we introduced to our Alliance counterparts.[161]

Assistant Secretary of Defense, Franklin D. Kramer, confirmed the necessity for a European boost of their defence efforts. In his testimony to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Kramer pointed out that "while our Nato partners contributed significantly to the military capabilities employed in Operation ALLIED FORCE, the operation highlighted a number of disparities between US capabilities and those of our Allies".[162] The gaps, particularly in

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[157] United States Department of Defense [DoD] (1998b): "Remarks as prepared for Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen, to the Conference on Transforming NATO's Defense Capabilities, Norfolk, Virginia, November 13", *Speeches Archives*, November 16, accessible at: http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches.
[158] Interview with Bell.
[159] Michael Ignatieff (2001): *Virtual War* (London: Vintage), pp. 102–103.
[160] Clark (2001), *Waging Modern War*, p. 427.
[161] DoD (1999): "Joint Statement on the Kosovo After Action Review", *News Release*, Washington D.C., October 14, accessible at: http://www.defenselink.mil/releases/archive.html.
[162] DoD (2000): "Testimony of the Honorable Franklin D. Kramer, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Subcommittee on European Affairs",

mobility, precision strike, command, control and communications capabilities were real, and they had the effect of "... impeding our ability to operate at optimal effectiveness with our Nato Allies".[163] Moreover, as the Pentagon claimed, a European lack of air mobility severely slowed the build-up of the Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR), which was led by NATO after the air campaign ended.[164]

According to senior advisor at The Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Michele A. Flournoy, getting Europe to acquire the right capabilities would substantiate the United States' strategic vision for a post-Cold War Alliance: To keep NATO as relevant as possible by providing military teeth and strategic punch.[165] This was also echoed from the State Department officials:

> Even though there is some discrepancy between Pentagon and State Department of how Europe should respond to the new threats, we would both appreciate European allies that could deal with the new threats in a more comprehensive manner.[166]

This would again provide the United States with an Alliance willing and able to address the challenges of the 21st Century, in particular the nexus between international terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and rogue states.[167]

The division of labour that the United States experienced in Operation Allied Force may at the time have been militarily necessary, but politically unsustainable in a long-term perspective. Without more European military punch, the Alliance would most likely become a looser security organisation. Two of the central initiators behind the NATO Response Force, Professor Hans Binnendijk and Professor Richard L. Kugler, claimed that "... such a

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Washington D.C., March 9, accessible at: http://www.defenselink.mil/dodgc/olc/testimony_old/106_second.html.

[163] DoD (2000): "Allied Contributions to the Common Defense", a report to the United States Congress by the Secretary of Defense, Washington D.C., March, accessible at: http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/; DoD (1999): "Joint Statement...", pp. 10–11. See also DoD (2000): "Strengthening Transatlantic Security – A U.S. Strategy for the 21st Century", Washington D.C., December, p. 15, accessible at: http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/.

[164] DoD (2000): "Strengthening Transatlantic Security...", pp. 15–16; confirmed in interview with Kramer.

[165] Interview with Michele A. Flournoy, Senior Advisor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington D.C. July 28, 2003.

[166] Interview with Miller.

[167] DoD (2000): "Strengthening Transatlantic Security...", p. 13. See also The White House (2002): "The National Security Strategy of the United States", Washington D.C., September 17, accessible at: http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html; The White House (2002): "President Delivers State of the Union Address", Washington D.C., January 29, accessible at: http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/.

weakened alliance will not interest the United States".[168] As Chairman of the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Richard G. Lugar puts it, "... the legacy of Kosovo has reinforced the concern that NATO is not up to the job of fighting a modern war".[169] This call seems to be a bipartisan issue. Former director on NATO Policy at the OSD in 2000–2002, Leo G. Michel, argued that in the past, the US had been willing to cover Alliance capability shortfalls unilaterally. This could be less true in the future. Eventually, the capabilities gap could call into question the underlying cohesion of the Alliance.[170] Similar sentiments were also expressed by the Senate. Senior policy advisor to senator Joseph R. Biden, Michael Holtzel, claimed that "since we share the same values and wishes, we should also share the burden. If there is no reciprocity, the Alliance will gradually wither".[171] The Pentagon therefore claimed that

> greater European military capabilities will make the Alliance stronger, lift some of the burden the United States now has to carry in every crisis, and make the US-European relationship a more balanced partnership.[172]

We may therefore argue that the lessons learned from Kosovo in 1999 validated the capability improvements sought by the United States from 1998. As the Pentagon pointed out: "The need for effective implementation of the DCI was underscored by NATO's experience in Operation Allied Force, which was underway during the Washington Summit".[173] The difficulties for Europeans to generate and sustain forces on their own continent may as such have provided the United States and Europe with a stronger incentive to take action to improve European capabilities in the five core areas: deployability and mobility;

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[168] Hans Binnendijk and Richard L. Kugler (2002): "Transforming European Forces", **p. 117–132** *Survival*, 44 (2), p. 118. Interview with Hans Binnendijk, Director of the Center for Technology and National Security Policy/National Defense University, Washington D.C., November 18, 2002; interview with Richard L. Kugler, Professor at the Institute for National Strategic Studies/National Defense University, Washington D.C., June 6, 2003.
[169] Richard G. Lugar (2002): " NATO's Role in the War on Terrorism?", address before a US-NATO Mission Conference, Brussels, Belgium, January 18, accessible at: http://www.usembassy.it/file2002_01/alia/a2011814.htm.
[170] Interview with Michel.
[171] Interview with Michael Haltzel, Senior Foreign Policy Advisor to Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr., Hart Senate Office Building, Washington D.C., August 5, 2003.
[172] DoD (2000): "Strengthening Transatlantic Security...", p. 20.
[173] Ibid, p. 15.

sustainability and logistics; command, control and communication (C3); effective engagement; and survivability of forces and infrastructure.[174]

To what extent was this rationale for transformation shared across the Atlantic? As Asmus argued, the will to transform European forces should not be exaggerated: "Every time we went to Europe to talk about new missions for NATO, in particular out-of-area, you were always in the cautious corner – probably out of fear that Article 5 would be less valued".[175] This was particularly so for the smaller members, and those on the Southern and Northern flank. Well into the 1990s, they were still chilled by the fact that collective security commitments, as enshrined in Article 5 of the Washington Treaty, would be impaired, and that US focus would turn elsewhere.[176] In other words, force requirements for out-of-area operations were assessed through the prisms of the different nations.

To convince pro-Atlantic members in Europe, a "Small Country Strategy" towards Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands was therefore launched from the State Department.[177] The aim was to convince them that Article 5 would be sustained, even though NATO took on a bigger role outside their traditional area of responsibility.[178] Europe's larger states, in particular France and Germany were harder to persuade, "by size and culture, they were too sovereign, and tended to act more independently in the transformation process towards Article 4 operations".[179]

In the end, the DCI became a programmatic expression of NATO's new strategic concept – a compromise between the United States and her sceptical allies in Europe. Force projection could take place, but not too far out; only in and around Europe.[180] In the US State Department, the slogan "let's do Kosovo again, but better next time" finally convinced many Europeans, among them Norway, that force transformation for operations on the European continent was the right way to go.

What was so fundamentally wrong with the European force structure? According to Kugler, the European capabilities were primarily designed for border defence. In total, the European NATO members held more ground divisions and strike aircraft than possessed by

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[174] Ibid, pp. 14–15; FD (2000): "NATO initiativ for forbedret forsvarsevne – Defence Capabilities Initiative", *FD Aktuelt*, no. 1.
[175] Interview with Asmus.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Ibid.
[178] For a thorough analysis on the Norwegian reaction to the US proposal to go out-of-area, see Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring*..., pp. 165–236.
[179] Interview with Asmus.
[180] Ibid.

the United States.[181] However, they only possessed ten per cent of the US capacity to swiftly project military power to long distances for strike operations.[182] This was also confirmed within NATO's military headquarters at Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE); Europe had only 11 pieces of strategic aircraft while the US had 240.[183] Also, the retention of large conscript armies made the European armed forces unable to deploy rapidly in highly specialised operations that the US utilised in her modern warfare concepts.[184] The notorious decline in most European defence budgets made these challenges more precarious.

Senior US officials in the last Clinton administration also confirm this, recognising the strained transatlantic processes after Kosovo. As Kramer claimed, both US and European defence officials recognised that one of the lessons of Kosovo was that NATO's European pillar needed to do a better job in acquiring and maintaining the type of capabilities Operation Allied Force required.[185] If NATO was to continue as a prosperous organisation in the 21st century, the European force structure had to get "up and go".[186] One of the key elements in the last Clinton Administration's defence strategy therefore became "... to prepare now for an uncertain future through focused modernization efforts".[187]

This imperative became more conspicuous with the inauguration of the Bush administration, and with the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. As The National Security Strategy of the United States of September 2002 vigorously points out,

> The attacks of September 11 were also an attack on NATO ... NATO must build a capability to field at short notice, highly mobile, specially trained forces whenever they are needed to respond to a threat against any member of the alliance.[188]

As such, NATO's response, by invoking Article 5, opened up a "Pandora's box".[189] Most European allies came to support in principle the US led transformation and the new

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[181] Interview with Kugler.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Oral brief by Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Bilski on "Allied Command Operations" before the Norwegian Atlantic Committee, at SHAPE, Mons, October 16, 2003.
[184] Interview with Bennendijk.
[185] Interview with Kramer.
[186] Ibid.
[187] DoD (2000): "Strengthening Transatlantic Security...", p. 9.
[188] The White House (2002): "The National Security Strategy...", p. 25.
[189] Interview with Dr Jeffrey Simon, Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for National Strategic Studies/National Defense University, Washington D.C., July 29, 2003. See also Jeffrey Simon (2003): "Can We Mediate the Transatlantic Relationship or Are We Headed for Divorce?" in Sabina A.-M. Auger (ed.): *The Transatlantic Relationship: Problems and Prospects* (Washington D.C.: The Woodrow Wilson Center).

conceptual requirements. To Europe, this implied a renewed US emphasis on NATO's ability to adapt towards international terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, and their proliferators and harbours.[190]

How Should Europe Proceed?

In 1999, the European allies possessed over 1.4 million troops, but were hard pressed to maintain about 50,000 of them in the Balkans.[191] As defence officials at SHAPE put it, only 250,000 of the 1.4 million European troops were deployable.[192] According to the American Assistant Secretary General for Defence Investments in NATO, Robert G. Bell, this would imply less interoperability across the Atlantic.[193] This would again provide Europe with less leverage on decisions and decision-making processes (i.e. targeting procedures), and ultimately make it easier for the US to take on a more unilateral approach.[194] The key towards modernisation was to spend scarce resources in a more focused way. This was particularly emphasised by force planners in the Pentagon. According to former US defence officials, a disappointingly small number of Force Goals had been implemented.[195] As Clinton's last administration pointed out, many allies were heading in the wrong direction, "... either seriously considering or carrying out real reductions in defence spending. This trend will have to be reversed".[196]

The US disappointment with the European armed forces seems to have been bipartisan, regardless of the administration's political flavour. As the republican Bush Administration entered office in 2001, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld argued that, "unless European countries augment their own defense budgets we're going to find it very, very difficult to continue to work with some of these countries".[197] Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, Douglas J. Feith, added the imperative of increased economic efficiency:

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[190] Ibid.
[191] NATO (2002): "Speech by NATO Secretary General, Lord Robertson, at the First Magazine Dinner – Claridge's Hotel, London", *NATO Speeches*, January 24, accessible at: http://www.nato.int/docu/speech.htm.
[192] Oral brief by Bilski.
[193] Interview with Bell.
[194] Interviews with Robert Simmons, Senior Advisor for NATO Bureau for European Affairs in the US State Department, Washington D.C., July 1, 2003.
[195] Interview with Bell. Force Goals are part of NATO's longstanding defence planning process. They represent an agreement by the member states to provide forces and capabilities requested by NATO's Strategic Commands.
[196] DoD (2000): "Strengthening Transatlantic Security...", p. 17.
[197] Brian Knowlton (2002): "U.S. Advises Europeans to Spend More on Militaries", *International Herald Tribune*, February 6, p. 1.

> We heard encouraging rhetoric at the 1999 Washington Summit, but by-and-large have seen meagre results. ... As we encourage allies to spend more on defense, it is even more important that we get them to "spend smarter".[198]

Similar sentiments were also echoed from the Congress. All of the political bodies emphasised the European unwillingness to spend their resources more generously, and more efficiently.[199]

As the United States did not turn to NATO when Operation Enduring Freedom was launched in October 2001, Chairman of the United States Senate Foreign Relation Committee, Senator Richard G. Lugar, explained:

> Some Americans have lost confidence in the Alliance. Years of cuts in defense spending and failure to meet pledge after pledge to improve European military capabilities has left some Americans with doubt as to what our allies could realistically contribute. ... The US *did* have confidence in a selected group of individual allies. But it did not have confidence in the institution that is NATO.[200]

Similar sentiments were also expressed by NATO's Secretary General: "For all the political energy expended in NATO to implement the Defence Capabilities Initiative, ... the truth is that mighty Europe remains a military pygmy".[201] As we have already noted, this was evident during NATO's Operation Allied Force in Kosovo in 1999.[202] Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan in October 2001 may have been the culminating point. From a Congress perspective, this was the first time since the end of the Cold War that US forces conducted a major military operation that directly affected Europe's safety, without NATO or any European country playing a major role.[203] As Hans Binnendijk pointed out, the United States declined help from NATO because Europe was unable to contribute to the kind of hi-tech, intelligence-based war that was ultimately fought.[204] This is also confirmed among staffers in

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[198] Douglas J. Feith (2002): "Nato Transformation: Securing Freedom for Future Generations", *U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda*, 7 (1), p. 14, accessible at: http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/journala.htm.
[199] Interview with Paul Gallis, Section Head for Europe/Eurasia in the Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division at the Congressional Research Service, Madison Building, Washington D.C., August 5, 2003.
[200] Lugar (2002): " NATO's Role in the War on Terrorism?".
[201] NATO (2002): "Speech by NATO Secretary General...", January 24.
[202] See DoD (2002): "Allied Contributions to the Common Defense", a report to the United States Congress from the Secretary of Defense, Washington D.C., January, accessible at: http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/.
[203] Interviews with Lis and Gallis.
[204] Interview with Bennendijk.

the Congress: "Our European NATO allies offered no option to fight in Afghanistan – they could not help US forces on the ground".[205]

We may add that many Europeans may fall further behind as the United States added another 48 billion US dollars to her defence budget in 2003, with more to follow. This amount alone constitutes 150 % of the total defence spending of the United Kingdom or France, the largest NATO member states' defence budgets after the United States. However, as Senior Research Fellow at the National Defense University (NDU), Jeffrey Simon claimed, that may nonetheless increase the pressure on Europe to re-examine their defence resources and what they are spent on.[206] In that context, Robertson has urgently pointed out that

> American critics of non-American military incapability are right. If Europe is to play its proper part in NATO, ... all European countries must show a new willingness to develop effective crisis management capabilities.[207]

How then, should Europe live up to the standard of the United States in terms of efficient spending? Following Kramer's testimony to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a successful transformation in Europe relied upon both a provision of sufficient resources, and more effective spending:

> Allies need to show leadership in making the necessary investments to field a 21st century force. Defense budgets will always be a function of national priorities, but they must also be a function of both international challenges and the capabilities needed to address those challenges as an Alliance. ... While Allies acknowledge their capability shortfalls, few have made concrete efforts towards their amelioration by increasing their defense budgets and relocating funds. In fact, defense spending has been cut by several key Allies.[208]

Acknowledging the fact that several allies were less willing to increase their defence budgets, aspects of affordability became a primary incentive to convince hesitant Europeans. For instance, resources for out-of-area operations could be found through restructuring and making reductions in military personnel, in particular among those states that still maintained

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[205] Interview with Lis; see also Franklin D. Kramer (2002): "The NATO Challenge – Defense alliance needs agile expeditionary force", *The Washington Times*, March 14.
[206] Interview with Simon.
[207] NATO (2002): "Speech by NATO Secretary General...", January 24.
[208] DoD (2000): "Testimony of the Honorable Franklin D. Kramer...", p. 6.

a large conscript system. Capabilities related to logistics and mobility could be met by commercially available assets and off-the-shelf technology, "... for example, by harnessing commercial transport assets in an emergency for military airlift or sealift support".[209] As Kugler argued, "doing more with less was the main criterion in the DCI process to get Europe moving".[210] In that way, the European NATO members could use the DCI as a means to configure and transform a portion of their forces. By following the American advice, Europe could be guided towards new concepts, including swift power projection and hi-tech strike operations together with US forces. Making the procurement of defence equipment faster, cheaper and better, a closer integration across national borders is required. Wise investments could thereby take advantage of NATO's multinational structures to produce and field equipment that is genuinely interoperable.

The prescription of "doing more with less" as a way to transform static European forces may thus have been a vital issue for NATO's Secretary General. In his first public remark to the Parliamentary Assembly in Amsterdam, Robertson stated that

> ... the European members of NATO spend almost two-thirds of the United States' defence budget – but Kosovo made it clear that they have nothing like two-thirds of the real capability of the US. In other words, it is not simply a question of spending more though some of us will have to – it is about spending more wisely.[211]

It may therefore be claimed that the idea of spending resources more wisely is consistent with leading Pentagon officials, both at the political and at the official working level. Everyone endorsed an even closer specialisation and differentiation among the European allies. As the Principal Director at the Pentagon pointed out, too many European governments wasted what they spent on capabilities that contribute nothing to their own security, the security of Europe or wider collective interests.[212] If the imbalance between the United States and Europe should be rectified, the burden of dealing with European security crises should therefore, from a US viewpoint, not fall disproportionately on the shoulders of the US.

From a US perspective therefore, it may be argued that through increased emphasis on a coordinated acquisition effort in new capabilities, a more balanced Alliance with a stronger

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[209] DoD (2000): "Strengthening Transatlantic Security...", p. 17.
[210] Interview with Kugler.
[211] NATO (1999): "Speech by the Secretary General at the Annual Session of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, Amsterdam", *NATO Speeches*, November 15, accessible at: http://www.nato.int/docu/speech.htm.

European contribution could be facilitated. Following Kramer's testimony to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

> Nations need not respond to the lessons of the Balkans in the same way – there is no "one size fits for all" solution to increasing national and Alliance capabilities. While not all Allies must develop equal capabilities, the collective goal should be compatible capabilities.[213]

A European refocusing of defence efforts would therefore only provide substance if the allies tuned down the territorial imperative in their defence planning. According to Robertson, "... in today's world, we need fewer unusable conscripts. Smaller heavy metal armies. Fewer static bases. And fewer static headquarters".[214] Instead, more focus should be on multinational, joint and common funding of key capabilities. A European pooling of resources, by establishing a number of multinational consortiums aimed at acquiring key capabilities, would allow NATO to operate more quickly and flexibly wherever needed. In particular, strategic sea and airlift, air-to-air refuelling, precision guided munitions, and advanced communications would be of critical importance if Europe should be "up and go" according to US standards. As the Pentagon pointed out, "... joint procurement of certain defence equipment and technology by a group of Allies is [a] promising approach, which the United States will continue to support".[215]

These requirements, it could be claimed, would again stimulate the European NATO allies' demand for a more focused, efficient and coordinated use of increasingly scarce resources. These sentiments were also echoed in the Senate. As Senior Foreign Policy Advisor, Michael Haltzel claimed, "the states in Eastern Europe are smart; they're trying to specialise in what others don't have. Lithuania has state-of-the-art in underwater demolition – we need that!" [216] In particular, Kugler explicitly formulated the argument that Europe did not have the right focus, and was too deeply stuck into national priorities:

> Today's European militaries are larger and stronger than is commonly realised, with 1.4 million active-duty troops and 160 billion dollars in defence spending.

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[212] Interview with Towsend.
[213] Kramer (2002): "The NATO Challenge...", p. 7.
[214] NATO (2002): "Speech by NATO Secretary General...", January 24.
[215] DoD (2000): "Strengthening Transatlantic Security...", p. 17.
[216] Interview with Haltzel.

> But because they still focus on defending their borders, they lack the capacity to project power to long distances, where the new threats reside.[217]

In trying to influence Europeans to spend money on new capabilities that are consistent with US preferences, NATO stands forth as the primary US instrument. As Bowman Miller, the Head of the European Section of Intelligence in State Department put it, "the United States will lead the response in the security arena, but it cannot carry the weight alone. A more efficient and rational use of European defence resources through NATO is thus required".[218] From such a perspective, European Armed Forces need to concentrate on a few capabilities such as sensors, secure data links, all-weather precision strikes and improved logistics. However, this task requires a concerted effort of the sort not yet launched.[219]

Pentagon officials, both in the last Clinton administration and in the first Bush administration, agreed to these statements, noting that "the problem is not how much is spent, but what it is spent on".[220] According to Kramer, complaints from Europe that the DCI was far too costly were therefore dismissed. After all, it was only a matter of reorganising existing resources. However, this required political will, dedication and leadership: "We never expected Norway to have a full spectrum capacity – only a few".[221] This view was also echoed in the Pentagon:

> Our goal is not to develop similar capabilities for every NATO member, since not every member needs or can afford the newest or the best fighter aircraft, long-range tanker or surveillance systems. Rather, our goal is to provide NATO forces with compatible and complementary capabilities that meet our collective requirements.[222]

As not every member had to possess or buy the newest or best equipment of all types, a US argument would be that Europe should instead look into radically restructuring existing forces. We could also add that emphasis should be put on those segments within the Armed Forces where any substantial contribution to the Alliance could be made, as NATO gradually

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[217] Richard L. Kugler (2002): "Preparing NATO to Meet New Threats: Challenge and Opportunity", *US Foreign Policy Agenda*, 7 (1); an electronic journal of the U.S. Department of State, accessible at: http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/journala.htm.
[218] Interview with Miller.
[219] Ibid.
[220] Interview with Towsend.
[221] Interview with Kramer.
[222] DoD (2000): "Strengthening Transatlantic Security…", p. 16.

moved beyond its own territory. As Bennendijk pointed out, European militaries need to concentrate on a few key capabilities such as sensors, PGM and improved logistics.[223] In that respect, it has been argued that it is not only imperative that nations maintain sufficient defence spending, but also that they realise the full potential of the resources they already spend. Following Kramer, "any different approach would mean an unnecessary duplication, if not competition, and would be wasteful at best and divisive at worst".[224] As Senior Advisor to US Congressman Jerry Lewis, Carl M. Kime put it, "[the Europeans] have a choice to spend more effectively – in the end, and it boils down to the political will of maintaining their own security".[225]

What are the US Expectations?

Having used the Balkan and the Afghanistan experience as a contextual background, what are the United States' expectations for a militarily more potent Europe? How can a gap in military capabilities be bridged if a transatlantic political division is to be avoided? In other words, what military concept does the United States envisage for her European allies, as threats arise less from conquering states than from failing ones, often far off "the Old Continent"?

The US military performance in Kosovo and Afghanistan, and the subsequent disappointment over Europe, gave new impetus to US policymakers:
To forge a European expeditionary force structure sooner than later.[226] Even though the notion "expeditionary" for years had made many Europeans wary, in particular among those without a colonial past, the two conflicts accelerated and matured the expeditionary force concept in Europe, thus making the US arguments more valid. In particular, we may claim that President George W. Bush's September 2001 call to arms against terrorism, and NATO's unprecedented Article 5 declaration, made the US expectations more explicit: Europe had to field expeditionary units that could respond effectively together with the US in austere areas

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[223] Interview with Bennendijk.
[224] DoD (2000): "Testimony of the Honorable Franklin D. Kramer…", p. 9; confirmed in interview with Michel.
[225] Interview with Carl M. Kime, Appropriations Associate for Defense, Rayborne House, Washington D.C., July 10, 2003.
[226] Confirmed through interviews with Kramer, Simmons and Towsend. In this thesis, "an expeditionary force structure" is defined as a military force designed to operate abroad; that is outside a prearranged theatre where existing infrastructure enables you to enjoy strategic, operational and tactical advantages.

far beyond NATO territory.[227] This was again reiterated as the president visited the German Bundestag in May 2002:

> Dangers originating far from Europe can now strike at Europe's heart -- so NATO must be able and willing to act whenever threats emerge. This will require all the assets of modern defense -- mobile and deployable forces, sophisticated special operations, the ability to fight under the threat of chemical and biological weapons.[228]

Pressure towards a more global role for European countries was also evident in The National Security Strategy of the United States, which was released one year after the terrorist attacks: "The alliance must be able to act wherever our interests are threatened".[229] As Captain Sam J. Tangredi at the NDU described it, after 9/11, the European allies suddenly found themselves in a "come-as-you-are" war, in which only the most capable, interoperable forces – a few units from the United Kingdom – were able to contribute.[230] These tendencies were also evident in Kosovo in 1999, but accelerated dramatically after the spectacular terrorist attacks on the United States. Subsequently, NATO defence ministers issued three communiqués in June 2002, calling for improved military capabilities for new missions, including exacting operations outside Europe.[231] In the United States, however, many Americans still complained that the Europeans were perpetual free riders; if NATO were to prosper in the 21st century, US requirements would have to be met. What would the US expect from Europe?

Two of the architects behind the DCI, Binnendijk and Kugler, claimed that the European allies needed a real power projection capability to get off the Continent. This should primarily be designed for globally "forced entry missions" – that is the higher end of the conflict spectrum. The EU would anyway emphasise the lower end, the so-called Petersberg tasks.[232] An expeditionary force concept would, according to the two, also provide Europe with what

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[227] Interviews with Bennendijk and Kugler. See also The White House (2002): "The National Security Strategy…", p. 25.
[228] The White House (2002): "President Bush Thanks Germany for Support Against Terror", *News Archive*, May 23, 2002, accessible at: http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/05/.
[229] The White House (2002): "The National Security Strategy…", p. 25.
[230] Interview with Tangredi.
[231] NATO (2002): "Ministerial Meeting of the Defence Planning Committee and the Nuclear Planning Group held in Brussels on 6 June 2002", *NATO Press Release,* no. 71; NATO (2002): "Final Communiqué Meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Defence Ministers Session held in Brussels on 6 June 2002", *NATO Press Release,* no. 72. NATO (2002): "Statement on Capabilities", *NATO Press Release,* no. 74. The documents are accessed at: http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/.
[232] The so-called Petersberg tasks include humanitarian and rescue tasks, peacekeeping tasks and tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peacemaking.

they most needed: A US leadership role for a more focused transformation towards out-of-area operations.[233] Since the end of the Cold War, the United States and her NATO allies had pursued divergent attitudes towards purchasing key capabilities. This was particularly so in the application of innovative information technology, a development that in the United States was seen as a major part of a Revolution in Military Affairs.[234]

Most allies were unable to contribute with sophisticated capabilities outside their national borders. As Professor Roy W. Stafford at the National War College pointed out, the Europeans had chosen to forego investment in modern technologies and systems in favour of reduced spending and continued reliance on aging border-defence systems.[235] Therefore, from a US viewpoint, the United States had to play a more active role if European conceptual thinking should pay due regard to more mobile and deployable forces. According to Binnendijk, "if the US stood back and waited for Europe to make it themselves, the results would not have met US requirements".[236] If not, the European allies would continue to hook up untrained multinational forces rather than draw upon an integrated and flexible force that already existed.[237]

To address the new security environment adequately, future operations would be joint, dispersed, simultaneous, high tempo and deep-striking, employing modern platforms and smart munitions. From a US perspective, European forces should therefore be expected to field a standing expeditionary hi-tech force consisting of the following DCI-related components:

- Ground forces: A reinforced brigade-sized task force; a special operation group of about 200 personnel; attack helicopter task forces; reconnaissance, surveillance and target acquisition company; engineer company; chemical detachment; logistics; military police company; communication unit; medical company.
- Air forces: A reinforced composite tactical fighter wing, including tankers; suppression of enemy air defence; air ground surveillance; AWACS and unmanned aerial vehicles for reconnaissance, surveillance and targeting acquisition.

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[233] Interviews with Bennendijk and Kugler.
[234] Vally Koubi (1999): "Military Technology Races", *International Organization*, 53 (3), p. 537.
[235] Interview with Professor Roy Stafford, The National War College/National Defense University, Washington D. C., August 11, 2003. This statement is also confirmed in interviews with staffers in Senate and Congress (interviews with Lis and Haltzel).
[236] Interview with Bennendijk.
[237] Ibid.

- Naval forces: A flotilla of six to eight combat ships with precision cruise missiles firing submarines; one underway replenishment group; mine countermeasure capability (approximately three ships).[238]

In this context, the European NATO members would have to reallocate about 2 per cent of their total defence spending, or increase spending by 2 per cent, in order to develop and maintain a deployable force.[239] We may argue that US expectations were high on behalf of her European allies, mostly because the conceptual expectation was affordable. As Binnendijk and Kugler pointed out, the Europeans do not need large forces, as most conflicts would require only "... small-to-medium sized strike packages. The Europeans need only enough new-era forces to provide credible participation in crisis".[240] Professor Stuart E. Johnson at the NDU also reiterated these rather moderate ambitions: If Europe is to field new-era forces into an expeditionary force structure, it has to be made at an affordable cost.[241] The forces should be assembled primarily from national units in NATO High Readiness Force.

In that respect, a number of NATO countries already possess key platforms in their inventory, or in their procurement programs. According to Binnendijk, these would be more than adequate for America's renewed expectations.[242] What the United States therefore expects is a more focused investment on crucial enablers and force multipliers, primarily through a reconciled force planning on expeditionary capabilities like those in the DCI.

It may clearly be argued that Operation Enduring Freedom energized US expectations. As pointed out by several US sources, the United States went to war in Afghanistan and left NATO behind because the European allies were unable to provide relevant forces at short notice to distant theatres.[243] A DCI-related programme that forged a realistic first step towards a small European expeditionary force structure should therefore be initiated. Too large a force could dilute the focus of the expectations and thus fail. Following Johnson, "our expeditionary initiative should be closely affiliated to existing US concepts. It will have to include some US participation because it cannot be seen as a de-Americanisation of NATO".[244] At the same time, however, most of the capability commitments would have to be

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[238] Ibid; interview with Kugler.
[239] Interview with Professor Stuart E. Johnson, Center for Technology and National Security Policy/National Defense University, Washington D.C., June 6, 2003.
[240] Binnendijk and Kugler (2002): "Transforming European Forces", p. 125.
[241] Interview with Johnson.
[242] Interview with Bennendijk.
[243] Interviews with Michel, Kugler, Binnendijk, Asmus and Flournoy.
[244] Interview with Johnson.

assigned by a European "lead nation" – a dedicated member responsible for keeping momentum and focus on the specific project. This could be strategic sea-lift, air refuelling or secure communication.

What would the United States expect in terms of national versus multinational funding? According to Johnson, some enabling equipment would best be provided by multinational consortia of NATO nations, or by common NATO funding. This could be Airborne Warning And Control Systems, Allied Ground Surveillance Systems, strategic air transport or different configurations within communication and information systems.[245] More importantly however, some key capabilities would depend on a transfer of US technology, particularly within airborne ground surveillance, precision munitions and secure information sharing. This would have to be dealt with in the current National Security Council technology transfer policy review.[246]

The US initiative was finally called the NATO Response Force. Based upon recommendations from the NDU, it was first presented by the Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld at the September 2002 meeting of defence ministers in Warsaw.[247] The Pentagon officially presented the NATO Response Force to her European counterparts at the NATO Summit in Prague in November 2002. As US Ambassador Nicholas Burns argued, the concept was expeditionary in character and design, and would be able to "... deploy quickly wherever required to participate in the full spectrum of NATO missions".[248] According to General James L. Jones, SACEUR, it was one of the most significant events in NATO since coming into existence in 1949; the NATO Response Force would be "... the vehicle that will drive the full transformation of the Alliance from an organization designed for territorial defense to one that can confront today's multiple threats".[249] The expeditionary force concept would build upon a more focused DCI called the PCC. The PCC, which was regarded as "son

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[245] Ibid.
[246] Ibid.
[247] NATO (2003): *The Prague Summit and NATO's Transformation – A Readers Guide* (Brussels: NATO Public Diplomacy Division), p. 28.
[248] Nicholas Burns (2003): "Statement", Brunssum, the Netherlands, 15 October, 2003, accessible at: http://nato.usmission.gov/ambassador/Ambassador_Speeches.htm. See also U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations (2003): "Testimony by Ambassador R. Nicholas Burns, United States Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization: On the Future of NATO", Committee Hearings 108th Congress, First Session – 2003, Washington D.C., April 1, accessible at: http://foreign.senate.gov/hearing2003.html.
[249] SHAPE (2003): "NATO Launches Response Force", *SHAPE News*, October 15, accessible at: http://www.nato.int/shape/news/2003/10/index.htm.

of DCI", would concentrate on fewer military segments than the DCI, and emphasise performance outputs through integrating various capabilities into a standing force structure.[250]

This would not only play a role in bridging the transatlantic capability gap. The capability commitments could also, according to the Assistant Secretary General in NATO, contribute to a stronger European voice in alliance deliberations.[251] By integrating European capabilities to form a cohesive expeditionary team, European leverage would be more prominent, instead of contributing with small, fragmented capabilities to US-led operations.[252] Hence, creating a small but potent pool of forces that could perform new missions outside the continent would require substantial European force integration: "Europe [could] not show up on the day of a conflict and expect to plug into US battlefield operations".[253] On the contrary, the NATO Response Force would have to consist of a fully operational command structure with fully manned units that possessed necessary cohesiveness. From a US perspective, only that way would NATO maintain its relevance in a new transatlantic partnership.

Conclusion

Which conclusions may be drawn regarding the United States' vision for a militarily more efficient Europe? Our first conclusion is that the DCI, like other US initiatives such as the PCC, the European Security and Defence Initiative (ESDI) and the Partnership for Peace (PfP), was aimed at controlling the scope and direction of the political and military development in Europe. More specifically, it can be claimed that through NATO, the United States affects Europe in a collective and legitimate way. While Europe bound her patron into a multilateral and institutional framework, the United States presented initiatives that by and large received accommodation and sympathy. In sum, the US transformation proposals affected the direction, tempo and outcome of Europe's military transformation. Asked if the DCI and the PCC could be seen as a US instrument to promote national interests, Kugler replied, "of course, that is the underlying intent with the DCI – and by the way, it is also our duty!"[254]

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[250] Oral brief by Vice-Admiral Eivind Hauger-Johannessen, leader of the Norwegian Military Mission to Brussels (MMB), on "Military-Political Trends in NATO", before the Norwegian Atlantic Committee at SHAPE, Mons, Belgium, October 15, 2003.
[251] Interview with Bell.
[252] Interview with Kugler.
[253] Hans Binnendijk (2002): "A European Spearhead Force Would Bridge the Gap", *International Herald Tribune*, February 16–17.
[254] Interview with Kugler.

Claiming that the DCI, despite its imperfectness, aimed to promote the US interest of a militarily strong and relevant Europe, former Assistant Secretary of Defense, Franklin D. Kramer, confirmed Kugler's remark. Only that way could the United States, by means of NATO, prevent a re-nationalisation of Europe's Armed Forces.[255] The validity of this conclusion is also enhanced by the overall assessment presented in the Pentagon's strategy Strengthening Transatlantic Security: "The United States has a permanent and vital national interest in preserving the security of our European and Canadian Allies".[256] By codifying an extensive list of capability criteria set forth in the DCI and agreed upon by the Heads of State at the NATO Summit in 1999, the United States defined decisive premises for Europe's transformation of Armed Forces.

However, is it enough to suggest that US initiatives on transformation, such as the DCI and the PCC, are a mere instrument for pursuing myopic self-interest? May the US proposals towards her partners in NATO also be regarded as friendly gestures, to help Europe?

According to Senator Joseph R. Bidens' (D) Senior Foreign Policy Advisor, Michael Holtzel, US initiatives on military transformation, such as the DCI and the PCC, should definitively be regarded in that way – as a friendly means to provide Europe with obstetric aid.[257] After all, the United States' European allies struggled with a territorial-bound legacy that was quite different from the United States'. Apart from the terror attacks in 2001, the United States had not been at war on her own Continent since 1824 when the Royal Navy shelled Washington D.C. Hence, a Senior Policy Advisor for the House International Committee claimed, by "helping Europe to help her selves", the United States would have a more confident partner, but also substantial influence on that partner's armed forces.[258] Professor Geir Lundestad at the Norwegian Nobel Institute may best describe this dualism: "Somehow Europe was to be both independent of and dependent on the United States at the same time".[259]

Furthermore, even though the ability to affect the European transformation through the DCI gradually lost momentum, we may nevertheless conclude that a new spirit of influence arose as the dust from the terrorist attacks in September 2001 subsided. The fact that fighting international terrorism was perceived as a state of perpetual war may have validated US

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[255] Interview with Kramer.
[256] DoD (2000): "Strengthening Transatlantic Security…", p. 15.
[256] Ibid, p. 1.
[257] Interview with Haltzel.
[258] Interview with Lis.
[259] Geir Lundestad (1998): *"Empire" by Integration* (New York: Oxford University Press), p. 18.

capability efforts. In that context, US leverage may have accelerated more comprehensively after 9/11, despite the gradual insignificance of the DCI. This assumption is also validated by remarks made by the majority in the Norwegian Defence Committee: September 11 has demonstrated that the DCI injunctions from 1999 were right.[260] Hence, in the context of a clarified threat perception from terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) proliferators, influence from the DCI was refined into a more dedicated and specific US initiative, the PCC.

Our second conclusion may substantiate the first one, claiming that US leverage on European transformation is based upon the exportation of experiences and processes at home. As Tangredi pointed out, the DCI is a blueprint of the United States' leading intellectual manual for military transformation, the Joint Vision 2010 and Joint Vision 2020.[261] As both documents clarify the importance of dominant manoeuvre, precision engagement, focused logistics, and full dimensional protection,[262] NATO's Heads of States concluded that similar principles should guide the Alliance as a means to strengthen European defence capabilities.[263] This should, according to the Summit Communiqué, be accomplished by emphasising the same characteristics as in Joint Vision 2010 and Joint Vision 2020 – although in a less militaristic expression, more in accordance with European preferences: Improved deployability and mobility, better logistics, more effective engagement, and increased survivability among Allied forces.[264] The similarity between Joint Vision 2010 and Joint Vision 2020 and the DCI thereby leads us to conclude that US leverage is achieved by affecting NATO members to adopt equivalent processes of military transformation. This is what Lundestad has labelled "'*Empire" by Integration*': Europe should become more efficient, which again could reduce the American burden in Europe.[265]

The impression that US processes at home are projected to Europe through NATO may be even more validated as we move into the period after the 9/11. The US push towards a more

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[260] Innst. S. nr. 232 (2001–2002): *Innstilling fra forsvarskomiteen om Gjennomføringsproposisjonen – utfyllende rammer for omleggingen av Forsvaret i perioden 2002–2005* [*The Report of the Standing Committee on Defence on The Implementation Bill – Supplementary Guidelines for the Restructuring of the Norwegian Armed Forces in the Period 2001–2002*] (cf. St.prp. nr. 55 (2001–2002): *Gjennomføringsproposisjonen – utfyllende rammer for omleggingen av Forsvaret i perioden 2002–2005* [*The Implementation Bill – Supplementary Guidelines for the Restructuring of the Norwegian Armed Forces in the Period 2002–2005*], Oslo, June 13, p. 7, accessible at: http://www.stortinget.no/inns/2001/index.shtml.

[261] Interview with Tangredi.

[262] Joint Chiefs of Staff (1996): "Joint Vision 2010), p. 1; Joint Chiefs of Staff (2000): "Joint Vision 2020", p. 2.

[263] NATO (1999): "The Washington Declaration…", *NATO Press Release*, no. 63.

[264] NATO (1999): "Washington Summit Communiqué Issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Washington, D.C. on 24th April 1999", *NATO Press Release*, no. 64, accessible at: http://www.nato.int/docu/press/htm.

[265] Lundestad (1998): "*Empire" by Integration*, p. 13.

deployable and expeditionary force structure has strong resemblances with the defence strategy, as laid out in the Quadrennial Defense Report (QDR) from the Pentagon in September 2001. Capabilities aimed to fight international terrorism and WMD proliferators needed to be more flexible and responsive to the new global challenges. As a consequence, the QDR 2001 shifted emphasis from waging two regional wars in the Persian Gulf and on the Korean Peninsula respectively, towards a flexible force that may be deployed anywhere at any time. This was deemed an operational necessity if action in the post-9/11 environment should be successfully implemented.[266] We may argue that these sentiments have clear resonance to the NATO Response Force, which aimed to meet the new threats from global terrorism.

Our finding is neither controversial nor exceptional. Historically, the United States has always enjoyed great influence on how Europe should design her Armed Forces. NATO's strategy of *Massive Retaliation* back in the 1950s was first formulated in Washington, in the National Security Council document number 162/2 in October 1953. Thereafter, the concept became evident in NATO's Military Committee document number 48 from December 1954.[267] As the Soviet Union gradually appeared as a credible nuclear power in the late 1950s, the Americans pushed Europe to change towards *Flexible Response*, which finally was adopted by the North Atlantic Council in 1967 by MC 14/3.[268] The present military transformation in Europe is as such a piece of continuity; the United States sets the agenda, Europe follows on.

On the basis of the previous two chapters, how may this be conceptualised into a more general knowledge? To what extent may our contextual interpretation be substantiated by theoretical propositions? The next chapter aims to complete our conceptual framework. By invoking a theoretical underpinning, we may more easily identify which mechanisms a small state activates, and how this may explain American leverage.

Chapter 3. Explaining Influence

This chapter is about states and how they influence on each other. The Norwegian dependency, politically and militarily, is as such a central dimension. The chapter deals with allied partners of uneven size and resources, and how their quest for security affects each other's behaviour. The purpose is twofold. First, the chapter aims to identify various

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[266] DoD (2001): "Quadrennial Defense Report 2001", Washington D.C., September 30, accessible at: http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/archive.html.
[267] Skogrand and Tamnes (2001): *Fryktens likevekt...*, pp. 17–68.

mechanisms that can be used to explain US influence on Norwegian security and defence policy through the notion of dependency. Second, the chapter aims to present a model of explanation that can organise and interpret the collected data in an orderly and consistent manner. In sum, this may provide the thesis with a conceptual framework from where ideas and knowledge about US influence and Norwegian adaptation can be comprehended.

Clearly, the ability to affect the outcome you want, and if necessary, to change the behaviour of others to make this happen, may stem from a bundle of sources. Which should be most relevant to us? As our two objects of analysis are closely integrated into global and Western co-operation structures, it may well be argued that the US and Norwegian security environment is shrinking. Different relationships of mutual dependency make intersection deeper along a broader array of issues. The effects of events in one geographical and functional area may have profound effect in other areas.[269] As a consequence, small events in one place, or on one issue, may have disproportionately large effects elsewhere, or on other issues. Yet, some features in international politics have remained the same. There is still a certain logic of embedded uncertainty and scepticism between states regarding potential adversaries that might want to harm you. In other words, there are still conflicts today that have the same characteristics as those of the pre-modern age.

Conceptually, the character of state interaction may still be explored within the context of change and continuity. According to Joseph S. Nye, Jr., realists stress continuity while liberals emphasise change.[270] Realists stress 'structure' to explain state interaction while institutionalists emphasise 'processes' between states. A model of explanation that applies to our case may therefore contain mechanisms of influence that are both new and old, that contain 'structure' as well as 'process'. As Nye puts it, "the world at the beginning of the twenty-first century is a strange cocktail of continuity and change. Some aspects of international politics have not changed since Thucydides".[271] Others have, most notably the intense processes of institutionalisation in the Western Hemisphere.

We will therefore propose two general explanations of how US influence can be comprehended, as seen through the prism of a small state. We will explore the logic of realism and institutionalism, present illustrative examples, and outline the condition under

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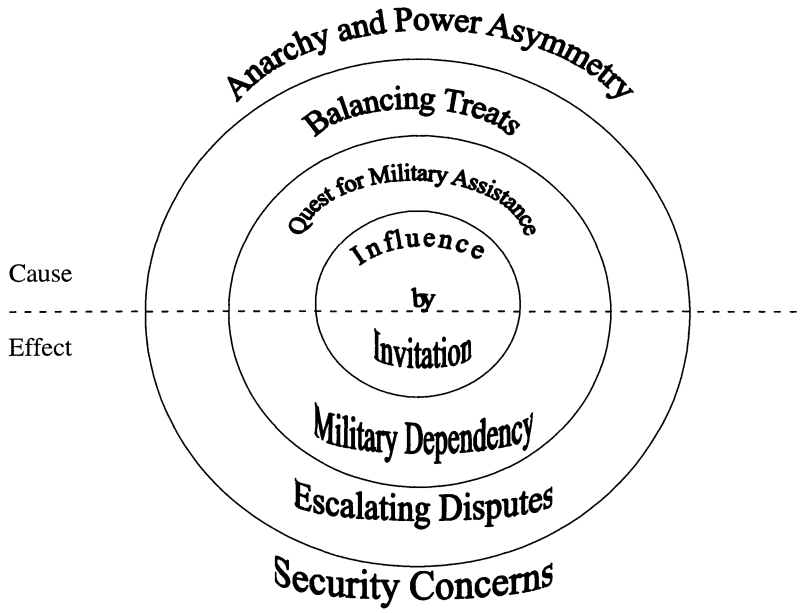
[268] Ibid, p. 50.
[269] Joseph S. Nye, Jr. (2002): *The Paradox of American Power Why the World's only Superpower Can't Go It Alone* (New York: Oxford University Press), pp. 77–110.
[270] Nye (2003): *Understanding International Conflict...*, p. 6.
[271] Ibid, p. 2.

which the Lilliputian behaviour predicted by each should be expected. Both explanations end with a set of hypotheses that will provide guidance to our empirical analysis.

Realism: Influence Through International Structures

This perspective seeks answers to questions such as these: Why do states seek security guaranties from others? How does insecurity and uncertainty affect their choosing of allies? What leverage may military assistance have on national security policies? In short, how can political and military dependency between states be explained by the international structure? A conceptual knowledge on these issues finds fertile ground in the school of *Realpolitik*. As such, it may provide us with a deeper understanding of how US influence can be explained. To grasp the logic more easily, a four-layer model has been developed to illustrate our realist approach more clearly.



The first layer builds on the realist assumption that anarchy, the absence of a supranational authority, prevails among states with different size and resources. It is important to acknowledge that this is not a critical variable, but merely a contextual precondition under which dependency works. The effect however, is a more or less permanent concern for national security. The second layer emphasises states' tendency to balance threats by means

of alliances. For smaller states in particular, the effect of balancing threats is the ability to elevate disputes, or deny a bilateralisation of a potential conflict. To make prospects for elevation credible, the third layer emphasises a small state's quest for allied guaranties. The effect from this is often a certain degree of military dependency, depending on what assets the client may offer in exchange. The inner layer explains influence as an act of invitation by the smaller state. The effect of influence is based on a small state's strategy to nurture the relationship with her patron, to make sure security guaranties are sustained when international circumstances require.

Step One. Anarchy and National Security Concerns

In his famous book *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, Hans Morgenthau has argued that "all history shows that nations active in international politics are continuously preparing for, actively involved in, or recovering from organised violence in the form of war".[272] Even though Morgenthau's statement is a rather pessimistic one, it clearly spells out the conditions of how states perceive their environment, and how they interact on the international arena. How may this help us to comprehend the Norwegian dependency on US benevolence? By extrapolating five general propositions, we may provide a theoretical background for Norway's effort of attaining US security guaranties.

First, from a realist perspective, it can be claimed that states are the dominant actors in world politics. They are sovereign entities that decide for themselves how they will cope with security problems.[273] Second, states' surroundings are characterised by uncertainty, thereby penalising states that fail to protect their interests; hence states behave as unitary-rational actors.[274] Third, anarchy is the principal force that shapes the motives and actions of states.[275] Fourth, states in anarchy are preoccupied with power and security; they are predisposed toward conflict and competition because capabilities are unevenly distributed.[276] Finally, international institutions affect the prospects for co-operation only marginally.[277]

Hence, as new circumstances arise in international politics, uncertainty about the future makes states worry about their security. This may especially be so for smaller states, which

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[272] Hans J. Morgenthau (1973): *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, fourth edition (New York: Knopf), p. 36.
[273] Ibid, p. 10; Kenneth N. Waltz (1979): *Theory of International Politics* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley), p. 95.
[274] Kenneth N. Waltz (1986): "Reflections on *Theory of International Politics*: A Response to my Critics," in Robert O. Keohane (ed.): *Neorealism and its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press), p. 331.
[275] Waltz (1979): *Theory of International Politics*, chap. 5 and 6.
[276] Ibid, p. 98.

often possess limited resources for military protection. According to Richard M. Emerson, the relations between states of uneven size and resources entail ties of dependence:

> A depends upon B if he aspires to goals or gratifications whose achievement is facilitated by appropriate actions on B's part. ... Power to control or influence the other resides in control over the things he values....[278]

This dependency may especially be pronounced if a more powerful neighbour resides in the regional theatre. Robert Jervis reminds us that, "minds can be changed, new leaders can come into power, values can shift, new opportunities and dangers can arise."[279] For a small state, therefore, mistrust and suspicion prevail; the constant concern for national security serves as a mechanism to seek alliances with like-minded states, notably a patron. This, however, implies an intimate relationship with a highly asymmetric partner; thereby inducing what Professor Gudmund Hernes would call "a direct dependency".[280] James S. Coleman explains this rather distinct notion of dependency: "If one or more of the events for which actor *j* is a controlling actor is consequential for actor *h*, then actor *h* is said to be dependent on actor *j*".[281] As such, the critical variable is dependence, but the contextual variable is still anarchy. Anarchy, combined with the unequal distribution of power makes states look for benevolent allies.

Step Two. Balancing Threats and Escalating Disputes

As Kenneth N. Waltz points out, "in the quest for security, alliances may have to be made. Once made, they have to be managed".[282] Alliances, and the way they are maintained, may therefore be seen as a rational and logical reaction to threats that lie inherent in the international structure. Hence, forging alliances is an act of balancing power. Balancing is defined as seeking close security and defence-related arrangements with other states, in order to protect themselves from states or coalitions whose military preponderance poses a potential threat.[283] Combined opposition through common defence-related arrangements, such as a joint

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[277] Ibid, pp. 115–116.
[278] Richard M. Emertson (1962): "Power-Dependence Relations", *The American Sociological Review* 21 (1), p. 32, cited in Gudmund Hernes (1995): *Makt og avmakt* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget), footnote no. 58.
[279] Robert Jervis (1978): "Co-operation Under the Security Dilemma", *World Politics*, 30 (2), p. 168.
[280] Hernes (1995): *Makt og avmakt*, p. 61.
[281] James S. Coleman (1973): *The Mathematics in Collective Action* (London: Heinemann), p. 63, cited in Hernes (1995): *Makt og avmakt*, footnote no. 59.
[282] Hernes (1995): *Makt og avmakt*, p. 166.
[283] Ibid, p. 118; Walt (1987): *The Origins of Alliances*, p. 17.

command structure or pre-stocked military equipment, thereby enhances states' ability to maintain self-preservation.

However, the balance of power theory, as described by Waltz in his *Theory of International Politics* does not necessarily provide optimal validity in terms of how US influence on Norwegian security and defence policy can be explained. In Waltz' strict structural realism, balancing is the alignment with the weaker side, while bandwagoning is with the stronger.[284] If this was a general assumption, small states like Norway would have been allied with Russia, not with the United States: "Secondary states, if they are free to choose, flock to the weaker side; for it is the stronger side that threatens them".[285] After all, the United States is by far the most powerful state in world affairs, at least when it comes to hard-power such as the military. But even though power generally is an important factor for equalising inter-state relationships, it may not be the only one. When states search for security arrangements with each other, it may also be due to prospects for future instability and changing intentions on the potentially "weaker side". As Stephen M. Walt argues, it may be safer to seek alliances with a like-minded patron rather than to rely upon assumptions that neighbours forever will remain benevolent to your political system.[286]

Walt therefore argues that states tend to ally "... against the foreign power that poses the greatest threat".[287] A small state's quest to attain sustainable security arrangements with a stronger ally may therefore be a plausible approach. This may especially be so if a weaker power nevertheless poses a more imminent or credible threat for any reason. As balancing may be explored more precisely within the context of threat perceptions, factors like geographic proximity, offensive power and aggressive intentions may provide explanatory power. Together, they may complement the picture of how dependence can be explained; why states seek security guaranties from a stronger ally; how unequal power distribution in a regional theatre affects the dependency on a stronger ally; and ultimately, how this intimate co-operation influences on a small state's security and defence policy.

Geographic Proximity

According to Walt, the ability to project power declines with distances. Neighbouring states therefore pose a more imminent threat than distant states.[288] States that perceive a threat, real

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[284] Waltz (1979): *Theory of International Politics*, p. 126.
[285] Ibid, p. 127.
[286] Walt (1987): *The Origins of Alliances*, p. 29.
[287] Ibid, p. 21.
[288] Ibid, p. 23.

or imagined, from their neighbour may therefore be more prone to ally with a distant power to balance the regional setting. Forging close ties with a trusted ally is thereby a rational behaviour and a logical response to potential events in the regional theatre. Great Britain and France's effort to engage the United States in World War I may be one example. Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic's effort to arrange NATO exercises on their territories since becoming members of the Alliance may be another.[289]

Offensive Military Power

A small state's effort to tie a stronger ally to her territorial defence may also be a product of a neighbour's offensive military power. By offensive military power, we mean the ability to launch a strategic attack with little or no warning time in a way that threatens sovereignty and territorial integrity. The threat from a neighbour's agile military formation is thereby likely to evoke extended security and defence arrangements among other states.[290] According to Walt, even though "offensive capability and geographic proximity are clearly related – states that are close to one another can threaten one another more readily – they are not identical".[291] Poland's rationale for becoming a NATO member is but one example. Her scepticism towards the Russian military presence in Kaliningrad and in Belarus prompts Poland to be a particularly staunch member of the Alliance.

Aggressive Intentions

Finally, states that have potentially aggressive intentions are likely to induce a balancing behaviour among other states.[292] The more unstable or unpredictable a state appears to be, the more likely it is to bring about preventive security arrangements.[293] Even states that only have moderate offensive capabilities may prompt others to balance if intentions are perceived to be in conflict with their own security preferences. The alleged intentions of the Iraqi regime to acquire WMD prompted in 2003 a US-led coalition to launch a pre-emptive attack to oust the Iraqi regime.[294] Norway's scepticism toward Russian intentions in the High North makes the United States a most valued partner to Norwegian authorities.

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[289] This is also the case for Norway. St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001) points out that allied exercises in Norway are increasingly important, and must be facilitated as much as possible (p. 29).
[290] Walt (1987): *The Origins of Alliances*, p. 24.
[291] Ibid.
[292] Ibid, p. 25.
[293] Ibid, p. 26.
[294] The term "pre-emption" will be used more extensively in Part III. For a definition, see footnote no. 719.

The school of realism predicts that states seek to balance not only power as such, but also threats in the regional environment. In particular, threats stemming from geographic proximity, offensive capabilities and aggressive intentions are likely to stimulate preventive security arrangements. Small states therefore are likely to put much effort into preventing a local conflict from becoming a bilateral issue only. By vigorously seeking close security and defence-related arrangements, a small state may avoid political marginalisation and military extortion. As William M. Habeeb points out in the case of Iceland's successful extension of her fisheries boundary, a small state's advantage

> ... was based on its great commitment to achieving its desired outcome. ... The commitment of the British nation as a whole came nowhere near to matching the absolute commitment exhibited by Iceland.[295]

By actively tying a stronger ally to a client's defence, any bilateral dispute may in principle be escalated to the table of her patron; thus making the regional theatre global. This is a proactive but rational strategy: When power asymmetry is a distinct feature in the regional theatre, the weaker side is likely to attach national security to the security of others. This requires a policy of accommodation towards her primary patron, especially if trading goods are scarce. This leads us to another implication, namely a small states' quest for political and military commitments.

Step Three. Military Assistance and Dependency

For clients to establish a balance of threat that in a credible way signals the elevation of bilateral disputes presupposes military assistance. This will increase state interaction and thus the ability to affect each other. According to Walt, "the more aid provided by one state to another, the greater the likelihood that the two will form an alliance".[296] It seems plausible to suggest that the promotion of military assistance ties the recipient closer to the donor. Military presence, equipment and know-how communicate favourable intentions; it evolves a sense of gratitude, and may in some circumstances create a deep dependency on the donor. As pointed out by Hernes, the more valuable a resource appears, the more dependent will recipients be,

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[295] William Mark Habeeb (1988): *Power and Tactics in International Negotiations* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press), p. 127. See also Robert O. Keohane (1974): "The Big Influence of Small States", *Foreign Policy*, no. 2, and Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring*..., p. 15.
[296] Walt (1987): *The Origins of Alliances*, p. 46.

particularly if the donor dominates that specific market.[297] For instance, the American provision of security guaranties to Norway, as illustrated through the NALMEB arrangement, made it difficult for Norway to ratify the 1997 Ottawa Protocol on the banning of anti-personnel mines. The US refusal to accept the Protocol, because it would jeopardise the safety of US forces, affected Norwegian defence officials. The Americans threatened to withdraw from the NALMEB if Norway signed the protocol.[298] The claim made by Hernes is consistent with Walt and Morgenthau's realism: the provision of critical resources, such as military assistance, empowers the donor's influence over the recipient.[299] The political and military dependency may be even more substantial if the donor attains monopoly on the required assets. According to Walt, "the more valuable the asset offered and the greater the degree of monopoly that the supplier enjoys, the more effective the asset will be as an instrument of [influence]".[300] This logic may be simple:

> When aid is especially valuable and the alternatives are non-existent, recipients will be more willing to follow the donor's preferences in order to obtain assistance. Suppliers will thus have greater leverage.[301]

Conversely, if the same amount and quality of alternative assets are available, influence is likely to decrease.

Another aspect of influence, which touches upon the same logic, may occur when threats to national security are perceived differently among friends and allies. What may seem to be a minor dispute in the eyes of a donor may be of greater importance for the recipient. Following Hernes, the different actors are attached to each other in the sense that control of events and their consequences differ. Different events have different consequences, depending on how serious the events are for the specific actor.[302] What may seem to be a grave challenge to one actor may be perceived as less threatening to another. The US-led war against terrorism may be one example: the United States seems to take the threat more seriously than their European counterparts, much because the Americans were struck by the 9/11 attack.[303] As threat perceptions take different bearings and operate along new dimensions, a patron may be

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[297] Hernes (1995): *Makt og avmakt*, p. 61.
[298] Interview with Efjestad.
[299] Walt (1987): *The Origins of Alliances*, p. 41.
[300] Ibid, p. 43.
[301] Ibid.
[302] Hernes (1995): *Makt og avmakt*, p. 58.
[303] Interview with Simmons.

occupied elsewhere. A client's traditional value for the patron may as such decline when a new kind of threat arises. As Walt points out, "when one ally does not need the other very much, its leverage should increase".[304]

Several implications may follow from this. The influential leverage of military assistance is likely to increase when a continuous flow of such aid is necessary to reassure the recipient's comfort.[305] For example, assets that are deemed valuable and critical to national security, such as sophisticated military equipment, will provide the donor with substantial leverage. This may be in contrast to items that can easily be bought or stockpiled on the free market. Second, trustworthy military commitments may be an especially critical source of leverage when the recipient has unresolved disputes with a much stronger neighbour.[306]

To sum up, if the balance of threat is to be credible, continuous assurances of military assistance are conclusive to the client's security needs. It may be claimed that the more aid that the recipient manages to achieve from the donor, the greater control the donor gets over the recipient's security and defence policy.[307] Using security guaranties and military assistance as a beacon for change in accordance with the supplier's interests, we may expect the recipient to be accommodative and adaptive. The realpolitical rationale is based on the uncertainty for what the consequences may be: looser bonds, feeble commitments and ultimately a less cohesive relationship. The alternative would be a loyal approach towards threats that the patron is engrossed by, and which may serve as a beacon for long-term investment in a sustained security relationship. Poland's vigorous support to the United States during Operation Iraqi Freedom in 2003-2004 may serve as an example. Even though the Poles had few direct interests in Iraq, she nevertheless expected their military assistance to be of great strategic value for their bilateral relationship with the United States.

Step Four. Invitation and Access

As the client needs the patron more than the opposite, we may assume the client to be more permissive and yielding to a patron's demands, expectations and initiatives. Conversely, if dependency is less distinct, in the sense that the distribution of power resources is more equal, we can argue that the client would pay less attention to her patron's proposals.[308] Clients that enjoy the benefit of a patron's benevolence may nevertheless be more prone to handle those

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[304] Walt (1987): *The Origins of Alliances*, p. 41.
[305] Ibid.
[306] Ibid.
[307] Ibid, p. 46.
[308] Hernes (1995): *Makt og avmakt*, pp. 58–67.

relations carefully. This may particularly be so as international circumstances change, and the client's value and strategic significance to the patron declines. Under such circumstances, the patron's focus may turn elsewhere, paying less tribute to those regional security concerns that the client is still engrossed by. It may therefore be precarious for a dependent ally to maintain access to her patron's decision-making body. If not, political marginalisation may arise, thus making it harder to voice her security concerns. This may particularly be so if an increasing number of security-related decisions are taken outside formal structures, or out of reach of small states that cannot contribute significantly to the security of her patron. It may also occur when threat perceptions become blurred and generate dissension; when new priorities arise, and existing security arrangements are subjected to change and transformation.

A strategy of accommodation and constructive engagement may therefore be a plausible approach, as a means to signify a client's devotion and loyalty to her primary ally. As pointed out by Habeeb:

> Commitment cannot be "bought", nor can it be increased through coercion. Commitment is based partly on aspiration and need, and partly on the tactical ability to motivate one's constituency. ... Commitment in the sense of aspiration is the weak actor's best hope for creating and maintaining a favourable issue power balance.[309]

The grim prospects for marginalisation are avoided and access is maintained. Conversely, being reluctant and sceptical to the patron's request for change would most likely harm the client. Her limited resources are not likely to mitigate a process that will accelerate anyway, with or without a minor client onboard. By creatively and constructively refining commitments that reflect the patron's ideas, the client implicitly reinvests and revitalises her ties to the patron. Proactive engagement through a visible governmental stance in support for the patron's proposals thereby evokes a sense of gratitude and goodwill. This may again pay tribute to the fact that military assistance can be expected when the client, in a long-term perspective, would need it.

Hypotheses on Influence

We may now conclude our passage by summing up some realist hypotheses. Together, they may contribute to a conceptual understanding of how US influence may be explained. What

do we want to achieve by these hypotheses? Rather than accomplishing a rigorous set of tests, we will use the hypothesis to better structure our empirical interpretation in Part II. By making our realist assumptions conspicuous through a set of hypotheses, it may be easier to identify the mechanisms that arise, thus making subsequent analysis more stringent.

Hence, the hypotheses are a derivation of the logic explained through the four layers of our model: the anarchical environment, the subsequent balance of threat, the quest for military assistance, and the client's policy of invitation. As long as these imperatives take place within a highly asymmetrical relationship, we may expect a recipient to be more sensitive towards her patron's preferences.

1. A client that needs a patron's balancing capabilities is likely to be influenced by the patron's preferences through acts of indulgence.
2. The more a client apprehends her strategic importance, the more permissive is she towards her patron's initiatives.
3. The more aid a recipient has received from a donor, the more compliant will the recipient be to the donor's interests.
4. The more a recipient needs a donor, the more leverage is ascribed to the donor.

Institutionalism: Influence Through Processes

Our second perspective derives from the institutionalist school. We thereby leave the *structural* comprehension of material deficiency as a premise for small states' behaviour. Instead, we focus on dynamic *processes* inside institutions such as NATO, and how this affects states' attitude in the domain of security and defence policy. This perspective thereby aims to establish an alternative explanatory framework for how data may be interpreted. Explanatory power is more preoccupied with multinational relations within institutions rather than bilateral relations, as compared to our realist approach. We may then ask ourselves what effect institutional mechanisms may play, that has not already been explained in the realist approach? From an institutionalist perspective we will seek answers to questions such as these: Why do states comply with other states' preferences when they become institutionalised? Why do states voluntarily abandon myopic self-interests to accomplish

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[309] Habeeb (1988): *Power and Tactics...*, p. 133.

institutional commitments? In short, what make states accommodate institutional injunctions initiated by others?

To identify relevant mechanisms, another four-layer model may help to illustrate our approach.

The first layer sets the contextual framework. It entails as such no critical variable, or mechanisms. We only assume that many challenges in international politics are better addressed multilaterally and institutionally rather than bilaterally between states. This basic assumption is also the rationale for our institutional approach. The second layer emphasises institutional co-operation as a means to reach common ends. On that basis, a number of mechanisms derive throughout the successive layers. In layer two, the mechanism of issue-linking is deduced. When states choose to cooperate, their behaviour on one issue tends to affect other issues as well. The third layer extrapolates from this, in the sense that issue-linking correlates with a credible reputation. This often stimulates a mechanism of fulfilling commitments. The effect may be national policies that proceed beyond myopic self-interests. Finally, the inner layer explains states' behaviour with regard to institutional integration. Through a committing attitude, mechanisms of empathy, solidarity and senses of moral obligations tend to arise.

In sum, these mechanisms may maintain and revitalise the institutional cohesiveness that serve a small state's long-term and strategic interest. But more importantly to our analysis, the

mechanisms may also explain Norwegian adaptation towards US initiatives that are pursued through NATO. As such, the institutionalist perspective may complement a realist school of thought, which mainly stresses material assets. Instead of focusing solely on military dependency, US influence is explained through the consecutive process of defence-co-operation that unfolds within the transatlantic security community.

Step One. Common Challenges and Incentives for Co-operation

The first layer presents the contextual rationale for institutional behaviour among states. As for the school of realism, institutionalist theory assumes that states are the principal actors in world politics and that they behave on the principle of self-interests.[310] We may therefore proceed with the structural assumption that anarchy is a permanent feature in international politics. However, contrary to the realists, institutionalists are more optimistic about prospects for co-operation. This is particularly so among advanced states; an increasing number of transnational activities induce interdependency. Over time, states tend to develop coinciding interests. Through this kind of co-operation, mechanisms with the potential to affect each other's preferences and attitudes arise. Accommodating other members' preferences may therefore not only be a reflection of unequal power resources, but also out of collective expectations. According to Robert O. Keohane,

> if the egoists monitor each other's behaviour and if enough of them are willing to cooperate on condition that others cooperate as well, they may be able to adjust their behaviour to reduce discord. They may even create and maintain norms, principles, rules and procedures.[311]

As globalism becomes "thicker and denser", and as state interaction goes "farther, faster, cheaper and deeper", interdependence between states increases.[312] Security challenges to one state implicitly affects the security of others. Institutional frameworks therefore often arise, as states believe they will be able to create "... beneficial frameworks that would otherwise be

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[310] Robert O. Keohane (1993): "Institutional Theory and the Realist Challenge After the Cold War" in David A. Baldwin (ed.): *Neorealism and neoliberalism. The Contemporary Debate* (New York: Columbia University Press), p. 271.
[311] Robert O. Keohane (1984): *After Hegemony. Co-operation and Discord in the World of Political Economy* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press), p. 84.
[312] Thomas Friedman (2000): *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux), pp. 7–8.

difficult or impossible to attain".[313] States therefore, according to Keohane, search for a systematic and durable form of co-operation:

> as long as the technological change prompts increased economic interdependence, and as long as threats to the global environment grow in severity, it is likely to observe a continuing increase in the number and complexity of international institutions, and in the scope of their regulations.[314]

Based on a common set of mutual self-interests, governments establish arenas for mutual planning. The same institutions also facilitate an instrument for states to overcome collective action problems by providing information and reducing costs of transaction.[315] States seek together to solve security challenges on a common basis because verification costs are lower; action creates iterative procedures, and makes it easier to punish cheaters. Institutions, therefore, make it more sensible to cooperate; the likelihood of being double-crossed decreases and the possibility to exploit resources in a more effective manner increases.[316]

Also, as the challenges are global and of common concern, states seek together to specialise, establish optimal procedures and means that more effectively address their common concerns. In this way, both Keohane and Robert Axelrod claim that institutional frameworks not only replace mutuality. On the contrary, institutional arrangements reinforce and institutionalise their mutual expectations of common assistance: institutions "... incorporate the norm of reciprocity, delegitimate the defection and thereby makes it more costly".[317]

Step Two. From Co-operation to Issue-Linking

The second step derives logically from our contextual posture. As states see the common benefit from multinational co-operation, principles and rules of thumb gradually appear more often. Over time, they become codified and thus institutionalised as a process of interaction. The range of unexpected behaviour among member states is thereby reduced. As Axelrod and Keohane argue, "the shadow of the future" seems less frightening. It becomes easier to accommodate each other's preferences; a more predictable time horizon is extended, and

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[313] Keohane (1984): *After Hegemony...*, p. 88.
[314] Keohane (1993): "Institutional Theory and the Realist Challenge...", p. 285.
[315] Keohane (1984): *After Hegemony...*, chap. 6.
[316] Ibid, p. 97.
[317] Robert Axelrod and Robert O. Keohane (1985): "Achieving Co-operation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions", *World Politics*, 38 (1), p. 250.

member states' attitude becomes more regular and stable.[318] Prospects for defection decline as interests and preferences become institutionalised. This rather functional explanation may lead us to the assumption that institutions create incentives for compliance to other member states' preferences.

This logic lies as a precondition for issue-linking, one of the most conspicuous mechanisms used to explain states' compliance to each others' preferences. Within a structure that favours compliance, issue-linking becomes an important mechanism for like-minded states that seek common ends. A possible change in policy is thereby facilitated. Issue-linking induced through institutional processes allows states to reach for objectives that otherwise would have been unattainable. Increased transparencies through co-operative processes facilitate agreements that raise the costs of violating rules. As states adopt institutional agreements into their policies, and follow them as guiding principles, "... institutions force their member states to construct linkages between issues".[319] The violation of one's commitments on a given issue, due to national selfishness, consequently affects others' action on other questions.

It may therefore be claimed that co-operative processes help states to comply with other states' demands, and thereby increase prospects for influence, and thus a change in policy. As issues become more interfluent and tangled, member states also become linked together. The individual quest for specific national preferences thereby has repercussions on other states' actions on other issues.[320] William M. Habeeb points out an example: the most effective tactic employed by Iceland during the Cod War with Great Britain was the link between the issue at stake and its relationship with NATO.[321] This made it difficult for a more powerful nation like Great Britain to achieve her objectives: A stubborn approach from the British side could have grave consequences for her overall security.

The phenomenon of linkages between security issues thereby creates situations that are more open-ended and iterated.[322] Co-operation through compliance becomes rational as the violation or opposition may cause repercussions in other segments of greater importance; i.e. a sustained relevancy of the institution itself. As we noted in the previous chapter, sources in the Pentagon and the State Department claimed that Europe could put NATO at risk if the

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[318] Robert Axelrod and Robert O. Keohane (1993): "Achieving Co-operation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions" in Baldwin (ed.): *Neorealism and Neoliberalism...*, p. 91.
[319] Ibid, p. 89.
[320] Ibid, p. 197.
[321] Habeeb (1988): *Power and Tactics...*, p. 127.
[322] Ibid, p. 103.

Europeans did not reorient their defence effort towards DCI-related capabilities. We also noticed how Pentagon threatened to withdraw from the NALMEB arrangement if Norway signed the Ottawa Protocol. It may therefore be claimed that issue-linking prompts states to refocus and adjust their policies. The alternative would be a fringed reputation among cooperating friends and allies. In a longer perspective, this would not only be an unsustainable attitude: double standards, political inconsistency, opportunism, egoism and "free-riding" could also put the institutional cohesion at risk. As Keohane points out, "a reputation as an unreliable partner may prevent a government from being able to make beneficial agreements in the future".[323] The cost of acquiring a bad reputation is therefore contra productive inside institutional arrangements, especially as long as the member states monitor each other's behaviour cautiously. Following a senior Pentagon official, "you have to stand up and be counted for. Who is with us, and who is not?"[324]

Step Three. From Issue-Linking to Commitments

As pointed out by Keohane, the social pressure exercised through linkages among different issues "... provides the most compelling set of reasons for governments to comply with their commitments".[325] Consequently, states tend to behave in a way that accommodates other members' demands, preferences, initiatives and expectations. The alternative could be worse: "... other governments will observe their behaviour, evaluate it negatively, and perhaps take retaliatory action".[326] In that context, prospects for issue-linking may lead to yet another mechanism that explains member states' attitude. A committing behaviour is one such critical variable. This may especially be so for small states, which often tend to see their security surroundings as more threatening than larger states. This is what Nye calls "asymmetry of attention"; smaller states tend to have a stronger cohesion and a more concentrated effort as compared to their larger partners.[327] This may again stimulate small states to take their institutional commitments more seriously, because more is at stake. According to Keohane:

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[323] Keohane (1984): *After Hegemony...*, p. 258.
[324] Interview with Towsend.
[325] Keohane (1984): *After Hegemony...*, p. 103.
[326] Ibid.
[327] Joseph S. Nye (1974): "Transnational Relations and Interstate Conflicts: An Empirical Analysis", *International Organization*, 28 (3), p. 992.

> Under conditions of uncertainty, [states] will decide whom to make agreements with, and on what terms, largely on the basis of their expectations about their partners' willingness and ability to keep their commitments.[328]

A committing behaviour may therefore be of vital importance for smaller states; a committing attitude signifies credibility; it conveys an impression to others that collective agreements are seriously handled, and that solidarity can be expected. The opposite posture of a reluctant, reactive or hesitant attitude would tarnish the national reputation. This again could make it difficult to reach a satisfying result within the institution itself. The importance of signifying a committing posture thereby precludes retaliation, concerns about negative precedents or egoistic behaviour from others. On the contrary, conforming to others' preferences sets an example for others; it creates an institutional precedence that makes it harder for others to voice discord.

Displaying an adaptive attitude to other partners' preferences may as such induce more members to stick to agreements, even when they turn out poorly. One of the reasons for this is, as we explained in the previous layer, the co-operative climate that arises as states receives incentives to pursue holistic objectives. Overall strategic and long-term interests become more conspicuous as compared to narrowly defined national objectives. By slightly yielding national preferences, institutional members may see the benefit of moving beyond myopic self-interests:

> Myopic self-interests refers to governments' perception of the relative costs and benefits to them of alternative courses of action with regard to a particular issue, *when that issue is considered in isolation from others*.[329]

However, fulfilling institutional commitments that cause discord at home may not stem from instrumental rationality only. Signifying sensitivity and concord may also stem from what Keohane calls "bounded rationality".[330] States accept institutional injunctions to ensure "... that its counterparts will follow predictably co-operative policies".[331] As we noted in our historical passage, Norway belonged to the reluctant members each time the United States proposed out-of-area amendments to NATO's strategic concept. However, if NATO was to

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[328] Ibid, p. 105.
[329] Keohane (1984): *After Hegemony...*, p. 99.
[330] Ibid, chap. 7.
[331] Ibid, pp. 114 –115.

maintain its relevance, and thus keep the United States within its institutional framework, new injunctions had to be accepted. Moving beyond egoistic and myopic selfishness, states are therefore inclined to adjust to institutional resolutions by a policy of what Arnold Wolfers would label "self-abnegation".[332] Renouncing on certain aspects within the portfolio of national interests, influential groups of participants in the decision-making process may place higher value on some aspects than on others.[333] Following Wolfers, "it may lead to a more modest interpretation of the national interests, to more concern for the interest of other nations, to more concession for the sake of peace",[334] or to adjustments in states' security and defence policy. A presumption is nevertheless to what extent states see their own interest relative to those of others: "to what extent are their interests independent of those of others, and to what extent are they interdependent with others' welfare?"[335]

Step Four. Displaying Solidarity

By questioning what the effect may be from self-abnegation and the ignorance of myopic self-interests, we may now finalise our conceptual explanation. Renouncing myopic interests often corresponds to mechanisms of empathy and moral obligations.[336] Principles and rules that institutional members proclaim their adherence to is thereby elevated into own security and defence policy. For smaller states in particular, whose security often rests upon international rule by law, elevating injunctions into domestic policies is vital for institutional solidarity and cohesiveness. This again reduces uncertainty, increases international transparency, and makes institutional credibility sustainable.

Moreover, "in a world of high mobility, instantaneous communication and extensive transnational relations of various kinds ..., it is not obvious that solidaristic relationships coincide with national boundaries".[337] States' acceptance of new rules and principles can also be explained as a function of epithetical dependency of others. Coupled with strong moral obligations and commitments, the possibility for a more intimate co-operation, and thereby also influence from others, could be far-reaching. According to Keohane,

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[332] Arnold Wolfers (1962): *Discord and Collaboration* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press), p. 62, cited in Keohane (1984): *After Hegemony...*, p. 121.
[333] Wolfers (1962), p. 94, cited in Keohane (1984): *After Hegemony...*, p. 121.
[334] Ibid.
[335] Keohane (1984): *After Hegemony...*, p. 122.
[336] Ibid, p. 126.
[337] Ibid, p. 124.

> [States] that regard themselves as empathetically interdependent will be more inclined than egoists to reach for greater joint gains-solutions to international problems that lead to larger overall value – even at the expense of direct gain to themselves.[338]

The purpose of moving beyond myopic self-interests is not to reduce uncertainty and strengthen collective security commitments only. By actively elevating institutional injunctions as a moral obligation, states' sensitivity towards each other sets an example and creates institutional precedence. As Heads of States proclaim unity, they will also expect others to be morally obliged to follow suit. Empathy with other members' preferences, coupled with moral commitments of compliance, may thereby form a platform of solidarity in which any institution would need to be credible.

For smaller states in particular, the collective adherence to the institutional process, to rules and principles, may in itself be of such a magnitude that redefining myopic interests becomes less problematic. More important is the institutional cohesiveness and solidarity that member states induce when they perceive a moral obligation to keep their commitments.[339] To violate them because of a narrowly defined goal "... would damage not only a mutually beneficial set of arrangements but also the violator's reputation, and thus her ability to make further agreements".[340]

Conversely, by actively strengthening cohesiveness by loyally implementing new institutional demands, a member state may more easily be identified as a serious and valuable partner. In this sense, even the smallest member may be associated among the most constructive and influential states, "... with whom mutually beneficial agreements can be made."[341]

A question that needs to be addressed is nevertheless why this phenomenon is likely to occur? So far, egoistic motives have dominated the explanation; states have a particular interest in co-operating with other states when interests merge. However, moral principles of reciprocity may also add valuable insight to the question. During the Cold War, the United States provided a credible military defence for Norway and the other European NATO members. In this context, the flow of political, economic and military support was of greater

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[338] Ibid, p. 125.
[339] Ibid, p. 126.
[340] Ibid.

value than those received. In return, the United States gained influence through hegemonic leadership. As the Norwegian Ambassador to the United States Knut Vollebæk claimed, "we are of course deeply grateful for the American security guaranties provided to us during the Cold War. We feel morally obliged to return this help".[342] Accommodating US demands and expectations, as set forth through NATO, may therefore "... rest on the assumption that reciprocity is the underlying principle of a self-help system: when we observe a flow of resources in one direction, there must be a reciprocal flow in the other".[343] In this context, the norms for reciprocity may seem to be a universal element in any institutional process, thereby making two interrelated minimal demands: (1) people should help those who have helped them, and (2) people should not injure or undermine the work to those who have helped them.[344] These mechanisms may also contain some validity when US influence on Norwegian security and defence policy is explained.

Hypotheses on Influence

To summarise the general explanation of how US influence can be comprehended, the following hypotheses can be deduced:

1. The more embedded a member state is to an institution, the more likely is it to obey institutional injunctions.
2. The greater the asymmetry of dependence favours the institution, the greater its influence over the member state.
3. States that benefit from institutional advantages are likely to be influenced by a sense of gratitude and reciprocal behaviour when this is required to revitalise the institution.

A Model of Explanation

The different approaches as to how US influence on Norwegian security and defence policy can be comprehended draw starkly contrasting pictures. Resolving the question of which

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[341] Ibid, p. 127. See also Robert Axelrod (1981): "The Emergence of Cooperation Among Egoists", *American Political Science Review*, 7 (2), pp. 306–318; and Robert Axelrod (1984): *The Evolution of Cooperation* (New York: Basic Books).
[342] Interview with Vollebæk.
[343] Keohane (1984): *After Hegemony...*, p. 128.
[344] Alvin Gouldner (1960): "The Norm of Reciprocity", *American SociologicalReview*, 25 (2), p. 171, cited in Keohane (1984): *After Hegemony...*, p. 128.

explanation is more accurate is especially important because each implies very different prescriptions. The realist perspective explains US influence as a function of the international structure. It claims that typical hard power aspects, such as military power, size of population and territory, economic output and resource endowment, still are relevant.[345]

As the institutionalist approach has demonstrated, mechanisms that put less emphasis on military preponderance and economic output may also be important.
As Keohane argues, close allies cannot affect each other by military coercion without casting doubt about their relationship.[346] On the contrary, as the transatlantic relationship between the United States and Norway evolves within a region that is increasingly intertwined, the ability to achieve desired outcomes through co-operation rather than coercion has been emphasised. By getting others to change their behaviour through institutional processes, aspects of soft power may be as valid as those referred to as typical hard power assets.[347]

This is not to say that if you possess a sufficient amount of soft power, like the above-mentioned institutional mechanisms, you will be able to affect the outcome of others. These mechanisms of soft power are but one source of influence and cannot be seen as detached from hard power aspects. According to Nye, both segments of power are related to each other; they cannot be seen as isolated variables, but rather as reinforcing each other.[348] The distinction between soft power and hard power is therefore one of degree. The relevance of the different perspectives depends on the circumstances. Influence in international politics rests on a mix of hard and soft resources. Command power, i.e. the ability to make others do something they would otherwise not have done, often rests on coercion or inducement. Co-operative power, that is getting others to want what you want, may arise from the ability to define the institutional agenda in a way that shapes the preferences of others.[349] It may also be by shaping the environment, thus being able to present the "state of the art" within security and defence-related arrangements. Within this context, the balance between hard and soft power aspects may be seen as operating along a continuum: command power, coercion, inducement, agenda setting, attraction and co-operative power.[350]

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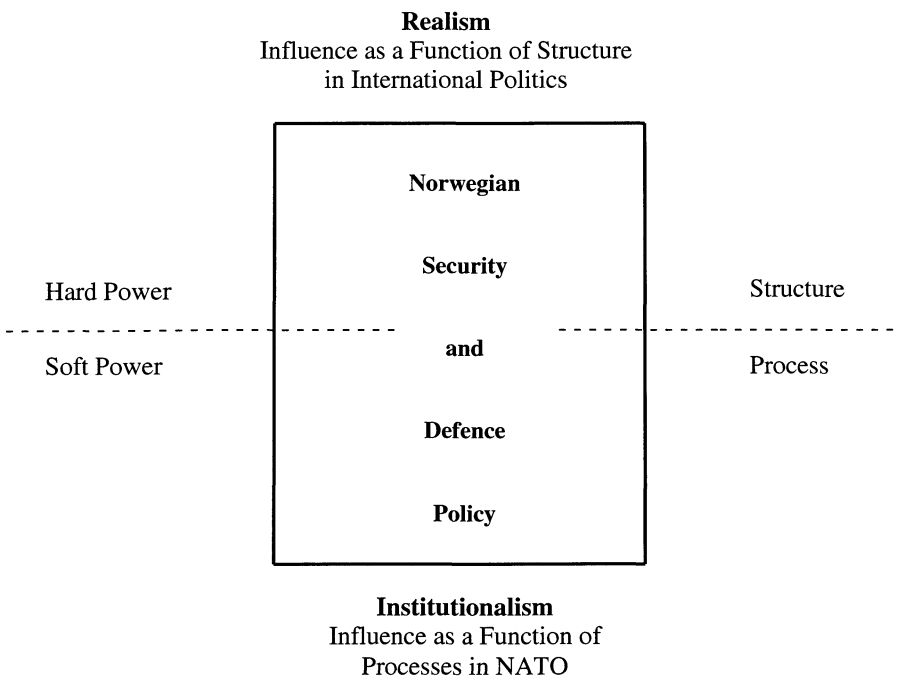
[345] Waltz (1979): *Theory of International Politics*, p. 131.
[346] Keohane (1984): *After Hegemony...*, p. 40.
[347] The notion "soft power" is defined as an indirect source of power, as compared to the more tangible sources of power such as military and economic resources. Soft power affects indirectly, by "... getting others to want what you want" because they admire your values, emulate your behaviour, and aspire to the same levels of prosperity and openness that you have (Nye (2002): *The Paradox of American Power...*, p. 8) See also Joseph S. Nye, Jr. (1990): *Bound to Lead The Changing Nature of American Power* (New York: Basic Books), p. 31.
[348] Nye (2002): *The Paradox of American Power...*, p. 9.
[349] Nye (1990): *Bound to Lead...*, p. 31.
[350] Nye (2002): *The Paradox of American Power...*, p. 176.

In a small state perspective, what sort of relationship does each perspective depict, and what are the military consequences implied? The mix of continuity and change that characterises the different mechanisms of influence may make it difficult to arrive at one, synthetic explanation. Contemporary relationships among states are not a seamless web. Rather, it may be characterised as a mixture of different relationships that reflect the ambiguity and the complexity as explained in this chapter's introductory remarks. In such a world, it may clearly be argued that single-minded perspectives do not provide us with persuasive explanatory power for how US influence may be explained.

The contextual variety from both old and new challenges induces us to explore US influence through an eclectic model. Even a strict structure realist as Kenneth N. Waltz complies with this, acknowledging that other perspectives also may have some explanatory effect:

> One cannot infer the condition of international politics from the internal composition of states, nor can one arrive at an understanding of international politics by summing the foreign policies and the external behaviours of states.[351]

To construct a model that accommodates our purpose, our applied model should therefore reflect a world that is both characterised by 'structure' in international politics, but also by 'processes' between states. 'Structure', as emphasised by realists represents the continuity, in so far as hard power assets still are valued relevant. 'Process' represents the change, in so far as soft power assets gradually become a more prominent feature in interstate relations, at least in Western societies.



We have now completed our conceptual framework. Based upon a historical background, a "thick description" of the DCI context, as well as two theoretical perspectives, a fundament upon which the empirical research can be based is accomplished. Within this conceptual framework, we will now try to explain why US leverage arose, how it materialised, and how it shaped a small state's security and defence policy in the formative years of 1998–2002.

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[351] Waltz (1979): *Theory of International Politics*, p. 64.

Part II: Norway's External Room for Manoeuvre

Part II deals with the Norwegian response to the DCI. More specifically, the section aims to explore how the Norwegian MoD, the MFA, and to some extent the Armed Forces, responded to the American transformation programme between 1998 and 2002. The next two chapters thereby organise and interpret the empirical observations in accordance with the theoretical explanations provided in Part I.

The empirical analysis is addressed through two broad questions. First, putting our single case study into context, what were the Norwegian *motives* for complying with the American initiative? Second, what are the *evidences* for this accommodation actually has taken place? More specifically, chapter 4 interprets Norwegian motives and evidences from a realist viewpoint. Consistent with our conceptual framework, the empirical interpretation will be accomplished with respect to 'structure' as the primary explanatory variable. Chapter 5 interprets Norwegian motives and evidences from an institutionalist perspective. The independent variable is 'processes' in NATO. Our focus will be on the relationship between American leverage and Norwegian membership in NATO. Chapter 6 evaluates the empirical interpretation with regard to the explanatory power that each perspective provided.

By interpreting data along external and internal motives, we may ensure variation in the explanatory variables.[352] Methodologically, this may serve as an alternative to statistical randomisation, which is more common in quantitative analysis.[353] Paying attention to variation, by searching for evidences in the political and military sphere, and at the international and national level of analysis, reliable knowledge that is representative to our case can be attained. Hence, deducing representative knowledge is a precondition for generalisation from one case study to a larger universe. The generalisation of empirical findings will be accomplished in Part IV. First, however, the existing data gained from a "thick description" of the case will be interpreted.

Chapter 4. US Influence – A Realist Perspective

On Friday 13 November 1998, the US Secretary of Defense, William S. Cohen, and SACLANT, Admiral Harold W. Gehman Jr., hosted more than 60 representatives from NATO to the Conference on Transforming NATO's Defence Capabilities, in Norfolk.

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[352] King et al. (1994): *Designing Social Inquiry...*, p. 120.
[353] Andersen (1997): *Case-studier...*, p. 59.

Even though the purpose was "... to share ideas in a joint effort to find better ways to meet the security challenges of the 21st Century",[354] the conference was, according to MoD reports, largely "a Pentagon-dominated performance".[355] To underscore NATO's extended ambition to play a more active role outside the member states' territories, the DCI presented a Common Operational Vision: Accommodating the DCI would safeguard a collective transformation so that NATO could maintain its relevancy under new circumstances.[356] The US comprehension of relevancy implied an improved ability to deploy military force outside the member state's territory, on short notice.[357] The background was, as we explained in chapter 2, closely related to the European failure in the Balkans. Neither did the European allies have the right capabilities, nor the necessary flexibility to operate effectively outside their pre-arranged theatres. As Cohen pointed out,

> NATO's transformation from a fixed, positional defense to a more flexible, mobile defense is incomplete. ... We must craft our common operational vision to include four core capabilities: Mobility; Effective engagement; Survivability, and Sustainability.[358]

The American keynote to her European allies had already been presented at NATO's informal ministerial meeting in Vilamoura, Portugal in September 1998, under the slogan DCI. According to Admiral Gehman Jr., a common operational vision, as portrayed through the DCI "... could act as an umbrella concept for a more methodological process that allows the Alliance to systematically work on change without necessarily predicting the future".[359] A crucial precondition was interoperability, or more precisely "... the ability for Europe to operate more efficiently together with sophisticated US forces".[360]

This chapter examines the Norwegian motives for accommodating the American proposal. To grasp the extent of US leverage on the Norwegian adaptation, the motives will be underscored by search for evidences that can confirm the impact of the US initiative.

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[354] DoD (1998): "Secretary of Defense to Address NATO Transformation Conference", *News Release*, no. 589, November 12, accessible at: http://www.dod.gov/releases/archive.html.
[355] FD, 98/03968–2/FD II/SE/ABH/011.1– USA, "Inntrykk etter Norfolk-konferansen 13.–15. november 1998", November 16; interview with Efjestad.
[356] Gehman (1999): "Transforming NATO Defense Capabilities", pp. 47–51.
[357] Interview with Kramer and Asmus.
[358] DoD (1998): "Remarks as Prepared for Secretary of Defense...".
[359] Gehman (1999): "Transforming NATO Defense Capabilities", p. 48.
[360] Interview with Kugler.

The empirical interpretation builds on the realist assumptions as presented in the conceptual framework. From a Norwegian viewpoint, two broad motives for complying with the DCI are explored: (a) To maintain security guaranties from the United States, and (b) to accelerate the Norwegian transformation of her Armed Forces. Thereafter, we explore to what extent the motives correlate with empirical evidences. Three questions will guide us through our findings. First, how did Norwegian defence authorities respond to the American initiative before and right after the DCI was officially launched? Second, what effect did the DCI process have on the Norwegian defence concept? Third, how has the DCI been used to guide the Norwegian military establishment in the transformation? The motives allow us to explain realpolitical mechanisms of US influence from an international and domestic perspective respectively. The questions require that we search for evidences both within the political and the military sphere, thereby keeping a strategic perspective on the issue.

On explaining US influence, two broad conclusions are reached. First, US influence can be explained as a function of a small state's policy of attraction. The ability to underscore NATO's new strategic concept was used as a catalyst to ensure a continued US leadership role in Europe and in the High North. Second, US influence can be explained as a means for Norway to gain access; Norway fulfilled expectations defined by the United States in order to get into positions from where other, and maybe more crucial national interests could be voiced.

As Norwegian motives and evidences are scrutinised, propositions and assumptions derived from the conceptual framework are examined. Before proceeding on the empirical interpretation, the examination of hypotheses should briefly be discussed. In general, at least three approaches as to how hypotheses may be examined can be identified. The first approach deals with measures of co-variance. In the realist perspective, does the dependent variable of "US influence" co-vary with the independent variable "international anarchy"? Thus, we may also examine the hypothesis indirectly by deducing other predictions in order to make the evidences more readily available, and thus exploring them. The second approach is based on access to first-hand information from the network of state officials and defence authorities across the Atlantic that participated in the DCI process. This may provide highly valid and important data as to how a particular mechanism of US influence was activated. Here, hypothesis and assumptions act less rigorously, only as a tool to structure empirical facts in an orderly and consistent manner.

As the work of Lane and Ersson shows us, "generalizations do not only play a role in explanations, they also afford a convenient way of organizing data".[361] The third approach is to interview experts, to see their judgements in conjunction with the prediction of each hypothesis, thereby using their knowledge to substitute for a lack of direct evidence on the perceptions of the relevant actors.[362]

To a certain extent, each of these approaches has been used as a means to interpret the propositions and hypotheses as to how US influence can be explained. None is uniformly feasible or reliable, but together they may provide a satisfactory set of tests. The co-variance approach is limited when several independent variables are all contributing to the outcome. With quantitative data, this limitation can be dealt with by controlling each variable. However, there is no simple way to do so with largely qualitative information. Elite testimony can be revealing, but must be used with caution, as memoirs and other statements may be influenced by the speaker's instrumental motives. In the same way, expert accounts can reflect the analyst's biases or other errors, and should therefore be used cautiously.

What are the Motives?

As we shall see, the Norwegian response, both in the MoD and in the MFA, towards fulfilling the new strategic concept with substance was largely enthusiastic. Despite prospects for a fundamental reorganisation of the national defence concept, and increasing imbalances between new investments and operating costs, the DCI was endorsed. From a realist perspective, why did Norwegian authorities so warmly welcome the DCI? After years of scepticism towards an Alliance that could de-emphasise the collective focus on the member states' territories, why did Norwegian defence authorities become one of the most proactive entrepreneurs for the Pentagon's proposal? What external and internal motives guided the Norwegian policy towards the United States?

The External Motive: Sustaining US Security Guaranties

Based on the realist explanations in Part I, a plausible interpretation can be found in the quest for sustainable security guaranties. Fulfilling the American initiative may have been important for several reasons.

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[361] Jan-Erik Lane and Svante O. Ersson (1994): *Politics and Society in Western Europe*, third edition (London: Sage Publications), p. 8.
[362] Yin (2003): *Case Study Research...*, p. 90; Andersen (1997): *Case-studier...*, pp. 82–87.

Firstly, improving NATO's operative ability could provide a more credible allied force structure, both for deployments to the High North as well as in out-of-area operations. As for the High North, this was even so as the Russian Federation seemed to integrate with the West. As the MoD put it, "the prospects for an extensive attack against one or more NATO countries in the foreseeable future are small".[363] More often than not, the MoD defined Russia as a partner and a friend rather than a potential enemy. Still, however, many MoD and MFA officials revealed their desire for a US "back-up" in the possible event of a bilateral dispute with Russia.[364] In that sense, the DCI was regarded as a means to reach this end.

Secondly, threats arising from a more global environment had also become more visible in Norwegian thinking. This was first of all reflected in the Defence White Paper No. 38 of June 1999: *Adapting the Armed Forces for Participation in International Operations*. This paper was the starting point of a broader and more comprehensive defence reform in Norway. The paper argued for that Norway should engage more actively in international operations – as this also would benefit Norway if allied assistance should be required.[365] Increased participation in out-of-area operations was as such a long-term investment. In this context, underscoring NATO's new concept through the DCI can be perceived as a military effort to attain a larger security political objective.

Transforming along a number of operative DCI criteria that coincided with the American Joint Vision 2010 could also facilitate a more intimate and confident co-operation with the United States. Through the DCI, Norway and the other European NATO allies would strengthen their relationship with the primary guarantor for national security. In that respect, fulfilling DCI-requirements could first of all be interpreted as a catalyst for displaying transatlantic solidarity. This again nurtured aspects of expected reciprocity. However, as the former Assistant Secretary of Defense during the last Clinton administration claimed, "reciprocity has to be deserved".[366] The realist uncertainty attached to this expectation was expressed by the State Department a month later: "Reciprocity? Yes – in principle; but we don't always do what we preach."[367]

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[363] FD (2000): "NATOs initiativ...", p. 1.
[364] This information was consistently verified in various interviews with Norwegian defence officials: Vollebæk, Jagland, Efjestad and Olsen; confirmed through interview with Marit Nybakk (the Labour Party), leader of the Parliamentary Defence Committee, Oslo, September 1, 2004).
[365] St.meld. nr. 38 (1998–1999): *Tilpasning av Forsvaret til deltakelse i internasjonale operasjoner* [*Adapting the Armed Forces for Participation in International Operations*] (Oslo: Forsvarsdepartementet), p. 9.
[366] Interview with Kramer.
[367] Interview with Simmons.

The uncertainty embedded in a small state's consciousness of being marginalised may therefore have stimulated an exceedingly proactive stance towards her patron's preferences. Since the mid 1990s, one of the greatest challenges for the MoD and the MFA had been to attract the United States, a strategy launched to maintain the traditionally close bonds, and ultimately Norway's reputation as a trustworthy ally. As a senior MoD official pointed out, "this gives us attention and resources, in accordance with our preferences".[368]

Through compliance and active participation on a transformation programme that reflected the patron's preferences, solidarity in a highly asymmetrical relationship could be confirmed. This could bring the client's deep-rooted uncertainty to a lower level. As pointed out by the leader of the Parliamentary Defence Committee, Marit Nybakk from the Labour Party, "as a small country with limited resources, on the outskirts of Europe, we have a reason to feel uncertainty".[369] Being dependent on military assistance in almost any plausible scenario, a rational calculation of what the long-term reciprocal benefits would be was likely to occur. After all, bilateral solidarity is often expressed through mutual political support and military assistance.

The sudden and unexpected terror attacks on the United States in September 2001 may be an illustrative point, as far as rational calculations on reciprocity were concerned. Meeting the Governmental Security Committee a few days after the attacks, the Defence Minister underscored the following point: "Norway must be prepared to support the United States as much as we can. The USA is Norway's foremost ally. ... We are dependent upon these commitments to be fulfilled".[370] Even though Norway's intent to support the United States as much as they could only touches upon the margins of the DCI, it nevertheless describes the political context within which the transatlantic relationship operates. As pointed out by Vollebæk,

> In our relationship with the United States, realism plays a big role. Bilateral relations with the USA are important to us, and are therefore given high priority. The DCI is a part of this game.[371]

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[368] Interview with Olsen.
[369] Interview with Nybakk.
[370] FD, 2001/02824–7/FD II/HVA/011.USA, "Møte i regjeringens sikkerhetsutvalg – bakgrunn", October 31, 2001.
[371] Interview with Vollebæk.

By loyally elevating US principles for how a military transformation should proceed, Norway signalled affiliation, sympathy and loyalty towards her primary ally. Given Norway's dependency on US security commitments, a positive stance on the DCI would, according to Robert Simmons, Senior Advisor in the NATO Bureau of European Affairs in US State Department, be regarded as a long-term investment. After all, transforming the Armed Forces along the DCI criteria "... is just a question of political will. If you don't transform, it will have political consequences. It will be less transatlantic security, and ultimately less security for Europe and Norway".[372]

This interpretation may be consistent with the Norwegian MoD's effort to underscore NATO's new strategic concept and political relevance in the 21st Century. According to several reports evaluating the American initiative, the expectation of a continued US leadership role in Europe and in NATO was explicitly noted.[373] All emphasised the imperative of a "... continued active American engagement, leadership and interest in NATO's defence co-operation".[374] This would not only strengthen the transatlantic defence co-operation, but also revitalise NATO as the fundamental forum for transatlantic dialogue and consultation.[375] This could stimulate transatlantic co-operation and facilitate a European integration from where a more effective and credible force structure could arise.[376] Following another report from the MoD, as the European NATO members accentuated their military adaptation, prospects for a continued US engagement and interest in Europe would also be strengthened.[377] Accommodating the DCI could moreover contribute to the European effort of binding the sole superpower into institutional structures. This could again facilitate closer ties between Norwegian security and US military commitments.[378]

To what extent did this motive transcend apprehensions set forth by civil servants in the MoD and the MFA? Did the defence officials project their motives to other actors or institutions that also would be formative on Norwegian security and defence policy? The Defence Review Commission of July 1999–June 2000 may prove to be such an actor. The Commission's mandate was twofold. On the one hand, it was to evaluate the Armed Forces' future rationale with respect to the military situation in the High North.

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[372] Interview with Simmons.
[373] FD, 1998/03424–34/FD III–1/MRO/200.19, "DCI – oversendelse av bakgrunnsnotat", October 27, 1999.
[374] FD, 98/03424–6/FD II–3/ESP/200.19, "Det amerikanske Defence Capabilities Initiative", December 15, 1998.
[375] Ibid.
[376] FD, 1998/03424–34/FD III–1/MRO/200.19, "DCI – oversendelse av bakgrunnsnotat", October 27, 1999; interview with Knudsen.
[377] FD, 98/03968–2/FD II/SE/ABH/011.1–USA, "Inntrykk etter Norfolk-konferansen 13.–15. november 1998", November 16, 1998.

On the other hand, it was also set to evaluate the Armed Forces within the context of NATO's Washington Summit, where the DCI had been inaugurated.[379] In a background dossier on the DCI, the MoD explicitly pointed out to the Commission that the American transformation programme was important for several reasons. Firstly, it would create mechanisms that could tie the United States closer to the European Continent. Secondly, it would benefit NATO as a pillar in the Norwegian defence concept, and as such enhance the military credibility in the High North. To inform the Commission on the DCI process, the MoD pointed out that

> it is important to see the DCI within a broader context regarding the Alliance's future role and appliance. ... The initiative may ensure a revitalisation of the defence related co-operation in Nato, including a continuation of an active American engagement, leadership and interest in the alliance co-operation. ... This is also in the interest of the small allied countries.[380]

It may therefore have been important for Norwegian defence authorities to ensure that the Defence Review Commission shared the same view and fundamental principles. Particular emphasis was put on "... an appropriate amount of burdensharing" as well as the ability to operate together.[381] This would, according to MoD officials, enhance the Norwegian reputation as a trustworthy ally that was worth listened to.[382]

However, it may also be argued that an important motive for complying with the US initiative was the possibility for smaller states to do something constructive with the transatlantic relationship, something that would have a strategic effect on the ground.[383] As a MoD official put it, "if we should manage to maintain our close relationship with the United States, we had to think radically differently".[384] Through a strategy of accommodation and active participation to underscore NATO's new strategic concept, even smaller states like Norway would be able to contribute with real substance on the ground in any future war-fighting.

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[378] Interview with Efjestad.
[379] NOU (2000): *Et nytt Forsvar. Innstilling fra forsvarspolitisk utvalg* [*A New Defence: Recommendations from the Defence Review Commission*], no. 20 (Oslo: Statens forvaltningstjeneste), p. 1.
[380] FD, 1998/03424–34/FD III–1/MRO/200.19, "DCI – oversendelse av bakgrunnsnotat", October 27, 1999.
[381] Ibid.
[382] Interview with Knudsen.
[383] Interview with Eikeland.
[384] Ibid.

Transforming an old-fashioned and static border defence towards an expeditionary force could increase aspects of burdensharing, demands that had been echoed across the Atlantic for decades.

It may also be claimed that the MFA was aware of the problem. As their US Strategy pointed out, "co-operation on acquiring and developing complementary and compatible defence systems within the framework of the Defence Capabilities Initiative should be intensified".[385] Clearly, according to the MFA, a transformation along US prerogatives would strengthen the bilateral relationship. But even better, by pursuing the DCI process through a multilateral forum like NATO, the bilateral relationship would appear more legitimate in the eyes of domestic opinion.[386] Through NATO, a Norwegian accommodation of the DCI could motivate the United States to continue her leadership in NATO.[387]

By actively engaging the DCI, a primary goal for Norway was to reinvest and revitalise the crucial links across the Atlantic.[388] As several MoD and MFA officials pointed out, this had become more critical after the Cold War. The primary reason was that current hot spots were far from the High North. However, as a growing number of statesmen and state officials from all over the world intensified their contact with US defence officials, attention to Norwegian views and perspectives had become increasingly demanding.[389] By pursuing a pro-active and constructive transformation policy in accordance with US preferences, it was argued that expectations of gratitude and goodwill could prosper. This could stimulate increased bilateral solidarity and credible US commitments. Through closer political and military co-operation, as facilitated by the DCI in the effort to emphasise common war-fighting, Norway's ability to fulfil her expectations would ultimately develop mechanisms of mutual respect and sympathy. In a longer perspective, this could again lay the basis for Norwegian expectations of American assistance. Prospects for potential crisis in the High North were by several defence officials described as a plausible hypothesis, particularly with regard to disputed areas in the High North.[390]

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[385] Utenriksdepartementet [UD] (2001): *Strong Bonds Across the Atlantic – A Strategy for Norway's Relations with the United States* (Oslo: Utenriksdepartementet), p. 3.
[386] Interview with Jørg Willy Bronebakk, Assistant Secretary General in the Norwegian MFA, Oslo, January 23, 2004.
[387] St.meld. nr. 38 (1998–1999), pp. 10–11.
[388] Ibid. This point is moreover confirmed through interviews with Simmons and Towsend.
[389] Interviews with Efjestad, Olsen and Knudsen.
[390] Interview with Erling Wang, Defence Counsellor at the Norwegian Embassy in the United States, Washington D.C., June 16, 2003; interview with Landsverk, November 20, 2003; St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), pp. 24–25.

By proactively integrating within a Common Operational Vision led by the United States, Norwegian defence officials could also expect more channels into US decision-making bodies. As the Norwegian Defence Counsellor in Washington, Erling Wang pointed out: "DCI is much more than defence; it's about politics; it's about access and influence on processes that are of interest to Norway".[391] In that respect, installing a Defence Counsellor in Washington from 1998 had been a success, and thus of great importance to Norway.[392] A US State Department official implicitly confirmed this:

> Even though it may vary from administration to administration, Norway in general has excellent access to the State Department. Norway is one of the most competent countries together with Denmark, because your embassy and your MoD knows who to consult and how to build networks at the working level.[393]

The motive of making the DCI a catalyst for closer transatlantic relations may also be seen within a broader European context. As the Norwegian population in 1994 again turned down EU membership, access to vital security and defence related arrangements with other European allies became increasingly difficult. According to the leader of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee, this made Norway even more dependent on the United States: Norway positioned herself outside important processes in European security and defence policy; these are processes that seriously affect Norwegian security.[394] The Defence Committee also voiced similar statements: "Norway's non-EU membership makes our dependence on transatlantic relations more pressing".[395]

Making national security indispensable to the outside world, the ability to underscore NATO's new strategic concept could thereby be seen as a welcome "window of opportunity". To Norway, the American initiative could to a certain extent compensate for reduced participation and influence inside the EU. According to a MoD official, the Norwegian rejection of EU membership made the bilateral relationship with the United States more pronounced: "Without a European pillar in our defence policy, we only had the Atlantic channel to work on. This increased our dependency, and made it even more difficult to cross US preferences".[396]

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[391] Interview with Wang.
[392] Interview with Efjestad.
[393] Interview with Simmons.
[394] Interview with Jagland.
[395] Interview with Nybakk.
[396] Interview with Knudsen.

From that perspective, adapting along US imperatives in NATO may have been regarded as a good investment. It could be regarded as a natural extension of the close relationship between the two states, a relationship that ultimately aimed to nurture US security guaranties.

The Norwegian apprehension of being outside the European mainstream seemed to be consistent with Pentagon perspectives. According to the OSD, it was noted that Norwegian consultancies with US officials had become more important on a number of issues, particularly in the realm of security and defence policy. Co-ordinating and harmonising views and opinions almost became a standard operational procedure before the other European allies in NATO were addressed.[397] As one MoD official put it, "having the United States on our side gives us more punch in negotiations, particularly as we approach the other European partners in NATO".[398]

A realist interpretation would claim that the Norwegian policy was a rational calculation of what served her interest best. A proactive stance on the DCI would enhance solidarity and cohesion within NATO, thus binding US commitments to Europe and the High North. An active effort to transform NATO would also improve the Alliance's ability to deploy more rapidly to Norway if needed.[399] As an internal MoD note to the Defence Minister pointed out, "the DCI does not only deal with the issue of how we operate with other allies, but also of how other allies have the ability and will to operate with us if reinforcements on own territory should be required".[400] This realist assumption of Norway's geostrategic situation was also emphasised by the Defence Minister, Dag Jostein Fjærvoll, as he visited the Pentagon in the process leading up to the DCI in 1998. The presence of US military forces in Norway was of decisive importance for stability and crises management in Northern Europe.[401] Following another internal MoD report, US military presence in Norway also "... implies valuable contact with American military authorities".[402]

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[397] Interview with Towsend; confirmed through an interview with Vollebæk.
[398] Interview with Olsen.
[399] FD, 98/03424–6/FD II–3/ESP/200.19, "Det amerikanske Defence Capabilities Initiative", December 15, 1998; interview with Towsend.
[400] FD, 1998/03424–45/FD III 1/MRO/200.19, "DCI – nasjonal policy", February 2, 2000. Coinciding views are also expressed in FD (2000): "NATOs initiativ...", p. 3.
[401] FD, 98/01409–1/FD III– 3/ESP/011.1–USA, "Kort oppsummering av hovedpunkter fra forsvarsministerens møte med general Joseph W. Ralson – Vice Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff – 30 mars 98", April, 1998.
[402] FD, 2002/00071–7/FD II/HVA/011.1–USA, "Ottawa-konvensjonen og forhåndslagrede miner i Norge", February 14, 2002.

The Internal Motive: Accelerating Military Reforms

So far, the empirical interpretation has emphasised the client's quest for a committed ally. Adapting along DCI requirements could underscore transatlantic solidarity; thereby increase the prospects for an internationalisation of potential crisis in the High North. Displaying sensitivity to the American effort of making NATO more capable for out-of-area operations was thereby regarded as a strategic move. The Norwegian accommodation was a political gesture to reach a higher end: A continued US leadership role in NATO and Europe that could be sustained over time, no matter how international circumstances changed.

However, realist motives for sustaining NATO through the DCI may also be interpreted as an internal Norwegian mechanism. Before the DCI was officially launched, an intergovernmental report from the MoD to MFA pointed out that the initiative could work as a catalyst for necessary change and modernisation of the Norwegian force structure and defence concept.[403] This was moreover acknowledged by the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment, expressing concern over the fact that the Armed Forces "...often demonstrate a remarkably strong tendency to resist change and preserve their old structure far beyond the limits of its realm of validity".[404] These domestic considerations may have been spurred by Congressional complaints in Washington, claiming that US forces were overstretched, and that the Europeans should increase their burdensharing on their own continent. Combined with a stagnant and rather unsuccessful pace of reform during the 1990s, the impetus to accentuate military reforms was increasing.[405]

The domestic motive for embracing the DCI thereby goes beyond the original intent of reforming the Armed Forces incrementally. By seriously addressing the American transformation programme, a new momentum that could initiate fundamental reforms could be implemented. The alternative of a slow-paced reform with limited effect on the war-fighting capability could undermine the Armed Forces' reputation and credibility; it could moreover have political consequences for NATO and the transatlantic relationship.[406] As the Defence White Paper of June 1999 urgently pointed out in its introductory remarks:

> A rapid improvement of our capabilities for international operations is of such great importance, both for the credibility of the Armed Forces in Norway and

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[403] FD, 98/03424–6/FD II–3/ESP/200.19, "Det amerikanske Defence Capabilities Initiative", December 15, 1998.
[404] Jonny M. Otterlei (2002): "Norwegian Defence Reforms of the 1990s", *FFI Rapport*, no. 1206 (Kjeller: Forsvarets forskningsinstitutt), p. 19.
[405] Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring...*, pp. 137–139.
[406] Interview with Michel.

> for Norway's credibility internationally, that the effort of providing such capabilities cannot be delayed until the next Defence Bill is implemented.[407]

Accommodating the DCI, it was argued, could strengthen the Armed Forces' ability to operate closely with the United States and other allies. This would again enhance the effectiveness and credibility of NATO, also for those forces that were assigned to operations in the High North.[408] In that respect, an important MoD perspective was the facilitating role of the DCI; a catalyst "... to smooth out the technological gap between the USA and the other members of the Alliance".[409]

This point was also emphasised in the Defence Bill of February 2001: *Principal Guidelines for the Development of the Armed Forces for the time period 2002-2005*, which marked the launching of a comprehensive defence reform. Here, the motive for addressing a US-led transformation programme was based upon two reasons. Firstly, the DCI would enhance interoperability, thereby addressing the technological gap that enfeebled the transatlantic relationship, and which had become particularly evident during Operation Allied Force in 1999.[410] Secondly, and partly as a consequence of the first, the DCI could also facilitate mechanisms from where Norwegian forces could become more closely integrated with US forces.[411] As the Defence Bill pointed out, this was both politically desirable and militarily necessary.[412]

Using the DCI to transform a static border-defence concept was also stated in an internal MoD report to the Defence Minister in February 2000. Suggesting how the DCI could be used to accelerate reforms, it was noted that "... the initiative involves substantial resource challenges, but will simultaneously constitute an important catalyst for necessary modernisation and change".[413] The impression that Europe had to focus on capability shortfalls along costly criteria set forth by the Pentagon was also consistent with judgements

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[407] St.meld. nr. 38 (1998–1999), p. 6.
[408] FD, 98/03968–2/FD II/SE/ABH/011.1– USA, "Inntrykk etter Norfolk-konferansen 13.–15. november 1998", November 16. Confirmed in interview with Towsend.
[409] FD (2000): "NATOs initiativ...", p. 1.
[410] St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), p. 21; FD, 1998/03424–84/FD III/PES/200.01, "Internasjonal konferanse i Norge om militær modernisering og utvikling", May 5, 2001. See also Devold (2002): "Omstillingen av Forsvaret – noen perspektiver", speech before the Norwegian Institute for Defence Information [Institutt for forsvarsopplysning], Oslo, February 26, accessible at: http://odin.dep.no/fd/norsk/aktuelt/taler/.
[411] Ibid.
[412] St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), p. 21; see also Kristin Krohn Devold (2002): "Sikkerhetspolitikken i endring – utfordringer for Norge", speech before the Norwegian Atlantic Committee, Oslo, April 30, accessible at: http://odin.dep.no/fd/norsk/aktuelt/taler/.
[413] FD, 1998/03424–45/FD III 1/MRO/200.19, "DCI – nasjonal policy", February 2, 2000.

made by the Norwegian Defence Counsellor in Washington: "The extent of success in the transatlantic relationship depends more upon Europe than on the USA".[414]

The recognition that dramatic changes had to be implemented if transatlantic ties were to be sustained may have energized the network of defence officials that dealt with allied security and defence co-operation.[415] By referring to the politically approved DCI, civil servants both in the MoD and in the MFA received increased legitimacy and energy to proceed on the dramatic pace of transformation that the United States had proposed, but which many in the Armed Forces were reluctant to fulfil.[416] This argument was again used when the MoD reported to the Defence Review Commission in October 1999; the DCI process is to be "... a catalyst for necessary modernising and change" within the Armed Forces.[417] With political support, the US initiative could serve as a legitimate means to challenge traditional military conservatism that prevailed within some segments of the Armed Forces.[418]

Simultaneously, key actors within the military organisation itself, particularly within the Joint Command Staff, underscored the effect from the DCI. The Chief of Defence's Defence Study 2000 (1998–2000) recommended a fundamental transformation of the Armed Forces, and paved the way for the reform-oriented Defence Bill of February 2001. The rationale for change was, however, more due to economic reasons rather than safeguarding transatlantic security and defence co-operation. Regardless of incentives, their congruency challenges military conservativeness within the respective Army, Air Force and Navy service branches.[419] This may not be surprising, as the most unpleasant and far-reaching reforms would have to take place within these segments.

Summing Up

The external and internal motives for Norway's policy towards the US transformation programme cannot be regarded as two isolated interpretations. On the contrary, the analysis has discerned their reinforcing effect on each other. By addressing the consequences of

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[414] Kgl. norske ambassade Washington D.C., 1998/50989/SPAVD/JAO/101094, "Amerikanske perspektiver på de sikkerhets- og forsvarspolitiske forbindelser med Europa", October 9, 1999.
[415] Interview with Landsverk, November 20, 2003.
[416] Interview with Morten Rognmo, Assistant Defence Counsellor at NORDEL, Brussels, November 20, 2003.
[417] FD, 1998/03424–34/FD III–1/MRO/200.19, "DCI – oversendelse av bakgrunnsnotat", October 27, 1999.
[418] As this point reveals some controversy between MoD-officials and military servicemen in the Army, Air Force and Navy, information has been hard to find in codified statements. Informal interviews with sources on both sides of the transformation process reveal however discrepancy between MoD-officials and officers in the three service branches.

NATO's new strategic concept seriously, Norway could better develop forces and capabilities that were compatible with allied forces at home and abroad. This could increase prospects for allied assistance, and sustain close transatlantic ties. Hence, through the same intimacy, Norway received important incentives to accelerate the momentum and the dynamic pace of transformation within her own forces. Their mutual reinforcing effect also pays tribute to the realist assumptions evolving between a client and her patron. As pointed out by Knutsen et al., by actively co-operating and adapting to other states' preferences, the client achieves the favour of her patron.[420] This may ensure access to those decision-making bodies in Washington that are deemed crucial to own security. As a US State Department official pointed out, "it's hard to get a hearing when you're not participating".[421] This is also confirmed by the director of policy planning in US State Department, Richard Haas: "There are real differences in Europe [and] we have to find Europeans we can work with".[422]

In that respect, several senior Pentagon officials claimed that Norway was one of Rumsfeld's favourites: "The Norwegian MoD is extremely popular. A telephone call to the Pentagon will facilitate bilateral meetings almost instantly".[423] Senior officials at the Norwegian MoD also confirmed this; Kristin Krohn Devold was the only European Defence Minister that had a personal relationship with the American Secretary of Defense.[424]

What are the Evidences?

What are the evidences that may underscore our realist interpretation? As for the handling of the DCI, do the motives correlate with evidences on how the DCI was addressed in the MoD? After all, the Europeans should now transform their forces to endure the stresses of operation such as those in the former Yugoslavia, with almost no pre-existing communications, logistics, headquarters or infrastructure.[425] This was, according to NATO's Assistant Secretary General, of tremendous importance to the last Clinton administration: "President Clinton's plan was to cushion the Senate and the Congressional dissatisfaction with NATO by

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[419] Interview with Wang; oral contribution by former Minister of Defence, Eldbjørg Løwer at "Brennpunkt", *NRK 1*, May 18, 2004.
[420] Knutsen et al. (2000): "Europeisk sikkerhet...", p. 117.
[421] Interview with Simmons.
[422] Keith Richburg (2003): "Chirac Seems Intent on Challenging US", *The Washington Post*, May 31.
[423] Interview with Towsend.
[424] Interview with Efjestad.
[425] DoD (1999): "Cohen Calls on Europeans to Adapt NATO for the New Century", *News Archive*, February 8, accessible at: http://www.defense.gov/news/archive.html.

providing deliverable results. The [Washington] Summit simply had to be successful on capabilities".[426]

However, as we have seen, the work to make the Europeans transform their forces already started at NATO's informal Defence Ministerial in Vilamoura, Portugal, one year earlier. Here, Secretary Cohen and the Pentagon laid the foundation for the DCI; as an instrument to fulfil a new strategic concept that took a broader security responsibility outside NATO's area of responsibility.[427] On that basis, how vigorously did Norway commit herself?

Norway's Initial Response

The initial political response was largely based upon the presumption that transatlantic relations were worth a fundamental restructuring of the Armed Forces, and the way security was achieved by use of force. Adopting an expeditionary force structure that could project power over long distances, the American initiative represented a fundamental challenge to the existing Norwegian anti-invasion defence concept. All requirements mentioned above, the absence of pre-existing communications, logistics, headquarters and infrastructure, were more or less essential necessities to Norway's territorial bound force structure. According to an internal MoD-report,

> ... it is not sufficient to express political support to the DCI without also showing the determination to execute. We are now in a phase where it is important to follow up the politics in the DCI in a constructive way and with active implementation.[428]

Norwegian scepticism was largely moderated by an offensive US approach, and a Norwegian comprehension of the urgency that prevailed within US decision-making bodies. The Norwegian representatives in the US-Norwegian Bilateral Study Group early acknowledged the impression of a strong US emphasis on the DCI.[429] In a report from October 1998 in Washington, Pentagon officials strongly advised Norway to accommodate the forthcoming

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[426] Interview with Bell.
[427] Interview with Asmus.
[428] FD, 98/03424–38/FD III/ØKS/MRI/200.19, "Nasjonal oppfølging av DCI tiltak – fullmakt", November 26, 1999.
[429] As we noted in chapter 2, the WBSG was first established in 1976 between American and Norwegian top officials. Their purpose was to explore how NATO's strategic concept, *flexible response*, could be given a more credible content in the High North. The WBSG was reactivated in 1996, after a standstill owing to the death of Johan Jørgen Holst in 1994.

DCI to improve NATO's relevancy. As the Pentagon officials claimed, the DCI was not only an instrument for territorial defence, but also for force projection outside NATO territory.[430] Even though this development could imply less emphasis on Article 5 operations, the pivotal guarantee in the Norwegian defence arrangements, MoD officials expressed compliance with little hesitation. According to the report after the talks, "from the Norwegian side, the American initiative was welcomed as a necessary project to ensure the relevance of Nato".[431] The Norwegian challenge was how to approach the DCI within the context of a small state's defence concept. The current defence concept was still based upon universal conscription and anti-invasion scenarios on Norwegian soil.[432]

The bilateral study group, however, seemed to be more focused on accommodating the American initiative rather than lingering on the political and military consequences the adaptation would imply. The apprehension of a detractive relationship with her closest ally was also an issue outside the bilateral study group. During a bilateral meeting between the US and Norwegian defence officials earlier in 1998, Norwegian concern was expressed regarding the increasing gap between US and European forces. This was most notably due to an enormous US increase of resources funnelled into military research and development.[433]

At the same time, Norwegian defence authorities also expressed gratitude for the Pentagon's emphasis on "jointness". According to the MoD, the Americans had to bring the other allies along, if the new strategic concept from 1999 and the subsequent transformation of the European Armed Forces were to succeed.[434] At the meeting, Norwegian defence authorities therefore stressed the importance of a clearer divide at the Washington Summit in April 1999 between political statements made by NATO's Heads of States on the one hand, and the new strategic concept on the other. According to a consecutive MoD report, the new strategic concept should focus more on the defence dimension, as "... the document was to constitute the overarching guidance for the national military authorities in their military planning".[435] It was also acknowledged that the new strategic concept very much reflected the United States' demand for increased flexibility, particularly in out-of-area operations.[436]

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[430] FD, 98/02819–5/FD III–3/BAH/011.1 USA, "Oppsummering fra møte i US-NO Working Level Bilateral Study Group (WBSG) i Washington 13 og 14 oktober 1998", November 5. 1998.
[431] Ibid, p. 3.
[432] Ibid.
[433] FD, 98/01792–1/FD III–3/ESP/011.1 USA, "Hovedpunkter fra uformelle samtaler med Lisa Bronson – Director Nato Policy Pentagon", [undated].
[434] Ibid.
[435] Ibid.
[436] Interview with Asmus.

As the American push for a more expeditionary force would proceed with or without Europeans on board, Norwegian defence officials may have had few choices but to play a proactive and constructive role. Being reluctant to a process that would proceed anyway would at best be a gamble with national interests.

The Norwegian strategy of giving the DCI a key role in the future transformation of her Armed Forces may also have been easier as the geostrategic situation in the High North, most notably the relationship to Russia, had improved since the end of the Cold War.[437]

A number of related initiatives were launched by the MoD in the period leading up to the Washington Summit in April 1999: Project PHOENIX, aiming to give the Royal Norwegian Air Force a more flexible, mobile and deployable structure; Norwegian experience on multinational co-operation in the Nordic-Polish Brigade in Bosnia, and Norwegian contributions to the Multinational Joint Logistic Support Centre, to mention a few.[438] Steps towards the acquisition of PGMs to the Norwegian F-16s were also implemented, one of many DCI criteria.[439] Air-to-ground missiles thereby entailed a new dimension to an Air Force that traditionally had been designed for defensive air-to-air operations. From now on, the Air Force could play a decisive role in the new defence, providing Norway much needed political capital by actively contributing outside national borders. The Air Force's successive participation in Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan proved to be such an example. Several Pentagon and State Department officials praised the Norwegian contribution.[440]

We may therefore claim that the MoD's objective of keeping the transatlantic relationship viable contributed to a strategic change of policy. A major objective was to signal goodwill, enthusiasm and sympathy for her patron's proposal. According to Finn Landsverk, the Norwegian Defence Counsellor at the Norwegian Delegation to NATO (NORDEL), this was an integral part of the "beauty contest" that tended to occur between the smaller member states in NATO; the purpose was, as always, to get attention.[441] A passive or reactive posture to the DCI would be inconsistent with the client's quest for maintaining strong bonds to her

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[437] See among others Bjørn Tore Godal (2000): "Norges sikkerhetspolitikk i en ny tid" in Tønne Huitfeldt (ed.): *Forsvaret i en ny tid* (Oslo: Oslo Militære Samfund).
[438] FD, 1998/03424–30/FD III/ØKS/200.19, "Defence Capabilities Initiative – Norwegian Progress Report to the High Level Steering Group", September 8, 1999. It should also be noted that the PHØNIX project had already been conducted by the Norwegian Air Force, but the MoD grabbed it due to its DCI validity.
[439] Interview with Rognmo, November 20, 2003.
[440] Interview with Miller.
[441] Interview with Landsverk, November 20, 2003.

patron. Signals of a part commitment only would most likely have had political consequences: "It would mean looser bonds across the Atlantic, and ultimately less security".[442]

In Norway's first report to the High Level Steering Group (HLSG), the NATO body recommended by the United States to coordinate the DCI, it was reported that a national process highly relevant for the DCI had already started. As the envoy stated to the HLSG, "the DCI would be an important and integrated part of this process".[443] Only two months after the official incorporation of the DCI, the MoD presented the important White Paper No. 38: *Adapting the Armed Forces for Participation in International Operation* to the Parliament.[444] The more comprehensive Defence Bill No. 45: *Principal Guidelines for the Development of the Armed Forces for the Period 2002-2005*, was to be presented to the Parliament in February 2001. This paper would, according to the Norwegian envoy, provide updated DCI guidelines for the defence policy including main tasks, ambitions and force structure.[445] It pointed out that the operational consequences would otherwise be an increasing technological gap, and even less interoperability within the Alliance.

On this background, the DCI process was regarded as a catalyst to improve transatlantic relations. It was claimed that through the initiative's emphasis on interoperability, the DCI could strike a new and more just balance between US and European forces. This was particularly so in terms of burdensharing. As noticed during Operation Allied Force over Kosovo in March 1999, the imbalance in operative efficiency had strained the partnership across the Atlantic. According to NATO's Secretary General:

> During the air campaign, the United States bore a disproportionate share of the burden, because the other Allies did not have the military capabilities and technology needed. Clearly, we must rectify this imbalance and work to ensure that all the Allies have the technology necessary to be militarily effective, and to cooperate effectively together.[446]

The White Paper on international operations therefore urgently emphasised that: "by participating in [international] operations, Norway's own security-political position is

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[442] Interview with Kramer; confirmed through interview with Michel.
[443] Ibid.
[444] FD, 1998/03424–30/FD III/ØKS/200.19, "Defence Capabilities Initiative – Norwegian Progress Report to the High Level Steering Group", September 8, 1999.
[445] Ibid.
[446] George Robertson (1999): "NATO in the new millennium", *NATO Review,* 47 (4), p. 3, accessible at: http://www.nato.int/docu/review/.

strengthened, *simultaneously* we also contribute to international peace and stability".[447] Realism and idealism have been closely linked in Norwegian foreign policy tradition. It now seemed as if realism had got the upper hand as to why the Armed Forces should be reformed towards a more expeditionary force concept. The realist incentive of enhancing own security policy position through increased participation in international operations expressed the notion of expected reciprocity, most plausibly from her closest ally.

The initial *military response* was more operational and directed most notably towards Concept and Development Experimentation (CDE). When urging the Norwegian Defence Headquarters to come up with more CDE related initiatives, the MoD pointed out that Norway should become a pioneer on CDE within the Alliance.[448] Military suggestions as to how the CDE could be politically exploited were therefore urgently requested from the MoD.[449] As the DCI also comprised CDE, a particular emphasis was put on transformatory thinking within the Armed Forces. The early and proactive emphasis on CDE along US prerogatives may also have been wise from a small state perspective. As Nils Holme, former Director General at the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment pointed out, "small states have an advantage; they are more transparent and may therefore exploit scarce [research and development] resources more effectively. This is a small state's comparative advantage".[450] The Assistant Secretary General in NATO supported this view. He claimed that even modest investments in CDE would provide disproportionally greater benefits for small states. This would clearly have an effect on the transatlantic relationship.[451]

The early establishment of a Norwegian Battle Lab (NOBLE) in Bodø may be a good example of how scarce resources were spent effectively and strategically on issues that would tie the United States to Norway. According to a MoD report, CDE was primarily a reflection of how the Americans have enjoyed great success since 1992 with their force transformation.[452] As the Norwegian Assistant Defence Counsellor at NORDEL, Morten Rognmo expressed it: "A few enthusiasts from the Norwegian Air Force established NOBLE in 1998. When DCI arrived, the MoD used NOBLE for what is was worth in NATO's 'beauty

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[447] St.meld. nr. 38 (1998–1999), p. 10.
[448] FD, 1998/03424–72/FD III/MRO/200.19, "Natos program for konseptutvikling og eksperimentering (CDE) – norsk involvering og profilering", January 22, 2001; interview with Eikeland.
[449] Ibid.
[450] Interview with Nils Holme, Oslo, March 24, 2003. See also Kristin Krohn Devold (2003): "Transformation – Implications for the Alliance", speech by the Norwegian Minister of Defence at the seminar Open Road 2003: US Transformation – Implications for the Alliance, before NATO's Allied Command Transformation, Norfolk, January 20–22, accessible at: http://odin.dep.no/fd/english/news/speeches/.
[451] Interview with Bell.

contest'. We were lucky!"[453] As an internal MoD report pointed out, "the 'battle lab' is engaged in experimentation and concept development ... in accordance with the DCI".[454] According to Colonel Tom Johansen, Head of NOBLE from January 2002 to March 2003, the rationale behind the idea was to find new ways in which Norway could participate with real substance on the ground, to increase the burdensharing with the Americans.[455] This would again benefit Norway politically, by nursing a closer relationship between the client and the patron.

A successful accomplishment of NOBLE would also facilitate access to valuable decisions and decision-making processes in SACLANT's CDE milieu in Norfolk. This was even more so as SACLANT was given the overall responsibility for transformation in NATO. This would again strengthen the bilateral relationship between Norway and the United States, since SACLANT was also Commander in Chief of the USJFCOM.[456]

Apart from the political significance of possessing a direct link to the United States, Norway would have an opportunity to promote and display herself militarily. Moreover, the MoD and the Armed Forces would also get firsthand information as to how a more focused transformation could proceed. This approach was consistent with other states' efforts to provide access, and thereby prospects for influence on processes that went on in the United States. As Brigadier John Keeling at the British Embassy in Washington pointed out, "access to information is a precondition, not only for the transatlantic relationship to stay healthy, but also for keeping up in the war-fighting game".[457] This statement was consistent with several US and Norwegian reports, claiming close interaction and co-ordination was a precondition for military cohesion and political co-operation.

To what extent *did* the Norwegian CDE arrangements provide political capital in the United States? As the Norwegian Defence Counsellor at NORDEL pointed out, Norway's constructive approacg towards the CDE provided quick and unexpected results.[458] The fact that Norway was the first country in Europe to establish a "battle lab" impressed both Allied

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[452] FD, 1998/03424–84/FD III/PES/200.01, "Internasjonal konferanse i Norge om modernisering og utvikling", May 5, 2001.
[453] Interview with Rognmo, November 20, 2003.
[454] FD, 1998/03424–52/FD III 1/MRO/200.19, "Forespørsel om norsk deltakelse i multinasjonalt samarbeid om anskaffelse, administrering og lagring av presisjonsstyrte våpen (PGM) for F-16 jagerfly", April 11, 2000.
[455] Oral brief by Colonel Tom Johansen, Head of NOBLE, on "NOBLE Projects", before employees at the Norwegian Embassy in Washington D.C., Washington D.C., February 15, 2003.
[456] Ibid.
[457] Oral contribution by Brigadier John Keeling, Assistant Military Attaché at the British Embassy in Washington D.C., on the CSIS seminar "Military Co-operation in the Age of Terror", Washington D.C., May 20, 2003.
[458] Interview with Landsverk, November 20, 2003.

Commander Atlantic and the US Joint Forces Command (USJFCOM).[459] This again prompted a suggestion from the Americans that the Norwegian Chief of Defence should host a NATO conference on transformation.[460] According to a MoD report, the main purpose of the symposium was for "... NATO, USA and Norway to put focus on CDE to influence on the future transformation among their cooperating partners".[461] The attendance of the Defence Minister at the symposium would also signify a political statement to the United States: Norway was serious in the military transformation that was spearheaded by Norfolk.[462] During the symposium, which took place outside Oslo in September 2001, Deputy SACLANT Admiral Sir James Perowne expressed that SACLANT had

> ... pushed us together to try and make the national side of his command, the Joint Forces Command, and his Nato side in ACLANT contribute more fruitfully together and push forward the new thinking within the Alliance and within the US national side of the house.[463]

To Norway and her Armed Forces, this was a great prestigious moment.[464] Keeping close relations across the Atlantic, it may be claimed that CDE was what a client would prefer: Access to US networks and a merging of creative ideas on how military operations could be pursued. The prospects for close relations across the Atlantic may therefore have been a "window of opportunity" for a client's effort to maintain attention from her patron. Even though the CDE cell at USJFCOM presented by far the largest number of ideas to NATO's command in Norfolk, the Norwegian effort to make interesting contributions that the Americans appreciated was acknowledged.[465] Moreover, by emphasising CDE, a visual "footprint" of transformation could be established from USJFCOM via SACLANT to Norway.

The DCE effort between 1998 and 2002 provided significant political capital to Norway. In October 2003, as part of NATO's new command structure, a new Joint Warfare Centre was

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[459] Ibid. See also FD, 1998/03424–84/FD III/PES/200.01, "Internasjonal konferanse i Norge om modernisering og utvikling", May 5, 2001.
[460] FD, 1998/03424–72/FD III/MRO/200.19, "Natos program for konseptutvikling og eksperimentering (CDE) – norsk involvering og profilering", January 22, 2001.
[461] FD, 1998/03424–84/FD III/PES/200.01, "Internasjonal konferanse i Norge om modernisering og utvikling", May 5, 2001.
[462] Ibid.
[463] Admiral Sir James Perowne (2001): "Remarks and Introduction of Keynote Speaker", at The Oslo Symposium 2001. Building a Vision: NATO's Future Transformation, Sundvollen, September 5, 2001.
[464] Interview with Landsverk, November 20, 2003.

officially inaugurated at Jåttå, outside Stavanger. It was to be directly linked to NATO's Allied Command Transformation (ACT) in Norfolk, which replaced ACLANT.
The MoD envoy to NATO claimed that "the Norwegian effort of emphasising CDE early on in the process was a primary political achievement".[466]

Amendments on Norway's Defence Concept

If we move beyond the initial phase of the DCI, what impact did the military adaptation have on the Norwegian defence concept? In Norway's first DCI report to the HLSG in September 1999, the following passage marked the envoy's opening remarks:

> The Norwegian contribution will be reflected in forthcoming national planning documents. ... The next general White Paper on defence [Bill no. 45 (2000–2001] will give updated guidelines for the defence policy including main tasks, ambitions and force structure.[467]

As for the conceptual development, the envoy concluded that DCI would be "... an important and integrated part of this process".[468]

The Norwegian envoy to the HLSG also promised the next Defence Bill to focus more on mobile concept. This was regarded as a precondition for Norway's effort to support allies in international crisis management.[469] Conceptual amendments would also enhance the Armed Forces' sustainability when deployed out-of-area for a longer period of time.[470] Following the Norwegian envoy, the Defence Bill would as such reflect "... the general need, desire and political will to adapt the Norwegian forces to respond to the guidelines of the Alliance's strategic concept and outlines how this should be achieved".[471]

On this background, it may seem as if the Norwegian Progress Report to the HLSG signified a strong loyalty to the DCI-requirements. This impression is confirmed by statements in the forthcoming Defence Bill of February 2001: "The Government will work to ensure Norwegian security interests in Nato through active participation and in the follow-up

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[465] Oral brief by Major Erik Gulhaug, staff officer at NOBLE, to the Norwegian Embassy in Washington D.C., June 2, 2003.
[466] Interviews with Landsverk and Rognmo, November 20, 2003.
[467] FD, 1998/03424–30/FD III/ØKS/200.19, "Defence Capabilities Initiative – Norwegian Progress Report to the High Level Steering Group", September 8, 1999.
[468] Ibid.
[469] Ibid.
[470] Ibid.
[471] Ibid; confirmed through interview with Landsverk, November 20, 2003.

process of Nato's force and defence planning".[472] Adapting to DCI requirements for sustained operations abroad thereby accelerated the drift away from the anti-invasion concept, as described in the previous Defence White Paper No. 22 of February 1998. Instead of emphasising a national balanced force structure that primarily was designated for defensive delayment operations in North Norway, a modern and flexible defence was presented. Together with a second pillar, allied and international defence co-operation, the new defence concept would emphasise flexibility and mobility, international defence co-operation and participation in allied operations.[473]

This adjustment did not occur without Parliamentary opposition. As the Defence Bill was debated in the Defence Committee in the summer of 2001, a majority rejected the strong international profile: the parliamentary majority could not accept a governmental renunciation of defending Norwegian sovereignty against any military attack.[474] Hence, as a non-socialist government came into power after the Parliamentary election in September 2001, the opposing parties gradually lost clout; the anti-invasion concept from the 1998 White Paper gradually faded away.[475]

Within the MoD, however, adapting along the DCI requirements continued to be a dominant feature, particularly within the section that dealt with transatlantic security and defence co-operation. In a bilateral meeting with Denmark, the MoD pointed out that the DCI "... constitutes a very critical factor in the shaping of Norwegian defence policy".[476] In particular, the correlation between NATO's DCI requirements and the national force planning was crucial. To Norway, this implied a process in which the US proposal for how resources should be spent on war-fighting capabilities would be reflected in the national conceptual development.[477] This was, according to reports from the bilateral study group, a necessary requirement for "... force projection outside own territory".[478]

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[472] St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), p. 22.
[473] FD, 1998/03424–30/FD III/ØKS/200.19, "Defence Capabilities Initiative – Norwegian Progress Report to the High Level Steering Group", September 8, 1999; St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), pp. 27–30; Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring...*, pp. 141–143.
[474] Innst. S. nr. 342 (2000–2001): *Innstilling fra forsvarskomiteen om omleggingen av Forsvaret i perioden 2002–2005* [*The Report of the Standing Committee on Defence on the Restructuring of the Norwegian Armed Forces in the Period 2000–2001*] (cf. St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001): *Omleggingen av Forsvaret i perioden 2002–2005* [*The Restructuring of the Norwegian Armed Forces in the Period 2002–2005*]), Oslo, June 10, pp. 19–20, accessible at: http://www.stortinget.no/inns/2000/index.shtml.
[475] Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring...*, p. 143.
[476] FD, 98/03424–41/MRO/200.19, "Innspill til dansk-norsk departementsrådsmøte", January, 7, 2000.
[477] Ibid.
[478] FD, 98/02919–5/FD II –3/011.1 USA, "Oppsummering fra møte i US-NO Working Bilateral Study Group (WBSG) i Washington 13 og 14 oktober 1998", November 5, 1998.

Portraying requirements for improved sustainability and mobility as key factors to success for own defence concept, it may seem as if the Norwegian adaptation coincided well with the United States' Common Operational Vision, as presented at NATO's transformation conference in Norfolk, November 1998. In his keynote to the European allies, US Secretary of Defense particularly emphasised mobility, effective engagement, survivability and sustainability:

> We must be mobile enough to rapidly project forces and joint assistance. We must engage effectively by delivering the right assets when and where they are needed. We must enhance our survivability by improving our ability to protect our forces from terrorism and from chemical, biological and electronic attack.[479]

Building on similar operational criteria, the Defence Bill of February 2001 represented the most radical break with an anti-invasion defence concept that had dominated Norwegian strategies since the end of World War II. The shift towards a more deployable force, able to fight in the entire conflict range coincided with the American transformation process as envisioned in Joint Vision 2010 from 1996.

Norway's Broader Pace of Reform

So far, research has been limited to evidences in the political and conceptual sphere. By changing focus towards the interaction between the MoD and the military establishment, evidences may be interpreted within a broader strategic context. Implementing the DCI into the various member states' political and military institutions was a time consuming process. Two years after the official implementation, the OSD complained about the slow pace of progress. Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, Lisa Bronson expressed her concerns:

> We have pushed forward issues that have stalled. ... I believe that DCI implementation is slowing and, to help recover the momentum, the HLSG needs to redouble its effort to push the process forward.[480]

To assure the Pentagon that Norway took the DCI process seriously, the MoD assured the Pentagon in May 2001 that "... the DCI is a key part of our policy guidelines and we ... will

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[479] DoD (1998): "Remarks as prepared for Secretary of Defense...".
[480] FD, 98/03424–73/200.19, "Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for European and Nato Affairs, Lisa Bronson", March 1, 2001.

increasingly reflect DCI guidelines and DCI related FGs [Force Goals] in our national defence planning".[481] This was in accordance with the Defence Bill of February 2001: "... the recommended force structure has an increased emphasis on flexible, rapidly available military units capable of operating effectively with allies to fulfil our joint missions".[482]

These assurances were fully accomplished as the Defence Minister less than a year later presented her policy directives to the Chief of Defence. According to the network of defence officials in Brussels that aimed to enhance the transatlantic security and defence co-operation, this directive was of particular importance to those who were emotionally attached to the forces, but did not know what was the best approach to modernisation.[483] As the Defence Minister pointed out in the February 2002 outline:

> The development in Nato is a decisive pillar in the Norwegian defence concept. Those tasks and capabilities that are listed in the Alliance's Strategic Concept, Ministerial Guidance and Defence Capabilities Initiative (DCI), are to be the primary guidance to all structural developments in the Armed Forces. Where no specific national decision is made that explicitly draws the attention in any other direction, the modernisation of the Armed Forces is to be in accordance with the Force Guidance defined by Nato.[484]

Defence Minister Kristin Krohn Devold from the Concervative Party emphasised the following criteria for the subsequent transformation: (a) multinationality, that implicitly demanded more focus on interoperability, not only within the Alliance as such, but also within the Norwegian force structure; (b) availability, that explicitly demanded more focus on strategic and tactical mobility as well as rapid reaction; and (c) sustainability within all units in relation to assigned tasks.[485]

In sum, this would require a military pace of long-term transformation that to the largest extent possible emphasised modern, flexible and complementary units that are balanced according to designated tasks. Availability on short notice was to be the overarching priority.

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[481] FD, 1998/03424–82/FD III/MRO/200.19, "Reply from the Norwegian Ministry of Defence to US Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for European and Nato Affairs: Defence Capabilities Initiative, Norway and the Work in the High Level Steering Group", May 3, 2001.
[482] Ibid.
[483] Interview with Rognmo, November 20, 2003.
[484] FD, 2001/02300–14/FD III/PPIP/201.01, "Føringer til Forsvarssjefens Militærfaglige utredning 2003", February 13, 2002.
[485] Ibid, pp. 5–6.

In terms of how the military transformation should proceed, the methods were different compared to the Cold War and the 1990s. Firstly, the method for how the Armed Forces should transform themselves into an expeditionary force structure should be less attached to fixed scenarios on Norwegian territory. The method should pay more attention to a variety of scenarios, both inside Norwegian territory and on a global scale. Only that way could the new force structure become flexible enough to meet requirements for more mobile and deployable forces.

Second, the scenarios and the subsequent war gaming should be attached more closely to the outlined DCI criteria. Thirdly, qualitative analysis that traditionally had dominated the military defence establishment, particularly at the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment, was to be de-emphasised. Qualitative war-gaming was to be balanced against qualitative methods.[486] A continued emphasis on traditional quantitative war-gaming would make it hard to assess and measure operational challenges where Norwegian forces might be deployed. A broader variety of possible scenarios were designed as a methodological instrument to design expeditionary forces. In addition, the Armed Forces' adaptation in 1995 of an American inspired manoeuvre warfare doctrine, combined with increased international engagement, contributed to the sapping of the linear and mathematical approach that had dominated the long-term defence planning.[487]

Conclusion

Based on the realist assumptions in chapter 3, the asymmetric relationship between the United States and Norway has been interpreted from a small state's perspective. The aim has been to seek possible explanations for US leverage on Norwegian security and defence policy between 1998 and 2002. Within the context of realism, it has been argued that Norwegian motives for adjusting to US requirements as presented by the DCI were related to a rational calculation of what served Norway best. The external motive emphasised the ability to nurture US relations; the internal motive addressed the US initiative as a catalyst for a nationally modern force, which could underscore NATO's new strategic concept. In sum, this could potentially enhance a small state's quest for sustainable security guaranties because the United States would continue to commit herself to NATO. The prospects for a small state's

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[486] Ibid.
[487] Interview with Rognmo, November 20, 2003; Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring*..., pp. 303–305.

possible marginalisation could moreover be precluded. Seen through the prism of realism, how can US influence on Norwegian security and defence policy be explained? The interpretation suggests two conclusions.

Finding I: Explaining US Influence as a Strategy of Attraction

The first conclusion suggests that enhancing NATO through the DCI was not only a force multiplier to ensure interoperability with allies; it was just as much a strategic move to sustain a US leadership role and interest in NATO and Europe. By actively addressing the US concern for more expeditionary forces, transatlantic ties could be sustained through increased burden and risk sharing. As Vollebæk pointed out, "the United States' involvement in Europe is important for the stability in Europe. We have an interest in supporting initiatives that support this objective".[488] Also, a Norwegian contribution, no matter how small, constructively underscored NATO's strategic concept of 1999, where the United States took on a pivotal role. In this respect, Norway used the DCI as a political instrument to attract her patron: (a) increased burdensharing, (b) increased force integration, (c) narrowing the technological gap, and (d) improved interoperability, may all be regarded as different means to reach a larger end: A small state's effort to maintain close ties to her closest ally.[489] Moving along a costly DCI process that presumably would increase the imbalance between operating costs and investments was regarded as providing more security than maintaining a static border-defence for territorial engagements only.

US influence may have become even more pronounced as the two states' political objectives with NATO coincided. According to a Pentagon report:

> One of the fundamental objectives of US national security strategy is to maintain NATO as the pre-eminent organization for ensuring transatlantic security and the anchor of American engagement in Europe.[490]

The same ambitions were echoed from Norway. NATO was one of the pillars in the Norwegian defence concept:

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[488] Interview with Vollebæk.
[489] Interviews with Bell and Landsverk, November 20, 2003; interviews with Jagland and Nybakk.
[490] DoD (2002): "Allied Contributions...".

> Norway will still be critically dependent on early Allied support and reinforcements ... As part of Allied defence co-operation, the continuation of the strategic partnership with the USA is of particular importance.[491]

US influence may therefore be explained as a function of two states' identical objectives; both wanted the transatlantic relationship to prosper and be the main forum for defence co-operation in Europe. The validity of this aspect increased as Norway turned down EU membership in 1994. The validity may have increased even more as the EU gradually envisaged a more proactive process leading to a sustainable European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). From this perspective, it may be claimed that the official Norwegian version, which states that the DCI, was "... a process enabling NATO to address new challenges more effectively",[492] was somewhat narrow and thus slightly out of context.

From a realist perspective, we may therefore explain US influence as a function of a small state's quest for security under new and uncertain circumstances. By constructively participating in the US-led effort of transforming NATO and the European force structure, Norway stood forth as an example on how to transform militarily.[493] As pointed out by the Defence Minister, the ambition to ensure NATO relevancy was a national supreme political and military objective, "to reach this objective, it is important for Norway to be among "the best in the NATO-class". That is crucial for being counted on".[494]

This proactive attitude was in stark contrast to the policy that prevailed during the Cold War, and well into the 1990s; Norway vigorously opposed that NATO should have a role out-of-area.[495] As American interests in the High North became less pronounced than before, the importance of maintaining strong relations across the Atlantic became more pressing.[496] Putting NATO's "beauty contest" into context, the consecutive phase following the 9/11 terrorist attacks may be an illustrative point. As Norway considered how to best assist the United States, the MoD urged the MFA to design an offer that was as broad and general as possible. In that way, it was argued, Norway could signal her willingness to support the

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[491] St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), pp. 28–29.
[492] FD (2000): "NATOs initiativ...", p. 1.
[493] Interview with Bronebakk.
[494] Devold (2002): "Omstillingen av Forsvaret...", Oslo, February 26.
[495] Interviews with Asmus; Efjestad and Olsen. See also Rolf Tamnes and Knut Einar Eriksen (1999): "Norge og NATO under den kalde krigen" in Chris Prebensen (ed.): *NATO 50 år. Norsk sikkerhetspolitikk med NATO gjennom 50 år* (Oslo: Den norske atlanterhavskomité), p. 11.
[496] Interview with Vollebæk; informal interview with Wang, July 31, 2003. Interview with Efjestad, Olsen and Knudsen.

United States with those resources that would be most required.[497] An internal report to the Defence Minister claimed that it was politically important to visualise Norwegian military contribution, "... in particular to the United States".[498]

A policy of attraction may therefore best characterise the Norwegian approach between 1998 and 2002. The imperative of keeping the exalted status as a valuable partner to the United States helps to explain the political mechanisms activated among Norwegian defence authorities, and some of the US leverage on Norwegian policy. After all, it was acknowledged at an early stage that the DCI would be an important instrument for the United States to guide Europe along the path of refocused defence efforts. At the Norwegian Embassy in Washington, the Defence Counsellor emphasised that "NATO's role in the Euro-Atlantic region, and thereby the USA's influence on the Alliance, seems from an American point of view to be enhanced through the DCI".[499] This would again increase the US engagement in Europe, and was therefore endorsed by her clients, most notably Norway, Great Britain and the Netherlands: "They were all Atlantic oriented states with strong sentiments to the United States".[500]

Norway's adaptation to US requirements was consistent throughout the period of investigation. When the Norwegian Minister of Defence, Dag Jostein Fjærvoll visited the Pentagon in the preliminary stages of the DCI process in 1998, it was clearly expressed that US military engagement in Norway was not so much out of interoperability as it was "... out of political reasons as an expression of transatlantic co-operation and solidarity".[501] As the PCC commenced in Prague in November 2002, the permissive attitude still emphasised the need of a committed ally: "Only an intimate security co-operation between Europe and North-America can safeguard the unforeseen".[502] Norway's effort to attain credible security guaranties from the United States, while at the same time transform her forces towards a more expeditionary nature underscored the impression of expected reciprocity:

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[497] FD, 2001/02824-5/FD II4/HVA/011.1, "Støtte til USA – mulig norsk bidrag fra Forsvaret", September, 2001.
[498] FD, 2001/02824-143/FD ii-4/ARE/016.9, "Alliert solidaritet og status for terrorrelaterte merbevilgninger blant sentrale allierte", October 30, 2001.
[499] Kgl. norske ambassade Washington D.C., 1998/50989/SPAVD/JAO/101094, "Amerikanske perspektiver på de sikkerhets- og forsvarspolitiske forbindelser med Europa", October 9, 1999.
[500] Interview with Simmons.
[501] FD, 98/01409-1/FD III- 3/ESP/011.1 USA, "Kort oppsummering av hovedpunkter fra forsvarsministerens møte med general Joseph W. Ralson – Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff", April 1998.
[502] Kristin Krohn Devold (2002): "Trenger vi NATO?", *Verdens Gang*, November 23, accessible at: http://odin.dep.no/fd/norsk/aktuelt/taler/.

"Through participation in international operations ..., our allies' motivation to contribute to Norwegian security is strengthened".[503] This calculation became especially evident in the middle of the DCI process, when the United States was struck by terrorism. An internal MoD report clearly stated the fact that

> ... out of Norwegian security-political interests, it is important to offer and participate with relevant military capabilities. ... In that context, we should demonstrate to the USA that Norway has the ability and fortitude to fulfil the expectations that lay as a basis for our long-term security policy co-operation with the USA.[504]

In a realist understanding, we may conclude that Norway, as most other states in Europe, tried to maintain US commitments through constructive engagement, proactive co-operation, and a high degree of permissiveness. The DCI was a springboard for smaller states to actively contribute with real substance on the ground, thereby nursing political bonds through common sacrifice. The patron's benevolence towards her client may be sustained, despite new circumstances and less US attention to the High North. As Kugler pointed out, this was also one of the main ideas behind the DCI – "to make the Europeans help themselves so that we could address threats together, and thereby continue our close partnership."[505]

Norway's support to the United States during Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan during 2001-2002 underscores this point. An internal MoD report to the Defence Minister pointed out:

> Norway has, contrary to a number of other allies, not concretised any offer of military assistance to the USA after September 11. This may in a longer perspective be a problem in our security-policy relationship with the USA. ... An offer in "Operation Enduring Freedom" will be important to show the USA and the international coalition that Norway has the ability and the will to present relevant contribution.[506]

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[503] St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), p. 28.
[504] FD, 2001/02824–241/FD II 4/ATA/011.1 USA, "Kampen mot terror: mulig utvidelse av kampanjen mot Afrikas horn", [undated], 2001.
[505] Interview with Kugler.

Finding II: Explaining US Influence as a Quest for Access

The second finding brings the previous conclusion one step further. It suggests that Norway adapted militarily in order to get access to decision-making processes from where national political interests could be voiced more clearly. The realist logic is simple but effective: By adapting to allied requirements, Norwegian defence officials are provided access to processes that often were dominated by the United States. Being included due to a relevant force that other allies would recognise, a small state could get the opportunity to internalise with key allies' defence officials. This again makes it possible to cultivate policymakers and decision-making processes from within, particularly those that are directly related to Norwegian security interests. This logic is also consistent with comments made by former US Ambassador to NATO, Nicholas Burns:

> We are very grateful for the fact that this country [Norway] is willing to put its young soldiers into difficult situations to do work that we all think is important. ... Norway is a country that "punches above its weight" – meaning it is a country that has an influence perhaps beyond the size of the country itself.[507]

A senior Pentagon official at the OSD confirms this:

> The Norwegian Defence Minister and her Ministry of Defence is one of Rumsfeld's favorites. You enjoy tremendous access to decision-making processes, not only in the Pentagon but also in the State Department. A major part of this is due to your excellent reputation, particularly as a proactive country that takes transformation seriously.[508]

This "indirect approach" of influence may have become more pronounced as compared to the Cold War era. As superpower rivalry evolved after World War II, US attention, resources and force allocations were more easily gained due to Norway's geostrategic value. Hence, as allied attention to the High North declined after the Cold War, Norway today must achieve access by a more constructive approach towards US-led or US-dominated processes.

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[506] FD, H2001/02824–184/FD II/JEH/HVA/011.1, "Mulige norske militære bidrag til Operasjon Enduring Freedom, humanitær støtteoperasjon og eventuell internasjonal sikkerhetsstyrke i Afghanistan", [undated], 2001.
[507] Oral brief by Nicholas Burns, US Ambassador to NATO, at "Urix", *NRK 1*, January 29, 2004. The programme is available on request to the National Library of Norway, accessible at: http://www.nb.no/html/bestill–kringkasting.html.
[508] Interview with Towsend.

As the Defence Bill of February 2001 points out, active participation on NATO force planning would be a crucial precondition for attending Norwegian interests.[509] This aspect may have become more pressing in our period of investigation. An increasing number of military operations have been launched outside NATO territory, often with motives and mandates that were dubious, controversial or absent. Under such uncertain and dynamic circumstances, access to allied decision-makers in a highly asymmetric relationship may have increased its value. The need to explain and ensure particular national preferences, as codified in national rules of engagements has become more precarious. It has often been claimed that powerful states tend to operate more directly in accordance with national preferences, paying less attention to her course of action because it may hamper the political and military freedom of action. This often contrasts with smaller states that depend upon a proper conduct that relates to a broader and more legitimate international mandate.

These mechanisms of participation and co-operation are far from new. As Tamnes and Eriksen point out, "an important guidance in the Norwegian alliance policy was to seek influence by demonstrating a deliberate intention to co-operate".[510] This fact has roots back to World War II, and the Cold War. By providing the United States strategic values in the High North, Norway simultaneously got access to crucial issues and decision-makers in the United States. The same phenomenon was evident during Operation Enduring Freedom. In order to get firsthand information and access to decision-making processes at Tampa, Florida, where the United States Central Command (USCENTCOM) directed the operation, Norwegian defence officials were sent to liaison the process.[511]

Through a constructive and active participation on the DCI process, we may also conclude that Norway was an important actor in the DCI process. Following US State Department officials, active partners are listened to, less so are those who do not have the political will to fulfil their obligations.[512] Through an accommodating stance towards US preferences, Norway actually benefits from more leverage than her moderate size and power should summon.[513] An example may be the Norwegian initiative to take a voluntary leadership role on the strategic sea-lift consortium in NATO.

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[509] St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), p. 29.
[510] Tamnes and Eriksen (1999): "Norge og NATO...", p. 11.
[511] Torunn Laugen Haaland and Erik Guldhav (2004): "Bruk av norske styrker i kampen mot terrorisme", *IFS Info*, No 3. (Oslo: Institutt for forsvarsstudier).
[512] Ibid. Confirmed through interviews with Landsverk, November 20, 2003, and Wang, July 16, 2003.
[513] Oral brief by Burns at "Urix", *NRK 1*.

As Towsend claimed, the Norwegian effort to take a lead on crucial issues illustrates how small states may set the premises and exert influence on processes that larger states tend to follow.[514] Compared to a bigger state like Germany, or a geographically more central one like Belgium, Norway benefits from a tremendous access to US decision-makers. As the US State Department official bluntly put it:

> With respect to the DCI and the PCC, Germany is a "free-rider" given her size and economic strength. Together with Belgium, they have a hard time getting access to contacts, at least within the State Department.[515]

An active adaptation towards US requirements has facilitated access, and consequently prospects for influence of US decision-makers in Washington. Being recognised as a serious reformist, Norwegian defence officials have also gained access and influence on US processes indirectly, through various decision-making bodies in NATO such as the High Level Steering Group. The interpretation of a client's quest for access through pro-active participation is as such consistent with the Governmental ambition presented in the Defence Bill of February 2001: "it is important to secure and fortify Nato's consultation mechanisms to deny an eventual marginalisation of the smaller states' interests".[516] If a "marginalisation of smaller state's interest" had not been perceived as a problem, it would not have been displayed in its entirety in the governmental policy.

The effort to preclude marginalisation was moreover consistent with an Armed Forces perspective. Reporting back to his political superior after a visit in the Pentagon during the early stage of the DCI, the Chief of Defence claimed:

> The Defence Minister is strongly recommended to visit Washington to underscore Norwegian interests. It is clear that personal relationships are of great importance to the Americans.[517]

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[514] Interview with Towsend.
[515] Interview with Simmons. A similar point is presented in Nye (2002): *The Paradox of American Power...*,: "Some countries such as Canada, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian states have political clout that is greater than their military and economic weight, because of the incorporation of attractive causes such as economic aid or peacekeeping into their definitions of national interests", p. 10.
[516] St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), p. 22
[517] FD, 7771/98/FO/LED/OEP/2ÅR/200, "Rapport etter Forsvarssjefens samtaler i Pentagon 24. februar 1998", March 2, 1998.

This was obviously a deliberate strategy within all segments of Norwegian security and defence-related activities. Following a report from the bilateral meeting between Norwegian and US Naval Headquarters,

> [the arrangement] provides an excellent opportunity to tie bonds to American decision-makers as well as stimulating the curiosity of the US Navy regarding their eventual benefit from presence in our local areas.[518]

Accommodating the patron's preferences in order to get into positions from where own standpoints may be voiced more clearly was also evident in the initial stage of the war against terrorism. As an internal MoD report pointed out, "a military contribution will also give us possibilities to influence the content of future requests..." from the United States.[519] Even though this quote only touches upon the margins of the DCI examination, it underlines the point that permissiveness on some issues clearly leads to influence on others. On the DCI process, Norway was, along with the former colonial powers of Great Britain, France and the Netherlands, the most progressive partner in terms of "doing the right thing".[520] This made Norway into a serious partner that was listened to, despite her limited size and military resources.

Generating long-term access to American policymakers in Washington may for a small state be even more important as the transatlantic relationship evolves within dynamic processes of change.[521] As our analysis has illustrated, this is particularly so when singular and often unexpected events, such as the terror attacks on the United States, give new and unexpected directions on a patron's foreign policy. Under such circumstances, the importance of access to processes as they develop becomes critical, especially for small states in a realist world. Spectacular events like the terrorist attacks on the Unted States could thereby be exploited as a client's stepping-stone; a welcome opportunity to display, confirm and consolidate long-standing ties with a close ally. In that respect, the subsequent US-led war against terrorism may have served as a catalyst for Norway's effort to gain attention as focus turned elsewhere.

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[518] FO [Forsvarets overkommando – Defence Headquarters], "Oppfølgingspunkter etter US/NO bilaterale samtaler 1999", Memo, September 3, 1999.
[519] FD, 2001/02824–241/FD II 4/ATA/011.1 USA, "Kampen mot terror: mulige utvidelser av kampanjen mot Afrikas horn", [undated], 2001.
[520] Interviews with Simmons and Towsend.
[521] Interview with Vollebæk.

Through a sensitive attitude and a vigorous entrepreneurship on US premises, Norway changed her image from being a reluctant participant towards being one of the most valued and constructive members of the Alliance. This finding is thus consistent with the governmental ambition for increased access to decisions and decision-making processes as they evolve dynamically:

> Bilateral contacts, especially between larger states, have become increasingly important, also for the co-operation within Nato. ... The Government will work to ensure Norwegian security interests in Nato through active participation.[522]

As the DCI illustrates, those who have sufficient political and military clout to persuade others to follow have already defined the underlying premises for participation. However, in a patron-client relationship, we can conclude that the beneficial prospects exceed the expected costs. By participating actively and constructively along US guidelines, even a small state's voice has accessibility.

What are the challenges of this logic, and how do they appear in this realist interpretation of military adaptation? Norwegian assessments on the EU, US expectations, and US leverage, may constitute three critical aspects. As for the EU assessment, Norwegian defence officials were wary of a possible competition with NATO, and the fact that Norway could face a dilemma between European and transatlantic ambitions. In a DCI briefing from the MoD to the MFA, a concern for increased fragmentation within NATO was expressed. This was particularly so if the DCI "... conflicted with certain European members' ambition to develop autonomous capabilities" in a EU context.[523]

More importantly may have been that the DCI could be used to consolidate the European members' ability to take on greater responsibilities in the field of security and defence policy, through the ESDI. If the ESDI became a part of a EU related project, it could be argued that this would leave Norway outside the decision-making processes. According to Simmons, this was also one of the main arguments used to convince the Europeans to work on their capability shortfalls: "the DCI would enhance the European aspiration to make ESDI sustainable".[524] Access to vital decisions and decision-making processes would thereby be precluded, leaving Norway without a saying in processes that were formative for her own

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[522] St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), p. 22.
[523] FD, 98/03424–6/FD II–3/ESP/200.19, "Det amerikanske Defence Capabilities Initiative", December 15, 1998.
[524] Interview with Simmons.

security. According to an internal MoD report, it was "... immensely important that ESDI would comprise all the European NATO-allies".[525]

As for US expectations, Norwegian concern was also raised over the fact that the DCI could facilitate a more agile NATO. If NATO became too effective – or usable in out-of-area operations, the Alliance could potentially pay less attention to the collective security pact. The Alliance could also become less attached to UN mandates, and become more an instrument for less vital national interests around the globe.[526] Facilitating an accelerated allied force integration, it could be more demanding for Norway to abstain from US expectations of attendance. This was particularly so in controversial operations out-of-area. As allied dependency was likely to increase, it could be more difficult for a dependent client to claim her political standpoints clearly and independently.[527] It is therefore suggested that a proactive Norwegian participation may have been a sound strategy to preclude marginalisation. Active participation could preclude the negative aspects of a DCI process that most likely would proceed anyway. If Norway and other minor European states could be portrayed as serious partners on defence, their judgements would ultimately carry more weight when confronted with US defence officials.[528]

As for US leverage, the price for gaining access and influence on vital processes is a rather extensive American affection. Militarily, this is illustrated by the way the Armed Forces are transformed into a more interoperable, deployable and expeditionary concept. Politically, this is illustrated by MoD reservations regarding increased difficulties of voicing national preferences independently. The American objective would nevertheless be met: "On transformation, the United States and her Armed Forces would be the role model for European defense efforts".[529] As our previous finding suggests, this may be acceptable as long as both the United States and Norway coincide in their goals on how to stabilise Europe: European security should first of all be ensured by means of a strong US commitment through NATO. As we will explore in Part III, however, the United States as a role model would be more controversial as new threats were to be addressed.

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[525] FD, 98/03424–6/FD II–3/ESP/200.19, "Det amerikanske Defence Capabilities Initiative", December 15, 1998.
[526] Ibid.
[527] This information was confirmed through an interview with Simmons.
[528] Interviews with Kramer and Asmus.
[529] Interviews with Kugler and Simmons.

Chapter 5. US Influence – An Institutionalist Perspective

As part of the effort to underscore NATO's new strategic concept, this chapter aims to interpret Norway's adaptation to US requirements through the lenses of institutionalism. The empirical analysis builds on the institutionalist assumptions and hypotheses as developed in chapter 3. Consistent with the theoretical model, the analytical focus changes from the international structure towards co-operative processes inside NATO. It is worth noting, however, that the process in NATO is hard to demarcate from the realists' emphasis on anarchical structure. 'Process' as an analytical perspective is based upon the assumption that states co-operate on the basis of coinciding interests. This is particularly so in regions characterised by mutual interdependency among the actors.

To comprehend US leverage more clearly, two Norwegian motives for complying with the DCI are examined: (a) Norway's quest for a cohesive Alliance, and (b) her aspiration to attain affordable capabilities. Thereafter, the extent to which motives correlate with empirical evidences is explored. Two questions will structure the examination. First, what role did the DCI process play in Norway's effort to sustain NATO's cohesiveness? Second, how was the DCI used to ensure affordability in the Norwegian transformation process? The motives and evidences allow us to explain vital aspects of Norway's security and defence policy from an external and internal viewpoint respectively. When motives for compliance are examined, a test of validity is also accomplished. The analysis may then clarify to what extent institutional mechanisms hold any significant explanatory power that was not unveiled in the realist interpretation.

As US influence is explained, two broad conclusions are reached. First, US influence can be explained as a function of Norway's institutional commitment to NATO. The vigorous Norwegian policy of adapting along allied expectations made the DCI a key channel for US leverage. Secondly, American influence can be seen as a function of escalating costs as the territorial forces were transformed into an expeditionary-like concept. Adapting to this approach is incompatible with a larger force designed for territorial engagements only.[530] Adapting to NATO's modernisation programme thereby accelerated Norway's renouncement of what often has been labelled as "a nationally balanced force". To compensate for this loss in volume, the DCI could at least be used to gain qualitatively better capabilities at an affordable cost, and thus increase allied integration.

What are the Motives?

Like realists, institutionalists claim that states are the principal actors in world politics, and that states' motives are based on self-interest.[531] The analytical perspective therefore continues to interpret US influence as a deliberate act of Norwegian self-interest. However, as the DCI officially was launched through NATO, what role may co-operative processes play when US influence is to be expained? May other mechanisms that were not addressed in the realist approach have been active? Can the institutional character of NATO provide us with more knowledge on why Norway adapts towards US transformation initiatives?

As explained in chapter 3, the mechanisms activated within institutions such as NATO may vary from those explored in the world of *realpolitik*. By focusing on co-operative processes inside institutions, rather than power structures, new correlations may be deduced. For instance, how does close co-operation and shared commitments affect member states' policies? How does the quest for a trustworthy reputation or allied cohesiveness explain Norway's sensitivity to US requirements set forth in NATO?

The External Motive: Corroborate NATO's Cohesion

NATO has been a small state's instrument to ensure security by means of co-operative and multinational commitments. A Norwegian viewpoint always presupposed active US involvement, as a means to tie great powers to institutional co-operation. As the Social Democratic government pointed out in its Defence Bill of February 2001, "the co-operation between the USA and Europe has been a fundamental pillar in Nato and in European security since World War II".[532] This comprehension seemed to be consistent regardless of the political flavour of government. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jan Petersen from the Conservatives stated one year later that the relationship to the United States has always been crucial to Norwegian foreign policy priorities: "We want to build even stronger and more bonds with the Americans".[533] A viable NATO guided by an updated strategic concept and relevant forces is as such crucial for a healthy transatlantic security community. Adapting militarily along US requirements may thereby have linkages to other issues of common interest: the ability to

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[530] Interview with Landsverk, November 20, 2003.
[531] Keohane (1993): "Institutional Theory and the Realist Challenge...", p. 271.
[532] St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), p. 23.
[533] Jan Petersen (2002): "Hovedprioriteringer i utenrikspolitikken", speech by the Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs before the Norwegian Atlantic Committee, Oslo June 19, accessible at: http://odin.dep.no/ud/norsk/aktuelt/taler/.

keep NATO as the primary pillar for transatlantic co-operation, and enhance the bonds between the two continents.

The issue-linkage between the DCI and these strategic objectives may have increased even more as the EU continued to develop its own security and defence structure. A common security and defence policy (CSDP) inside the EU could increase prospects for a less cohesive military organisation inside NATO. On the American side, former Director General at the Pentagon, Leo Michel, claimed:

> As long as both the EU and NATO continue to develop independently, pursuing their own enlargement processes, their own reorganisations and their own capabilities, prospects for transatlantic divergence is likely to occur. This also makes it harder for the United States to guide Europe along the path of transformation.[534]

Similar statements were expressed by the US State Department. Simmons argued that "the processes between the EU and NATO are still too parallel, especially within the command structures. This is an unnecessary duplication".[535] The US apprehension seemed to be consistent with official Norwegian viewpoints. The Defence Bill of February 2001 claimed that an increasing discrepancy between the EU and NATO could lead to a disintegration of NATO's integrated military command structure.[536] The Norwegian Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik implicitly admitted this: "Norway does not profit on a strong defence co-operation inside the EU, that indirectly undermines the transatlantic relationship we so much depend upon."[537] Following the Defence Bill,

> ... such a situation would be serious to Norway, due to the dependency of Nato, including the American reinforcements. ... As far as further co-operation between the EU and Nato is concerned, an important challenge is therefore to contribute to smooth out transatlantic friction.[538]

Projecting this concern into the DCI, it may be claimed that a Norwegian reluctance to fulfil the American transformation criteria would be inconsistent with the strategic aim of keeping

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[534] Interview with Michel.
[535] Interview with Simmons.
[536] St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), p. 24.
[537] Ulf Petter Hellstrøm (2003): "Bondevik advarer mot forsvarsmakten EU", *Aftenposten*, October 17.
[538] St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), p. 24.

NATO prosperous. Insufficient political will and resources to make the DCI sustainable would not only delay a modernisation of NATO. A defiant stance because "... article 5-operations may be less important"[539] could backfire the strategic aim of keeping the Alliance together. This was particularly so as NATO adjusted towards out-of-area operations. Discord and a non-co-operative behaviour could undermine the credence of the collective security commitments in Article 5 of the Washington Treaty – *the* cornerstone in Norwegian security policy. More importantly, however, as Kugler pointed out:

> Neglecting the DCI would be a catastrophe to NATO as a security organisation. The Europeans would miss a great opportunity to fulfil their security commitments in accordance with the new strategic concept.[540]

Consistent with the institutionalist assumptions, small states that are vulnerable to institutional discord would be the first to suffer from such a development. The Norwegian reputation would suffer and her credibility as a trustworthy member could be weakened. As pointed out by the Norwegian Defence Counsellor in Brussels, "this is how it works in NATO's 'beauty contest'".[541] Inside formal institutions, failure to fulfil NATO's Force Goals related to the DCI could be linked to other issues that had more far-reaching consequences. Not only would Norway risk losing her reputation as a credible and trusted partner.[542] As Kramer pointed out, "we will have less security, and the transatlantic bonds will be looser".[543] On the quest for a more cohesive NATO, Norway's interests coincided with the US requirements as proposed though the DCI. According to a MoD report:

> The initiative is a central guidance in Norwegian defence planning, and the definitive connector between the DCI and the Norwegian Armed Forces is exerted through our participation in NATO's FG [Force Goal] process.[544]

In her guidelines to the Chief of Defence, the Minister urged the Armed Forces to transform in strict accordance with the DCI and other institutional injunctions: "The range of tasks and

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[539] FD, 98/03968–2/FD II/SE/ABH/011.1– USA, "Inntrykk etter Norfolk-konferansen 13.–15. november 1998", November 16, 1998; and FD, 98/03424–6/FD II–3/ESP/200.19, "Det amerikanske Defence Capabilities Initiative", December 15, 1998; confirmed through an interview with Simmons.
[540] Interview with Kugler.
[541] Interview with Landsverk, November 20, 2003.
[542] Ibid.
[543] Interview with Kramer.
[544] FD, 2000/00074/CAT/200.17, "DCI og styrkemålprosessen", [undated], 2000.

capacities as displayed in ... the Defence Capabilities Initiative (DCI) were to be the primary guidance in any structural development".[545] Unless no other national preferences pointed explicitly in any another direction, reforms were to coincide with NATO's Force Goal process.[546]

The DCI can therefore be regarded as a process that merged coinciding interests among the member states. Instead of risking negative consequences due to a reluctant posture, the MoD used the DCI as a beacon for displaying common interests with the other members of NATO. Decades of close security and defence co-operation made even the wary members of the DCI to come along and reach for larger and more holistic objectives. As pointed out by Bell, this was possible because the DCI would enable even smaller states to contribute in a meaningful way to NATO's future relevance; active co-operation on the DCI would ensure even small states to have a hand on the steering wheel. Following the Assistant Secretary General, "this would instantly be noticed, and linked to the member state's reputation as a serious partner in which we would sympathise".[547] For a small member, this aspect of issue-linking may be of particular importance. Being an importer of security, small states tend to rely more on institutional commitments than their larger counterparts. Norwegian defence authorities implicitly confirmed this in the wake of 9/11:

> From a Norwegian perspective, we have traditionally belonged to those in NATO that have emphasised the importance of Article 5. ... It implies that we from a Norwegian point of view must carefully fulfil our commitments.[548]

Expressing a committing attitude towards other allies' preferences in NATO may have been even more pronounced as the United States was the originator of DCI. Moreover, as Norway's closest ally was struck by the 9/11 terror attacks, a particular sensitivity towards US requirements may have evolved. According to the MoD:

> The USA is Norway's primary ally, and the commitments of collective defence that are embedded in the NATO treaty's article 5 have been a cornerstone in

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[545] FD, 2001/02300–14/FD III/PPIP/201.01, "Føringer til Forsvarssjefens militærfaglige utredning 2003", February 13, 2002.
[546] Ibid.
[547] Interview with Bell.
[548] FD, 2001/02824–143/FD II–4/ARE/016.9, "Alliert solidaritet og status for terrorrelaterte merbevilgninger blant sentrale allierte", October 30, 2001.

> Norwegian security for the past 52 years. We depend upon these sustained commitments.[549]

The Norwegian emphasis on allied commitments to key allies in NATO was consistent with the Norwegian evaluation of assistance to the United States before Operation Enduring Freedom was launched in October 2001. An internal report to the Defence Minister claimed that

> Norway has a clear self-interest to contribute to defeat and preclude international terrorism. Only that way may we be able to fulfil our obligations, as enshrined in Article 5 of the Atlantic Treaty and those expectations that lie in our enduring security-policy co-operation with the USA.[550]

The terror attacks on the United States and the subsequent Operation Enduring Freedom illustrates the Norwegian awareness of demonstrating solidarity with others. The statement above also illustrates how Norwegian and US interests coincided within NATO. The DCI made even small states a valuable contributor in the common effort to address concerns of mutual concern. According to the Defence Minister, "an adequate Norwegian contribution to peace and international solidarity must therefore include that we share inevitably dangers and burdens with others".[551] The positive stance towards a key ally was consistent with Norway's policy on the DCI. Portraying the mechanisms of multilateral co-operation and common interests, Norway's first report to the HLSG in September 1999 pointed out that

> Norway will highlight the DCI as the appropriate and adequate way, for the Alliance and nations, to deal with the emergence of a new security environment and a widening technological gap between the US and European forces.[552]

By underscoring the common interest of military transformation to address new challenges, Norwegian commitments were clearly displayed. Mentioning both "the Alliance and nations" in the same sentence, Norway implicitly used the DCI to blur the distinction between states

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[549] FD, 2001/02824–7/FD II/HVA/011.1 USA, "Møte i regjeringens sikkerhetsutvalg – momenter", [undated], 2001.
[550] FD, 2002/0006–237/FD II–4/NBB/011.1 USA spm, "R-notat om finansiering av Norges militære bidrag til Afghanistan", [undated], 2002.
[551] Kristin Krohn Devold (2002): "Truer NATO freden?", *Aftenposten*, September 9.
[552] FD, 1998/03424–30/FD III/ØKS/200.19, "Defence Capabilities Initiative – Norwegian Progress Report to the High Level Steering Group", September 8, 1999.

and institutions. This logic did not only signal an abstention of egoistic behaviour, thus stimulating an iterate culture of greater joint-gain solutions within NATO. Blurring the distinction between Norway and NATO could make it easier for other small states to tie national security to a broader multinational and transatlantic arrangement. Nurturing bonds of empathy and common interests, a committing behaviour is a means to reach a bigger end: to make the distinction between institutional and national security arrangements inseparable. As pointed out in the Defence Bill of February 2001, co-operation within NATO thereby depends upon the member states' ability to accommodate DCI requirements.[553]

Through a constructive participation in the US-led transformation process, Norway also made it harder for others to abstain from the same injunctions. As seen from a NORDEL perspective: "The pressure for consensus in NATO makes it difficult to stand alone – especially as the 'beauty contest' among member-states intensifies".[554] Norway should therefore, according to the Norwegian Ambassador to the United States, "cautiously evaluate when and where we want to oppose our allies".[555] The Norwegian response to the HLSG is as such consistent with perceptions prevailing among Norwegian defence officials on both sides of the Atlantic: "The decisions taken at the Washington Summit have made it mandatory to accelerate and reinforce the process of change".[556] By actively following up on the DCI, NATO's relevancy as the pivotal arena for transatlantic co-operation and dialogue would be sustained,[557] thus keeping NATO cohesive and thereby of continued interest for the United States.

The Norwegian envoy to the HLSG underlined the institutional commitment to accommodate the injunction: "[the Defence Bill of February 2001]... reflects the general need, desire and political will to adapt the Norwegian armed forces to respond to the guidelines" of the DCI.[558] Forging a mutual set of common interests was also evident as the MoD drafted a note for the Prime Minister to NATO's Secretary General:

> Improving Nato's defence capabilities is – and should be – the top priority for NATO and its members. I want to assure you that my government will do its

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[553] St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), p. 21.
[554] Interview with Landsverk, November 20, 2003.
[555] Interview with Vollebæk.
[556] FD, 1998/03424–30/FD III/ØKS/200.19, "Defence Capabilities Initiative – Norwegian Progress Report to the High Level Steering Group", September 8, 1999.
[557] Ibid.
[558] Ibid.

> utmost to ensure that Norway contributes substantially in creating an Alliance tailored for the 21st Century challenges.[559]

The Internal Motive: Providing Affordable Capabilities

To what extent are domestic motives consistent vis-à-vis key allies? If we interpret the data from an internal perspective, do institutional mechanisms provide additional explanatory power?

In his inaugurating speech NATO's new Secretary General in October 1999, Robertson outlined the three most critical components for the Alliance's continued relevancy: "Capabilities, capabilities and capabilities".[560] Since the end of the Cold War and the gradual emergence of a Revolution in Military Affairs, two incompatible trends emerged. Both had a reciprocity effect on each other. On the one hand, the defence budgets decreased dramatically, exploiting the peace dividend after four decades of Cold War. On the other hand, the escalating costs of military equipment as well as operational and maintenance costs from the existing structure had increased manifold.[561] Increasing discrepancy between operating costs and capability investments was a challenge of particular significance to smaller states. Operating with considerably smaller defence budgets than larger allies, military procurements in new capabilities are likely to have a significant impact on their defence budget.[562] Despite warnings by the Assistant Secretary General on Defence Investments in NATO, claiming that the DCI was going to be a costly venture,[563] the Norwegian MoD sent the following passage to NATO's Defence Planning Questionnaire in 2001:

> The Defence Capabilities Initiative is an instrument to transform and improve the capabilities of the Alliance, and therefore presents an important basis for the process of modernising the Norwegian Armed Forces.[564]

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[559] FD, 98/03424–54/FD II 4/KKN/200.19, "Utkast til svarbrev fra statsminister Stoltenberg til NATOs generalsekretær Robertson", April 18, 2000.
[560] Christopher Bennett (2002): "Capabilities, Capabilities, Capabilities", *NATO Review*, 50 (3), p. 1, accessible at: http://www.nato.int/docu/review/.
[561] Interview with Holme. See also Nils Holme (2001): "Aktuelle utfordringer i forsvarplanleggingen", speech at Oslo Militære Samfund, Oslo, April, 2, accessible at: http://www.oslomilsamfund.no/Arkiv.html; Sverre Diesen (2003): "Hvilket Forsvar trenger Norge?", speech at Polyteknisk forening, Oslo, November 25, accessible at: http://www2.tekblad.no/pf/pf27ga.html; and Sverre Diesen (2004): "Det militære paradigmeskiftet og dets konsekvenser for norsk forsvar", *Norsk Militært Tidsskrift*, 174 (10), pp. 10–12.
[562] Interview with Leif Lindback, National Armaments Director in the MoD, Oslo, March 5, 2004; and Jonny Otterlei, Deputy Director General in the MoD, Oslo, March 23, 2004.
[563] Interview with Bell.

An important motive for accommodating the American transformation initiative was therefore that the initiative presented affordable solutions to essential investments. Through the American DCI criteria, European NATO members could join together for a common funding of critical capabilities that not only became affordable, but also strengthened the Alliance's operational relevance in the 21st Century. According to Bell, this was one of the main objectives: to present affordable solutions on capability improvements to the European NATO members.[565] This had become evident during NATO's Operation Allied Force in 1999, but even more so as the United States led a coalition of the willing in Afghanistan two years later. According to the Director for the Atlantic Community Initiative, Stanley R. Sloan:

> The European Allies ... did not have the capabilities to make a serious contribution to the high-tech, high-altitude bombing campaign that the United States used to help defeat the Taliban regime in Afghanistan.[566]

The Norwegian motive to accommodate the Pentagon's operational vision for Europe was therefore not only a question of spending more money on defence, but also more wisely.[567] The Defence Bill of February 2001 argued that "... the large expenses on development, purchase and maintenance of many new military systems make few allies able to procure certain key capabilities alone".[568] The Defence Minister argued that it was important, especially for the smaller members, to concentrate on those capabilities that could be put at the Alliance's disposal.[569] An increased effort on multinational co-operation was regarded as both politically desirable as well as militarily and economically necessary if key capabilities were to be developed and procured.[570]

An important Norwegian motive to comply with the DCI was therefore the aspect of affordability; international trends towards more expensive military hardware made it necessary to develop, purchase and maintain key capabilities in conjunction with others. The alternative was the abandonment of key capabilities due to expensiveness.[571] The Norwegian accommodation may thus be interpreted as an institutional mechanism of fulfilling collective

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[564] FD, [no catalogue number], "Norwegian Reply to Defence Planning Questionnaire 2001. Item 1A – Statement on Defence Policy", [undated], 2001, p. 2.
[565] Interview with Bell.
[566] Stanley R. Sloan (2002): "Crisis Response", *NATO Review*, 50 (2), p. 26, accessed at: http://www.nato.int/docu/review/.
[567] Interview with Landsverk, November 20, 2003.
[568] St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), p. 21.
[569] Devold (2002): "Sikkerhetspolitikken i endring ...", Oslo, April 30.
[570] Ibid.

commitments: Through increased co-operation on a project of increasing concern in NATO, Norway could benefit more progressively than on her own. The institutional mechanism of co-operation based upon a common ground of interest thereby has a sense of *realpolitik*. A committing attitude towards the DCI would implicitly benefit national security concerns, as "the Armed Forces' ability to operate effectively with allies and other countries also was crucial for the defence of Norway".[572] As pointed out in the introductory remarks to this chapter, the analytical perspectives related to 'process' are hard to demarcate from the realists' emphasis on 'structure'.

Apart from narrowing the gap between operating costs and new investments, the American initiative would also spur the increasing interdependency between the various actors in NATO; Norwegian security interests would ultimately coincide with other European and US security interests.[573] Through a comprehensive military integration, facilitated by a cost-intensive transformation programme, co-operating partners would become more dependent on each other's capabilities. This again could increase the amalgamation of security interests across the Atlantic. Addressing the importance of identifying common ground on force transformation, the MoD emphasised the need for co-operative efforts:

> For small countries, enhanced co-operation within a multinational framework represents the only realistic option to acquire key military capabilities identified by the DCI process.[574]

From this perspective, it may seem as if the Norwegian adaptation to the DCI entailed a dualism. On the one hand, Norway became increasingly integrated into a defence system characterised by interdependence. This would facilitate closer institutional bonds across the Atlantic.

On the other hand, the same integration facilitated a crucial channel for US leverage on how small European states designed their force structure. The European NATO allies would keep up on a path of transformation that followed US principles. This phenomenon was also acknowledged by US State Department. Robert Simmons pointed out that the United States

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[571] Interview with Landsverk, November 20, 2003.
[572] Ibid, p. 28; interview with Rognmo, November 20, 2003.
[573] Interviews with Towsend and Efjestad.
[574] FD, 1998/03424–82/FD III/MRO(200.19, "Defence Capabilities Initiative, Norway and the Work in the High Level Steering Group", May 3, 2001.

would be a role model due to her size and technological advantages.[575] This was particularly so if capability shortfalls were to be addressed affordably.[576] The alternative of not accomplishing the DCI would, according to sources in the Pentagon and in the MoD, be less interoperability and less burdensharing. This again would have political consequences to European security and the future of NATO. Prospects for inefficient spending of scarce resources among European allies were subsequently likely to occur. According to Bell, "member states often tended to invest in the same capabilities – those providing most political and military prestige, rather than those needed for complementary reasons in the Alliance".[577]

As for our institutional interpretation of the Norwegian policy, what may come out of this interpretation? First of all, forging affordable solutions with other allies, smaller states like Norway could achieve national gains through close co-operation with others. By actively pooling resources towards capabilities that were critical to NATO, Norway could get the opportunity to provide real war-fighting capabilities. This would not only benefit Norway per se, but also display to key allies that Norway was serious in contributing to common ends; allied concerns were Norwegian concerns, and they were wielded cautiously. As pointed out by the Defence Minister herself:

> It is of great importance that the Armed Forces transform in a way that makes efficient operations with other countries attainable. In order to contribute militarily to the Alliance, Norway has to a greater extent than previously, coordinated and harmonised the national defence planning to modified allied requirements.[578]

Secondly, such a committing policy would confirm Norway's reputation as a credible and trustworthy partner. Norway's good standing signified empathy and solidarity towards other members of the Alliance. By forging a proactive stance on joint funding, other members, particularly the United States, would associate Norway with positive connotations, and enhance prospects for beneficial agreements in the future.

Also, the attainment of affordable capabilities would increase prospects for access and influence on other issues, as influence often tended to coincide with the contribution of

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[575] Interview with Simmons.
[576] Interview with Stuart.
[577] Interview with Bell.
[578] Devold (2002): "Omstillingen av Forsvaret...", Oslo, February 26 (the Minister's underlining).

critical military capabilities.[579] As the operational pattern in NATO increasingly resembled a coalition of the willing, it was seen as imperative that Norway was not regarded as a "free-rider".[580] If Norway and the other European members failed to accomplish these commitments, the issue would be linked to other issues of much greater concern: "The impression that NATO had become irrelevant, because Europe had not bothered to invest in their own Alliance".[581]

From an institutional perspective therefore, the DCI was regarded as a welcome opportunity to energize NATO; the DCI became a programmatic expression of common ideals inside Europe. Through a more focused co-operation on defence planning processes, each member would be better off by forging a coordinated defence effort.

Summing Up

Based on the co-operative processes in NATO, the DCI provided fertile ground for common interests to merge. Norway adapted to US requirements set forth through NATO because it coincided with national interests related to a broader context that exceeded military adaptation: political cohesiveness within Norway's primary defence pillar could be enhanced, and key capabilities could become more affordable. Hence, complying with the American proposal, adapting along DCI requirements could also underscore credible expectations of institutional reciprocity. As pointed out by the MoD, paying more attention to other allies' security concerns would "... strengthen our allies' motivation in contributing to Norwegian security".[582] The phenomenon may best be exemplified by a quote by the Norwegian Defence Minister, as she addressed NATO troops in Germany together with Secretary Rumsfeld:

> Norway is a very small country. We have always known that if we were attacked, we would depend upon help from our allies and the United States. This made it a great honour for us to be able to actually give some assistance to the United States when they needed us.[583]

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[579] Oral brief by Brigadier Sverre Diesen on "The Chief of Defence's Defence Study 2000" to The Norwegian Defence Association, Oslo, January 21, 2000; confirmed through interview with Bell.
[580] Devold (2002): "Sikkerhetspolitikken i endring ...", Oslo, April 30.
[581] Interview with Asmus.
[582] St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), p. 28; St.meld. nr. 38 (1998–1999), p. 9; confirmed through interviews with Kramer and Simmons.
[583] FD, 02/01793–7, "Troop Visit at NATO Air Base Geilenkirchen, Germany", June 11, 2002. See also DoD (2002): "Secretary Rumsfeld Visit with Troops at Geilenkirchen, Germany", *News Transcript*, June 7, accessible at: http://www.defense.gov/transcripts/archive.html.

What are the Evidences?

Still three years after the DCI was officially launched, US defence officials continued to stress the importance of European reforms. Under Secretary of State, Mark Grossman pointed out that "the growing capabilities gap between the United States and Europe is the most serious long-term problem facing NATO and must be addressed".[584] Krohn Devold, echoed the same sentiments, calling it "NATO's biggest challenge".[585] More focus should be on those forces that could conduct rapid operations outside NATO's area of responsibility. Based on the two motives above, what are the empirical evidences of American leverage? How did Norway respond to the United States' effort of transforming along the DCI? Which role did the DCI play in (a) Norway's policy towards NATO, and (b) her effort to attain new capabilities that were affordable to her Armed Forces?

Norway's "Beauty Contest" in NATO

On 4 June 1999, exactly two months after the DCI was launched, the Norwegian government presented the Defence White Paper No. 38: *Adapting the Armed Forces for Participation in International Operations*. The content was ambitious and signalled a strong commitment to out-of-area operations. Even though the United States had advocated such a policy for almost a decade, the Norwegian reforms also resembled national experiences from the Balkans. In connection with the Kosovo conflict in 1998–1999, a tardy deployment underscored the emphasis on a more deployable and sustainable force.[586] Combined with a continued positive development in the High North,[587] the White Paper was the first to bring the Armed Forces towards a more expeditionary profile.

When evidences of Norwegian adaptation towards US requirements are explained, it is important not to forget parallel reform processes at home. The White Paper on international operations coincided with familiar and well-known US perspectives. The MoD took advantage of this. As pointed out by the Deputy Defence Counsellor at NORDEL, "as the DCI became a hot topic in NATO, we used the White Paper for what it was worth, because we knew it was of great relevance to the High Level Steering Group".[588] According to an early

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[584] Marc Grossman (2002): "21st Century NATO: New Capabilities, New Members, New Relationships", *US Foreign Policy Agenda*, 7 (1), an electronic journal of the U.S. Department of State, accessible at: http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/journala.htm.
[585] Devold (2002): "Trenger vi NATO?".
[586] Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring*..., pp. 223–230.
[587] St.meld. nr. 38 (1998–1999), p. 8.
[588] Interview with Rognmo, November 20, 2003.

MoD report to the HLSG, the Norwegian reforms particularly emphasised expeditionary characteristics:

> The emphasis is on the need to ensure that our reaction forces will have sufficient sustainability, mobility, survivability and interoperability to fulfil the requirements specified in the DCI, in order to be fully interoperable with Nato reaction forces in general.[589]

The DCI criteria were closely embedded into the Norwegian reform plans, and became an important guideline for shaping the future force. Norway's close affiliation to the HLSG can as such be interpreted as an important move to portray herself as a serious actor on transformation. Following the report:

> The [White Paper of June 1999] reflects the growing awareness in Norway, that we should adjust the posture, quality and readiness of our armed forces to facilitate a more substantial and flexible contribution to international operations.[590]

Based on an institutionalist interpretation, aspects of issue-linking may provide us with more knowledge as to how US influence can be explained. The linkage between a possible DCI failure and a transatlantic drift spurred the Norwegian reforms. By displaying the new policy to the HLSG, it portrayed Norway as a credible member that wielded her DCI commitments seriously. This would, from a Norwegian viewpoint, demonstrate institutional commitments and solidarity to those declarations made at the Washington Summit in April 1999. The White Paper urgently pointed out in the introductory remarks that a rapid improvement of out-of-area capabilities was important: "The work dedicated to attain these capabilities could not be delayed until the next Defence Bill [of February 2001] was accomplished".[591] An accelerated reform towards a more deployable force was crucial for Norway and for the Armed Forces' reputation abroad.[592] The White Paper solemnly declared that the present arrangement, where only a few response forces corresponded to allied requirements, was inadequate.[593] With the

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[589] FD, 1998/03424–30/FD III/ØKS/200.19, "Defence Capabilities Initiative – Norwegian Progress Report to the High Level Steering Group", September 8, 1999.
[590] Ibid.
[591] Ibid.
[592] St.meld. nr. 38 (1998–1999), p. 6.
[593] Ibid, p. 32

new Defence Bill of February 2001, the entire pool of response forces should be usable for any operation undertaken internationally.[594]

The early Norwegian commitment to refocus parts of her forces towards international operations thereby corresponded well with preferences originating from the HLSG, which Secretary Cohen had proposed to set up. Both politically and militarily, the DCI became a framework for the Norwegian defence planning to adjust within, even though it implied that NATO would present DCI-related demands to Norway.[595] By implementing reforms towards non-Article 5 operations, Norway paid more attention to US demands and expectations: "non-Article 5-operations outside NATO's primary area will likely be more weighted in the years ahead".[596] As the Norwegian envoy to the HLSG put it, "the reputation of being a proactive partner that fulfilled her institutional obligations could not be underestimated".[597]

It is important to note, however, that the effect from DCI was more conspicuous at the policy level in the MoD and at NORDEL than within the military ranks. In the Armed Forces' Defence Study 2000, economic and national imperatives prevailed more than NATO injunctions.[598]

Institutional transparency in the DCI process may have contributed even more to Norwegian sensitivity. All the members in NATO would know, through the HLSG, who were reluctant to fulfil the collective obligations as agreed upon at the Washington Summit. This could harm the national reputation of any member because the new strategic concept would be undermined. This could have far-reaching repercussions to NATO's rationale, Norway's credibility as a committed partner, and ultimately to her security. Norway therefore had to engage actively in processes that others deemed important.[599] As Landsverk urgently pointed out: "NATO is a consensus organisation. It may be costly to stand alone. The pressure for compliance is therefore persistent".[600] Within a collective security arrangement, Norwegian defence officials thereby found it increasingly hard to stand aloof, or pursue myopic interests. By complying with rules, principles and procedures that ultimately would make everybody better off, Norway could avoid the reputation of being a "free-rider" that struggled for Article

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[594] Ibid.
[595] FD (2000): "NATOs initiativ…", p. 3.
[596] Ibid, p. 9.
[597] Interview with Landsverk, November 20, 2003.
[598] Forsvarssjefen [FSJ] (2000): "Forsvarssjefens forsvarsstudie 2000" ["The Chief of Defence's Defence Study 2000"], Oslo, June 22, pp. 5–9.
[599] St.meld. nr. 38 (1998–1999), p. 9.
[600] Interview with Landsverk, November 20, 2003.

5 obligations inside NATO territory only.[601] This could give the impression that Norway paid less tribute to challenges that other allies were engrossed by, and that were regarded critical to other allies' security.[602]

Issue-linking was moreover emphasised in an internal MoD paper to the Defence Minister in 2000. Informing the Minister that Norway had a general interest in developing her defence policy in accordance with the DCI,[603] a clear link between own security, others' security and institutional commitments was set. Complying to, and actively participating in the DCI process would integrate US preferences with a prosperous NATO, and ultimately benefit Norwegian interests. By linking NATO cohesiveness and transatlantic security to the DCI, attaining far-reaching and holistic objectives within an institutional framework became both easier and more natural.[604] Pursuing myopic national interests would be regarded as contra-productive, and thus undermine the collective sentiments prevailing inside NATO.

The effort to enhance one's own reputation within NATO may have accentuated even more as the Alliance expanded. As pointed out by the Norwegian envoy to the NORDEL, more states were able to voice their interests on the transatlantic arena; this made it much more demanding to provide attention.[605] A prominent feature characterising the Norwegian policy was therefore to make a highly visible impression on the HLSG, particularly as to how Norway progressed on the DCI. It may seem as if this policy towards allied members succeeded reasonably well. In his Annual Defence Review in 2000, SACLANT noticed the Norwegian effort of fulfilling her collective commitments:

> Norway continues to support the Alliance's ability to rapidly deploy forces and equipment both within, and beyond, the Euro-Atlantic region. Norway is keenly aware of her obligation to augment her ability to strategically deploy national forces for Article 5 operations and Crisis Response Operations.[606]

According to Landsverk, the demands and expectations exercised through the Force Goal process and the HLSG were important guidelines for all the members. Only that way could

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[601] Ibid. Asmus indicated that those NATO members that did not take transformation seriously during the 1990s were regarded as potential "free-riders" in NATO (interview with Asmus).
[602] See St.meld. nr. 38 (1998–1999), p. 9; St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), p. 35.
[603] FD, 1998/03424–45/FD III 1/MRO/200.19, "DCI – nasjonal policy", February 2, 2000. This statement is also expressed in FD (2000): "NATOs initiativ…", p. 3.
[604] Interview with Landsverk and Rognmo, November 20, 2003.
[605] Interviews with Landsverk, October 14, 2004.
[606] FD, 2000/07820, "Annual Defence Review 2000: Final Assessment– Norway", September 29, 2000.

Norway adjust to those processes that took place within NATO, thereby contributing to a more integrated transatlantic arena for security and defence co-operation.[607]

To what extent did the Norwegian effort to accommodate the DCI transcend the political intentions displayed in Brussels? In terms of practical outputs in the military sphere, which empirical evidences can substantiate the interpretation at the political level? Is there a sense of consistency between the political and military sphere, thereby excluding the possibility of political rhetoric? The governmental recommendation to implement an *Armed Task Force for International Operations*, with contribution from all service branches provides compelling evidences of consistency between political ambitions and military substance.[608] Following the White Paper of June 1999, the Army core of the Task Force would be an expanded battalion consisting of both mechanised and armoured infantry. To reinforce the battalion, a more robust force comprising battle tanks, artillery and engineering elements were to be envisaged. Moreover, qualitatively improved contributions from the Navy, the Air Force and the Special Forces were foreseen as integral parts, including various support elements. The total Task Force would comprise a pool of approximately 3,500 personnel, although it was not envisaged to deploy the total force for sustained operations.[609]

Interpreting the data from a military implementation perspective, evidences of US influence on the Norwegian force structure seem persuasive. For the first time since World War II, the contours of an expeditionary force structure were established. According to a MoD report, the force would enable Norway to participate in any mission, ranging "... from less demanding preventive tasks in an unstable region, to peace enforcement and Article 5 operations in a full-fledged armed conflict".[610] By loyally complying to, and actively following up on, US principles as agreed upon at the Washington Summit, Norway seriously strengthened her reputation as a partner willing to provide substantial contributions. All the forces, as proposed in the Defence White Paper, coincided with US demands and expectations on relevant capabilities that could operate at a long distance at short notice.

It may also seem as if the evidences maintain their validity throughout the period. By September 2000, Norwegian defence authorities reiterated their obligation to participate in all kinds of operations in various international theatres. As a MoD report to the Chairman of the HLSG pointed out:

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[607] Interview with Landsverk, November 20, 2003.
[608] See St.meld. nr. 38 (1998–1999), chap. 4 and annex 1.
[609] Ibid, p. 49.
[610] FD, 1998/03424–30/FD III/ØKS/200.19, "Defence Capabilities Initiative – Norwegian Progress Report to the High Level Steering Group", September 8, 1999.

> The Army will be organised and trained to conduct all aspects of land operations up to division level. Main components are national brigades and reaction force battalion groups for international operations.[611]

Adapting along the DCI criteria, it may also seem as if the Army transformation correlated with the NATO injunction set forth by the DCI criteria related to deployability and mobility.[612] From a Norwegian viewpoint, all units fulfilled the relevant standards for interoperability, which was a precondition for narrowing the technological gap with the United States, and thus strengthening NATO's cohesiveness. Regarding US emphasis on strategic mobility, the Norwegian Task Force also included a significant capability to accommodate these particular DCI requirements. The Air Force's contribution included two C-130 *Hercules* transport aircraft.[613]

In addition, strategic sealift of the Army battle group had been ensured through dormant contracts with Norwegian commercial shipping companies.[614] These contracts included redundant capacity, in order for Norway to be able to offer a sealift capacity to NATO. Reinforced capacity for logistics support was also included, for example through an enhanced National Support Element as part of the Army's battle group for operations outside NATO territory. [615] This capacity correlates with the sustainability imperative, where "Nato nations should ... put in place measures or enablers to enhance co-operation and multinationality in logistics".[616] All units were also to have nuclear, biological and chemical protection, in accordance with the DCI criteria of survivability: "all nations should complete the development of NBC personal protection equipment that is more operationally effective and have sufficient stocks to equip deployed forces where the threat so requires".[617]

As for effective communication between US and European forces, deployable communication module that satisfied US standards for secure transfer of information had been established.[618] For units earmarked for international operations, these modules had become standard equipment. This effort corresponded with the DCI criteria of effective engagement:

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[611] FD, 1998/03424–65/FD III/MRO/200.19, "Resources for the Implementation of the DCI – Norwegian Indications on Alternative Approaches", September 20, 2000.
[612] FD, 990/3701, "Defence Capabilities Initiative – Report to Heads of State and Government", May 10, 1999.
[613] St.meld. nr. 38 (1998–1999), p. 30.
[614] Ibid, p. 25.
[615] St.meld. nr. 38 (1998–1999), p. 25.
[616]FD, 990/3701, "Defence Capabilities Initiative – Report to Heads of State and Government", May 10, 1999.
[617] St.meld. nr. 38 (1998–1999), p. 26.
[618] Ibid.

"Nato nations should give a high priority to the development of interoperability between current generation tactical communication systems".[619]

The DCI criteria of effective engagement had also been used to facilitate a more agile and viable Air Force in the offensive role, especially regarding air-to-ground operations. Following NATO's implementation paper on DCI, "the Alliance should encourage the continued development and acquisition of ... precision guided munitions to permit all Allies to contribute to operations where such munitions are required".[620] The HLSG therefore consulted Norway, to join other member states in a joint venture to acquire PGM.[621] As an internal MoD paper pointed out, the traditional role of the Air Force has primarily been defensive, emphasising the air-to-air combat role.[622] As the Alliance was likely to become more engaged in operations where air-to-ground operations would increase, the MoD wanted to adapt to the requirement. This was also reflected in the White Paper of June 1999: "The Armed Forces' ambition is to provide air-to-ground capacity to their fighter planes".[623]

Following the Norwegian Air Force, the Phoenix Project may provide another example of Norwegian adaptation towards US preferences set forth through the DCI.
Stressing the operational requirement for increased deployability and mobility, the MoD tasked the Air Force to create a new structure, with the following purpose: Meet the requirement of mobility; meet the requirement of deployability; enhance logistic systems, and enhance the survivability of forces.[624] These principles correspond closely with the American Joint Vision 2010, which claims dominant manoeuvre, precision engagement, focused logistics and full-dimensional protection to be part of their Emerging Operational Concept.[625] In a report to the HLSG one year later, the Norwegian Air Force had identified core competence in "... all weather and day/night multi-role combat air operations, air-to-air and air-to-ground capabilities".[626] Relevant DCI decisions are located in the effective engagement principle of a continued development and acquisition of all-weather precision guided missiles

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[619] FD, 990/3701, "Defence Capabilities Initiative – Report to Heads of State and Government", May 10, 1999.
[620] Ibid, p. 3.
[621] FD, 1998/03424–52/FD III 1/MRO/200.19, "Forespørsel om norsk deltakelse i multinasjonalt samarbeid om anskaffelse, administrering og lagring av presisjonsstyrte våpen (PGM) for F-16 jagerfly", April 11, 2000.
[622] Ibid.
[623] St.meld. nr. 38 (1998–1999), p. 30.
[624] FD, 1998/03424–30/FD III/ØKS/200.19, "Defence Capabilities Initiative – Norwegian Progress Report to the High Level Steering Group", September 8, 1999.
[625] Joint Chiefs of Staff (2000): "Joint Vision", pp. 19–21.
[626] FD, 1998/03424–65/FD III/MRO/200.19, "Resources for the Implementation of the DCI – Norwegian Indications on Alternative Approaches", September 20, 2000. See also Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring*..., p. 225.

and suppression of enemy air defences.[627] The resemblance to the US preferences is striking, as the new Air Force builds on the same principles as those of the United States in its Joint Vision 2010.[628] It may seem as if the US effort of improving Norway's defence capabilities through NATO had gained momentum.

It is important to note, however, that most of the military adjustments coincided with Norway's broader transformation agenda. More or less chronic budget deficiencies, less imminent threats in the High North, and operative deficiencies revealed during the Balkan operations all pointed in the same direction: a smaller but more deployable force that could respond at short notice to any challenge at home or abroad. It may be of interest to note that even though the Defence Review Commission and the Defence Study 2000 were less explicit on DCI requirements, the network of defence officials that interacted with allied colleagues on the international arena used the two reports for what they were worth.[629] Accommodating US requirements set forth through NATO was thereby substantiated by authoritative analysis. As the Norwegian envoy prescribed to the Chairman of the HLSG,

> the proposed reforms prepare the ground for a comprehensive reorganisation of all parts of the defence structure. Both reports [the CHOD's Defence Study 2000 and the government's Defence Review Commission] envisage a smaller, more responsive, and more mobile defence structure with core elements from all services. These proposals ... will make the Norwegian defence structure more compatible with Nato's *New Strategic Concept*.[630]

Interviewing the author of the document three years later in Brussels, the relevancy and consistency of the promulgation was stronger than ever: "the DCI did play an indispensable role for the Norwegian transformation at home, and for the Alliance cohesiveness abroad".[631] According to a MoD report to the HLSG, the Defence Study 2000 and the Defence Review Commission, as well as the White Paper of June 1999 "... would form an important basis for the further development of our national response to the DCI".[632] The Norwegian envoy also stated that "... as far as international operations are concerned, the Defence Review

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[627] FD, 990/3701, "Defence Capabilities Initiative – Report to Heads of State and Government", May 10, 1999.
[628] Joint Chiefs of Staff (2000): "Joint Vision" pp. 19–21.
[629] Interview with Rognmo, November 20, 2003.
[630] FD, 1998/03424–65/FD III/MRO/200.19, "Resources for the Implementation of the DCI – Norwegian Indications on Alternative Approaches", September 20, 2000.
[631] Interview with Rognmo, November 20, 2003.
[632] FD, 1998/03424–30/FD III/ØKS/200.19, "Defence Capabilities Initiative – Norwegian Progress Report to the High Level Steering Group", September 8, 1999.

Commission's work will have basis in the White Paper [of June 1999],[633] thereby ensuring that the committee's recommendations would be harmonised with the DCI "... to better support Nato's new defence guidelines".[634] Even though the Defence Review Commission in reality took a broader approach, encapsulating the security policy and military development in Norway's vicinity as well as guidelines from NATO's Washington Summit, the recommendations coincided with the MoD's effort of portraying Norway as a credible actor on defence reform. According to the report, it was important "... to reorganise the Norwegian force structure according to the headline goals defined by the DCI".[635]

The Quest for Affordable Forces

As Secretary Cohen had outlined his Common Operational Vision to his European counterparts, scarce resources turned out to be of grave concern for Norway. Transforming into a more deployable and sustainable force raised prospects for increased investments dramatically. This would again have consequences for the existing defence concept. According to the MoD:

> A major problem for many members will be that increased focus on hi-tech forces requires heavy expenditure. ... Universal conscription and the total defence concept will not easily be reconciled with the new initiative.[636]

This apprehension was reiterated in a MoD report to the MFA; the DCI "... could imply substantial economic expenditure to the members ... in a time when defence budgets were under strain"[637]. This was again pointed at in a background dossier from the MoD to the Defence Review Commission in October 1999: "the initiative poses ... over time a number of resource related consequences".[638] The US initiative accelerated an approach where new and costly procurements would have to be financed multilaterally. The rationale may be found in the Defence Bill of February 2001, the second MoD publication in 19 months aiming to transform the Armed Forces. Financial implications of the institutional requirements were displayed in their entirety. A particular emphasis was put on the increasing inconsistency

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[633] Ibid.
[634] Ibid.
[635] NOU (2000): *Et nytt Forsvar...*, p. 32.
[636] FD, 98/03968–2/FD II/SE/ABH/011.1– USA, "Inntrykk etter Norfolk-konferansen 13.–15. november 1998", November 16, 1998.
[637] FD, 98/03424–6/FD II–3/ESP/200.19, "Det amerikanske Defence Capabilities Initiative", December 15, 1998.
[638] FD, 1998/03424–34/FD III–1/MRO/200.19, "DCI – oversendelse av bakgrunnsnotat", October 27, 1999.

between national defence efforts on the one hand and NATO's demanding Force Goals on the other.[639] This had resulted in a situation where the Alliance enjoyed great abundance on some capabilities while severe shortcomings on others.[640] A reason for this was, according to the Norwegian Defence Counsellor in Washington, that too many European allies wanted to retain a sustainable force on their own.[641] It was nevertheless, according to the Government, politically desirable as well as militarily and economically necessary to focus on multinational solutions, as far as new capabilities were concerned.[642]

Thus, the governmental recommendation presented to the Storting in February 2001 also seems to be consistent with the apprehension expressed by the Norwegian envoy to Brussels four months earlier. To the HLSG Chairman, the Norwegian delegation acknowledged that

> ... a major concern is an increasing imbalance between investment and operating cost. Norway [therefore] supports the idea of multinational, joint and common funding as a supplementing vehicle to national implementation of DCI.[643]

Norway's institutional dependency on NATO may have made it mandatory to strike a new balance between investments on the one hand and operating costs on the other. Fulfilling NATO's expectations could be accomplished through "... a major reduction in the peace time establishment".[644] Elevating NATO's injunctions into own defence policy could from a short-term perspective ensure DCI-related capabilities to be present in all the services.[645] In a longer perspective, investments in DCI-related capabilities had to emphasise multinational, joint or common funding procedures.[646]

To what extent did these political prerogatives transcend the military sphere? Did the political gravitation from the DCI influence a Defence Headquarters that was accustomed to deal with sovereign capabilities only? As a MoD report to the Defence Headquarters pointed out, joint funding

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[639] St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), p. 21.
[640] Ibid.
[641] Informal interview with Wang, Washington D.C., July 31, 2003.
[642] St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), p. 21.
[643] FD, 1998/03424–65/FD III/MRO/200.19, "Resources for the Implementation of the DCI – Norwegian Indications on Alternative Approaches", September 20, 2000.
[644] Ibid.
[645] Ibid.
[646] Ibid.

> ... is regarded to be an advantage for smaller NATO-members with limited resources. If the work [on joint funding] succeeds, it may facilitate new opportunities for requested capabilities that cannot be acquired within a national framework.[647]

The MoD therefore requested the Defence Headquarters to come forward with propositions where the Armed Forces could invest jointly with other allies. The suggestions should emphasise DCI-related capabilities such as strategic air and sea transport, PGM and unmanned aerial vehicles.[648] This would accelerate the transformation climate within the Armed Forces, and persuade staff officers to think along new criteria for success.
It may seem as if the military establishment easily adopted the MoD request. During the prestigious Oslo Symposium 2001 on NATO's Future Transformation, the Norwegian Chief of Defence, General Sigurd Frisvold claimed:

> As a small nation, we consider the multinational aspect of the [DCI] process to be most important. It is not necessarily a sound approach that smaller NATO nations and partner nations duplicate efforts.[649]

Affordability through joint, common and multinational funding received military support and legitimacy. Evidences of implementation, that all may be traced to the American initiative, were numerous. Due to high acquisition costs, they all emphasised the prerogative of affordability: Air-to-ground capacity for F-16 mid-life update, including PGM, targeting pods and electronic warfare equipment; situation awareness and access to intelligence for the armed forces; secure communications, and a wide range of logistics support.[650] As the MoD pointed out, these were all areas for joint, common and multinational funding, and were essential for smaller states' ability to fulfil their institutional obligations.[651] Also, unmanned aerial vehicles and dormant contracts with civilian companies on strategic sealift capacities were emphasised and given high priority.[652] The Norwegian focus on strategic sealift capacity

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[647] FD, 1998/03424–63/FD III/MRO/200.19, "DCI – synliggjøring av norske områder for multinasjonalt samarbeid", August 16, 2000.
[648] Ibid.
[649] Sigurd Frisvold (2001): " Welcome Remarks", at The Oslo Symposium 2001: Building A Vision: NATO's Future Transformation, Sundvollen, September 5, 2001.
[650] FD, 1998/03424–65/FD III/MRO/200.19, "Resources for the Implementation of the DCI – Norwegian Indications on Alternative Approaches", September 20, 2000.
[651] Ibid.
[652] Regarding dormant contracts with civilian ship contractors, see FD, 98/03424–38/FD III/ØKS/MRI/200.19, "Nasjonal oppfølging av DCDI tiltak – fullmakt", November 26, 1999.

even generated honour from NATO's Secretary General as the project continued into the PCC process: "Strategic sealift is decisive so that NATO members can deploy their forces at the right time. ... I will therefore congratulate Norway with their vigorous leadership on this issue".[653]

Again, there is reason to point out that some of these requirements, such as the air-to-ground capacity for the F-16s, were also a reflection of the Norwegian experience from the Kosovo campaign in March 1999. During Operation Allied Force, the absence of precision guided missiles and targeting pods incapacitated the Norwegian Air Force in direct combat operations.[654] Some of the reforms implemented thereby coincided with national experiences. The DCI, however, provided a timely, programmatic and methodological expression for how these operative deficiencies could be managed.[655] The disadvantage was nevertheless that the costly reforms would undermine Norway's ability to operate independently. This concern was notified by the MoD after the Norfolk conference in November 1998.[656] As the senior MoD official remarked after returning to Oslo:

> The interdependency may increase, and it may be more difficult to mark own standpoints regarding international crisis management, accompanied by a reduced control over national forces in peacetime.[657]

Increased emphasis on affordability could also complicate the task of unilateral crisis management, making it harder to escalate or elevate minor disputes to the institutional level. Moreover, as the MoD report pointed out, it may be more difficult to assume sovereign decisions on participation in various crises if Norwegian niche capacities were badly needed by allies.[658]

The search for affordability can as such be regarded with ambiguity. On the one hand, through a permissive behaviour that stimulated the institutional expectation for compliance and consent, Norway got access to capabilities that otherwise would have been too expensive

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[653] FD (2003): "Lord Robertson berømmer norsk innsats for strategisk sjøtransport", *Pressemelding*, no. 23, June 16, accessible at: http://odin.dep.no/odinarkiv/norsk/dep/fd/2003/bn.html.
[654] Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring*..., p. 225.
[655] Interview with Asmus; Gehman (1999): "Transforming NATO Defense Capabilities". See also Commander US Air Forces in Europe, General Gregory S. Martin (2001): "Common Operational Vision for NATO Militaries", speech at the AFA's 17th Annual Air Warfare Symposium, February 15, accessible at: http://www.aef.org/pub/symposia.asp.
[656] FD, 98/03968–2/FD II/SE/ABH/011.1– USA, "Inntrykk etter Norfolk-konferansen 13.–15. november 1998", November 16, 1998.
[657] FD, 98/03424–6/FD II–3/ESP/200.19, "Det amerikanske Defence Capabilities Initiative", December 15, 1998.
[658] Ibid.

to acquire alone. On the other hand, Norway could run the risk of getting a looser grip on the ability to defend herself independently. As more key capabilities were financed jointly, the same capabilities could also more easily get out of reach, or in the hands of allies that not necessarily would support Norwegian interests under any circumstance. Moreover, if Norway should retain capabilities that other allies requested, it could have consequences for allies' motivation of assisting Norway if needed at a later stage. This could particularly be so in conflicts of a controversial nature, or where the necessity to sacrifice lives or exceed norms of legality and legitimacy seems less compelling.

The quest for affordability seemed to avoid the problem of a balanced force structure. As a MoD report claimed before the decision to comply with the US initiative was reached: "there is a limit for how far one may go in the direction of reducing the force structure in order to modernise the rest".[659] This development, however, goes beyond the control of small states, and may have influenced Norway's decision to fully comply with a US initiative that implicitly integrated her defence into a broader international framework. The nature and character of the DCI went in the same direction as strictly national incentives for reform. This made the military adaptation towards allied requirements easier to accomplish.

Conclusion

Based on the institutionalist assumptions made in chapter 3, we have explored the possible correlation between co-operating processes in NATO and US influence on Norwegian security and defence policy. Like the realist interpretation, motives and evidences are closely related to self-interests; Norwegian interests have been compatible to allied requirements in the sense that the international structure provides incentives for enhanced co-operation. However, contrary to the realists' approach, the emphasis on mutual advantages and joint gains has been stimulated through co-operative processes. Rather than focusing on isolated security interests from a rather pessimistic perspective, the analysis has emphasised Norway's prospects for joint gain solutions through co-operation with other like-minded partners. Inside NATO, small states were given the opportunity to address concerns of mutual interest, and display to each other that everyone was better off if a coordinated defence effort along DCI-injunctions was accomplished. In this process, it became necessary to display credibility to ensure that collective security interests were handled appropriately. As Jagland claimed,

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[659] Ibid.

"credibility has always been a label we want to put on Norway's image in NATO".[660] In that respect, institutional mechanisms of issue-linking, committing policies and solidarity, have been at the forefront for Norwegian defence authorities.

A comprehensive set of DCI injunctions, set forth by the United States to transform European armed forces, was accepted and adhered to. This may have accelerated even more by a number of strictly national requirements that indicated similar reforms. Military threats of a more limited character, but which could arise faster, justified a more deployable force.

Coupled with operative deficiencies experienced at the Balkans, the DCI provided a welcome programmatic expression for Norway to transform within. This awareness may have been more at the forefront in the MoD than in the military establishment. While the Defence Study 2000 seemed to focus on how to sustain a national defence within economic restraints, the network of MoD officials interacting with allied colleagues in Brussels and Washington seemed more engrossed by political commitments.

Blended with strictly national incentives for transformation, as portrayed by the Defence Study 2000 and the Defence Review Commission, which conclusions can be drawn? How can US influence be explained through the lenses of Norwegian participation in NATO-processes? At least two institutionalist interpretations can be suggested.

Finding I: Explaining US Influence as a Result of Commitments

Our first finding suggests that US influence can be explained as out of Norway's committing attitude towards co-operative processes in NATO. US influence can therefore be explained as a reflection of Norway's effort to capitalise on the DCI: through the DCI, a common ground for the member states' security interests was facilitated. On this fundament, a more effective and rational approach towards the acquisition of key military capabilities could proceed. Being part of a security community that is increasingly interdependent, this focus on self-interests that builds on a mutual concern that coincides with other allies may not come as a surprise. It may serve Norway's overall strategic and long-term security interests of sustaining a collective cohesiveness across the Atlantic. Issue-linkages between the DCI, a committing posture, and own security arrangements are as such identified.

Given Norway's reliance, or even dependency on NATO, the effort to refine a common set of security interests that were compatible to other allies may have been crucial. The alternative of pursuing myopic self-interests would in a longer perspective have grave

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[660] Interview with Jagland.

repercussions to own security: reciprocity would neither be institutionalised nor revitalised among friends and allies when new threats occurred. The importance of a committing posture may have been even more precarious as the DCI was launched from Norway's primary ally.

The importance of adapting to the US-led transformation process seems to have reached a normative level. As the terror attacks on the United States reached their first anniversary, the Defence Minister stated in a newspaper chronicle "... we are *morally* committed to fight terrorism and share the burden with other countries in the coalition".[661] Even though the statement does not relate directly to the DCI, it underscores the important sentiment of how institutional arrangements should be addressed among smaller members. The Norwegian awareness of displaying national interests in conjunction with key allies in NATO has not gone unnoticed. According to Kramer,

> Norway was one of the most active and constructive participants in the DCI process, particularly compared to many of the other European members who either were too independent and sovereign or economically indecisive.[662]

As the Norwegian Prime Minister's letter to the Secretary General pointed out, "more than ever, we remain convinced that own security can only be ensured through a NATO adapted to a new security environment".[663] As explained in chapter 2, the United States had been the most prominent actor to forge the Alliance into this new environment. As a report from the Norwegian Embassy in Washington pointed out, "the US engagement in a future NATO is probably a function of where the European members set their limit out of political and economic realities".[664] A committing attitude towards the DCI thereby gave the impression that unless European allies undertook serious action on military reforms, NATO would slide into irrelevancy. A dispiriting "two-class NATO", involving a dysfunctional division of labour could emerge "with a precision class and a bleeding class".[665] This would be a development that could undermine the principle of shared risk and responsibility that has been NATO's foundation since its inception.

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[661] Kristin Krohn Devold (2002): "Den langvarige krigen", *Verdens Gang*, September 11 (the author's italics).
[662] Interview with Kramer.
[663] FD, 98/03424–54/FD II 4/KKN/200.19, "Utkast til svarbrev fra statsminister Stoltenberg til NATOs generalsekretær Robertson", April 18, 2000.
[664] Kgl. norske ambassade Washington D.C., 1998/50989/SPAVD/JAO/101094, "Amerikanske perspektiver på de sikkerhets- og forsvarspolitiske forbindelser med Europa", October 9, 1999.
[665] NATO (2000): "Remarks by NATO Secretary General, Lord Robertson, Defence Week Conference Brussels, Belgium. 'Rebalancing NATO for a Strong Future'", *NATO Speeches*, January 31, accessible at: http://www.nato.int/docu/speech.htm.

Norwegian non-membership in the EU may contribute to explain a particular committing attitude towards the DCI. A committing policy towards a US initiative may have been less critical to those European member states that were part of the EU. Norwegian sentiments agreed with NATO's General Secretary: " The EU cannot, and should not, try to unify in opposition to the US".[666] For a small state outside the EU, a committing posture towards the US may to a certain extent compensate for the lack of institutional belonging in Europe. As pointed out by Jagland,

> the fact that we are outside the EU makes it even more important to keep close relations with the United States. This may to a certain extent compensate for the lack of influence we experience by being outside the EU.[667]

This statement is consistent with the opinion of other Norwegian Ministers, regardless of political flavour. Social Democrats as well as Conservatives and Christian Democrats all express the importance of fulfilling their NATO obligations, as a means to make sure that the Alliance is the primary arena for transatlantic relations. As the Norwegian Prime Minister pointed out in his letter to NATO's Secretary General in 2000, "the bottom-line remains that all our decisions will be embedded within the framework of the new Nato".[668] In that respect, the issue of fulfilling obligations towards NATO's demands has proven to be of great importance, not only in the DCI process, but also in times of war. As Defence Minister Bjørn Tore Godal from the Labour Party declared after the 9/11 terror attacks,

> The USA is Norway's primary ally. Norway already supports the USA through intelligence. If additional requests are presented, including military support, we will of course be positive, in accordance with our solidarity commitments in Article 5 in the Atlantic Treaty. Norwegian authorities take the solidarity commitment as stated in Article 5 very seriously.[669]

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[666] NATO (2003): "Closing Remarks by NATO Secretary General, Lord Robertson, at the 2nd European Parliament Meetings on Defence", *NATO Speeches*, November 25, accessible at: http://www.nato.int/docu/speech.htm.
[667] Interview with Jagland.
[668] FD, 98/03424–54/FD II 4/KKN/200.19, "Utkast til svarbrev fra statsminister Stoltenberg til NATOs generalsekretær Robertson", April 18, 2000.
[669] FD (2001): "Norsk støtte til USA", *Pressemelding*, no. 44, September 14, accessible at: http://odin.dep.no/odinarkiv/norsk/dep/fd/2001/.

The last sentence in the Minister's passage would have been superfluous if it was not for the fact that obligations to fulfil NATO commitments are crucial to Norwegian security and defence policy. Complying with the obligation to make NATO more effective, the DCI enabled even smaller states to display solidarity with larger allies.

In that respect, US influence through the DCI can be explained as a welcome opportunity for smaller states to fulfil, and make conspicuous, allied partners' expectations. Norway had, after all, benefited from over 50 years with credible security commitments from the United States. This may have become even more precarious as NATO expands and all members are expected to agree by the principle of unanimity. Obeying to the DCI may prevent a further fragmentation of the Alliance to develop. The tendency of marginalisation, especially of smaller states, would in that respect degrade the institutional solidarity upon which Norway bases much of her security. Following the Defence Bill of February 2001, it is of paramount importance for Norway to protect the NATO mechanisms of consultancy, as they hinder bilateral tendencies and the marginalisation of smaller states' interests.[670] Actively accepting and participating on the DCI may have been regarded as a bulwark towards tendencies where bilateral contacts, especially between the larger states, became of increased importance.[671] A committing attitude towards the DCI would give even smaller states the opportunity to influence through relevant capabilities, thus keeping the collective and institutionalised solidarity within NATO healthy.

Finding II: Explaining US Influence as a Result of Force Reductions

The second finding brings our first conclusion further. It suggests that American leverage can be explained as a Norwegian policy of downsizing her Armed Forces. The processes in NATO provided a co-operative climate that stimulated trust and confidence between the member states. This made it easier, even for smaller and potentially more vulnerable states, to abstain from a larger force than was previously deemed necessary. Our finding suggests that in order to cope with declining defence budgets, escalating costs on military equipment, as well as increasing operational and maintenance costs, Norway voluntarily renounced a large force that in principle could operate more independently. Abstaining from a larger force to make a smaller but more agile force affordable may have become conceivable within a larger co-operative framework.

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[670] St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), p. 22. See also Devold (2002): "Sikkerhetspolitikken endring…", Oslo, April 30.
[671] Ibid.

As new challenges were perceived in a common posture, and within NATO's integrated command structure, it may have been both natural and rational to expect member states to develop trust and sympathy with each other. At the Pentagon's OSD, it was claimed that Norway had done the right reform towards niche capabilities that could generate political capital; empathy and acts of solidarity were expressed: "At least bilaterally, you can depend on us".[672] Sentiments such as this may, at least in policy circles, have made it easier to change procurement policies towards increased specialisation and differentiation. A common benefit by joint, common and multinational funding may have been conceivable, because it reduced the range of unexpected behaviour that naturally follows from increased interdependency and transparency. As the MoD report on the Norfolk conference claimed, even though the American transformation initiative would make a balanced defence hard to attain, it would at least enhance the mutual trust and confidence.[673] These were the mechanisms that made NATO a unique institution, and upon which Norway invested much of her security.

The pooling of DCI related capabilities through joint, common and multinational funding reduced the national scope for manoeuvre. A more deployable and sustainable force for international engagement would present tremendous challenges to a national defence concept that was "... based on conscription, mobilisation, ... and that primarily is structured and designed for defence of own territory".[674] Self-abnegation was still a conceivable option, particularly to those NATO members that depended upon collective security guaranties. To them, institutional mechanisms of issue-linking and a credible reputation may have been of more importance than capabilities that would be difficult to finance in the first place. By relating the DCI to issues of a more far-reaching concern, such as NATO's future, the United States' engagement in Europe, and NATO's motivation to assist Norway,[675] abstaining from some military components would be regarded as necessary and inevitable sacrifice. The US incentive, as portrayed by the DCI-process, made this both politically feasible and economically affordable. Joint, common and multinational funding in conjunction with other allies was portrayed as a more realistic approach to acquire critical capabilities.

The apprehension of a capability gap that could undermine transatlantic bonds encouraged Norway to move beyond the rhetorical ambition of sustaining a balanced defence concept. Searching for affordable solutions within NATO was regarded as the only realistic alternative.

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[672] Interview with Towsend.
[673] FD, 98/03424–6/FD II–3/ESP/200.19, "Det amerikanske Defence Capabilities Initiative", December 15, 1998.
[674] Ibid.
[675] St.meld. nr. 38 (1998–1999), pp. 10–11.

Norway's integration in NATO empowered a small state to follow the leading member's costly path of transformation. The changing posture among defence officials, that resources should be spent more effectively, was also evident in the MoD's perception of "quality" versus "quantity".

Norway's dependency on NATO made this an important incentive, to voluntarily abstain from a larger force in order to make other and more strategic objectives attainable. A new and more global security environment may have energized this approach. The value of securing NATO and the transatlantic relationship became a higher priority than sustaining a static border-defence. A broader definition of what was perceived as national interests changed the balance away from myopic interests in the High North towards a broader set of common security issues that coincided with the rest of the Alliance.By making key capabilities affordable through the DCI, Norway on the one hand contributed substantially towards a more agile Alliance that would underscore collective sentiments. On the other hand, however, Norway also got a looser grip on critical military capabilities for national purposes. This awareness seems to be more prevalent among smaller allies, which deem their vulnerability through a more cautious prism as compared to a larger ally. According to the MoD report after the Norfolk conference, this concern was explicitly addressed:

> The mutual dependency will increase, and it may be harder to demonstrate national points of view regarding international crisis management – accompanied by a reduced control over national forces in times of peace.[676]

Problems on joint ownership and declining sovereignty could occur in conflicts that Norway wanted to handle alone, but where other allies had a say in the possible use of capabilities. Reduced sovereignty would also be at stake if Norway were denied capabilities controlled by other allies who hesitated or refused to use them.[677] Increased emphasis on multinational procurements made vital components, such as F-16s, PGMs, strategic sealift and air-to-air tanking, less attainable for national application. Abstaining from military freedom of action to ensure the strategic aim of keeping NATO alive, may thereby explain parts of US leverage. As SACEUR pointed out to Norwegian representatives during a meeting in the US Embassy in Riga:

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[676] FD, 98/03424–6/FD II–3/ESP/200.19, "Det amerikanske Defence Capabilities Initiative", December 15, 1998.
[677] These scenarios have been elaborated by the Norwegian Intelligence Service and have been used in the process leading up to the new defence study from 2003 (FSJ (2003): "Forsvarssjefens militærfaglige utredning" ["The Chief of Defence's Defence Study 2003"], Oslo, December 8.

> Inside NATO, it is unrealistic to expect all countries to develop a balanced force structure comprising an exhaustive number of key capabilities; small states should rather contribute within those niches where their premises were best developed.[678]

This perspective is consistent with Lundestad's observation as outlined in his book *"Empire" by Integration*. As Lundestad argues, a more integrated Europe "... would not only do away with old-fashioned nationalism, but would also make it easier for the United States to deal with Western Europe".[679] In that respect, NATO is the most valuable instrument for the United States to influence European defence efforts.[680] NATO increases transatlantic integration, and ultimately, through initiatives like the DCI, makes Europeans abstain from some of their military capabilities in order to make others attainable. This increases integration and interdependence across the Atlantic.[681] The US effort to make Europe spend its scarce defence resources more effectively and more wisely is thereby achieved. This objective is also consistent with the observation made implicitly by the Norwegian Defence Counsellor at the Embassy in Washington in 1999: "the DCI gives Washington a better ability to influence on the direction of the development [in Europe]".[682]

Chapter 6. Evaluating the Conceptual Framework

How appropriate is the conceptual framework for the empirical interpretation? To what extent do the empirics derived from our case challenge or confirm the theoretical propositions, or leave plausible explanations untouched?[683] This chapter aims to evaluate the empirical analysis with regard to the theoretical underpinning provided in chapter 3.

Three issues are of particular concern. First, is the model adequately designed to identify and isolate the effect of DCI from other intervening variables? The second aspect relates to the realist interpretation in chapter 4 and the Norwegian motive of using the DCI as a beacon for national transformation: To what extent does the model convey the internal discrepancy

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[678] Kgl. norske ambassade Tallin/Vilnius, "Rapport etter møte med SACEUR, general Ralson i den amerikanske ambassade i Riga torsdag 25. april", Memo, April 29, 2002.
[679] Lundestad (1998): *"Empire" by Integration*, p. 16.
[680] This information was also confirmed through interviews with Binnendijk and Kugler. See also Binnendijk and Kugler (2003): "Dual-Track Transformation...".
[681] A point made by Kramer during an interview.
[682] Kgl. norske ambassade Washington D.C., 1998/50989/SPAVD/JAO/101094, "Amerikanske perspektiver på de sikkerhets- og forsvarspolitiske forbindelser med Europa", October 9, 1999.
[683] Yin (2003): *Case Study Research...*, p. 40.

between reform-oriented actors, such as the MoD and the staffs on the one hand, and more reluctant actors on the other? Could it be that internal discrepancy within the Norwegian state bureaucracy explains some of the Norwegian adaptation, thereby reducing the explanatory power of the realist assumptions? The third aspect relates to the institutionalist interpretation in chapter 5 and the Norwegian effort to underscore allied solidarity: Did Norway accommodate the US initiative due to institutional mechanisms, or was it a realist's spectacle to ensure sustained security guaranties from the United States?

Anaytical Control of Other Intervening Variables

Norway's military adaptation in the period 1998–2002 evolved within a broad and compound framework. The effect from the DCI was but one of several variables that were activated as Norway adjusted towards new circumstances. A central challenge is therefore the extent to which the model manages to control for confounding influence, or other intervening variables. According to Andersen, this is of importance to ensure case studies' theoretical relevancy and the ability to generate knowledge that is representative to a larger universe.[684] As case studies do not measure partial correlations, it may be claimed that analytical control becomes even more important. To what extent do the theoretical constructs, as displayed by 'structure' and 'process', correspond with the empirical material?

It can be claimed that the model put too much emphasis on a small state's quest for sustainable security guaranties. It may be claimed that too much emphasis was put on certain theoretical propositions, exaggerating the explanatory power provided by a specific perspective. As pointed out by Lieberson, this may lead to deterministic interpretations rather than probabilistic reasoning; those factors leading towards a particular outcome are exaggerated while alternative perspectives are de-emphasised.[685] As Robert Putnam reminds us, responding to international circumstances also requires close attention to domestic processes: "domestic politics and international relations are often somehow entangled".[686] Explaining US influence through the lenses of DCI may thereby have undercommunicated the internal and domestic processes that evolved simultaneously within a broader and more reform-oriented national defence community.

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[684] Andersen (1997): *Case-studier...*, p. 41.
[685] Lieberson (1992): "Small N's and Big Conclusions...", p. 106.
[686] Robert D. Putnam (1988): "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games", *International Organization*, 42 (3), p. 427.

This challenge was addressed by an empirical examination of internal as well as external motives for Norwegian accommodation of the DCI. This placed the case into a broader and more comprehensive context. Searching for evidences along a variety of analytical levels, and along different perspectives, it could be claimed that analytical control with regard to the thesis' research objective was ensured. The empirical interpretation covered a comprehensive analysis of how US influence could be explained. This is what Andersen labels "analytical manipulation in the modelling of empirical and theoretical cases".[687] The applied data related to the DCI could thereby correspond with their adjacent theoretical suppositions. On this basis, the control of confounding influence was accomplished by carefully selecting units that were appropriately designed for the central issue, and that corresponded with the applied theories.[688]

The extent to which the interpretation enjoys validity further down in a modern state's bureaucracy may be debated. As the empirical interpretation primarily focused on a small network of politicians and civil servants in the MoD and MFA, the larger picture as to how US influence could be explained may be incomplete. As the model did not take into account the military organisation that were to implement the DCI, it may be difficult to estimate the extent to which US influence had an impact on the shaping of Norway's security and defence policy. It is likely to assume that DCI injunctions, as signified through NATO's Force Goal process, were perceived as less committing and of less importance among those who were situated at a distance from the MoD, and from the HLSG in Brussels. Even though this aspect could be of interest to our analysis, such a perspective goes beyond this thesis' ambition. The research is primarily focused on explaining US influence rather than measuring its effect on Norway's force structure.

This aspect may be consistent with the interpretation of core documents such as the Defence Study 2000 and recommendations made by the governmental Defence Review Commission of June 2000. In both reviews, which were to underscore the forthcoming Defence Bill of February 2001, the DCI was only marginally touched upon. Other explanatory variables, such as less imminent threats,[689] a broader spectrum of challenges,[690] operative deficiencies in Kosovo,[691] constant budget deficiencies and rising costs in

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[687] Andersen (1997): *Case-studier...*, p. 59.
[688] King et al. (1994): *Designing Social Inquiry...*, p. 120.
[689] FSJ (2000): "Forsvarssjefens forsvarsstudie 2000", pp. 3, 7; NOU (2000): *Et nytt Forsvar...*, pp. 21–23.
[690] Ibid, p. 7; ibid, p. 17.
[691] Sigurd Frisvold (2000): "Hovedutfordringer for Forsvaret ved årtusenskiftet" in Tønne Huitfeld (ed.): *Forsvaret i en ny tid*, p. 100; Devold (2002): "Omstillingen av Forsvaret...", Oslo, February 26.

technological procurements,[692] provided a more compelling incentive for reform. On the one hand, the absence of these mechanisms in the explanatory model may have made the empirical interpretation biased, in the sense that the DCI was attributed too much explanatory power. On the other hand, by neglecting these variables through analytical manipulation, the case study becomes more focused on what it set out to do: Explain US influence on Norwegian security and defence policy. In that sense, the above-mentioned intervening variables may be of less relevance; their exclusion made the analysis focused and rigorous.

Norwegian Adaptation and Realist Validity

The model treated the Norwegian defence establishment as a unitary actor. The realist interpretation may thereby have de-emphasised the rivalry and inconsistency that often tends to arise between various actors in modern states' bureaucracies. As Professor Arild Underdal points out, different segments within the state may develop different sets of preferences; these may be less stable and consistent as compared to what we could expect from a state with one "mind set".[693] This aspect is moreover consistent with Allison: there is "... no unitary actor but rather many actors as players – players who focus not on a single strategic issue but on many diverse intra-national problems as well".[694] As the DCI inevitably would present fundamental challenges to the Armed Forces' institutional procedures and traditional thinking, it may be claimed that the Norwegian approach towards the DCI would be compound and complex. Using 'structure' and 'process' as the primary variables, the analysis may have missed plausible explanations from domestic variables. How may this have affected the empirical interpretation?

On the one hand, it can be argued that US influence may have become more pronounced. Hesitancy in those segments of the Armed Forces that were likely to undergo changes energized the reformists' effort to use the DCI as a lever for change.[695] MoD officials and reform-oriented officers received institutional legitimacy and extra momentum from NATO to push forward a transformation process that more or less had stalled until the Defence Study 2000 was inaugurated. As such, it may be claimed that the Norwegian adaptation towards US preferences not only stems from one rational actor's calculation of how security is attained

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[692] FSJ (2000): "Forsvarssjefens forsvarsstudie 2000", pp. 5–8; NOU (2000): *Et nytt Forsvar...*, pp. 43–44.
[693] Arild Underdal (1984): "Can We, in the Study of International Politics, do without the Model of the State as a Rational, Unitary Actor?", *Internasjonal politikk*, 42 (1), pp. 64, 67.
[694] Allison (1971): *Essence of Decision...*, p. 144.

internationally. The Norwegian response was also a result of processes between the various departments and services that were involved.

On the other hand, it may also be argued that the unveiled discrepancy between reformists and conservative elements reduced the amount of US influence. As the service branches were tasked with the implementation of change, myopic interests may have retarded or reduced the effects of allied adaptation. This assumption cannot be neglected, as the four armed services (the Army, the Navy, the Air Force and the Home Guard), possess great institutional autonomy. According to the leader of the Parliamentary Defence Committee, "certain segments within the Armed Forces are not accustomed to democratic rules and political guidance".[696] Different segments within the military organisation also enjoyed substantial support among local politicians; not out of regional policy considerations only, but also due to scepticism towards NATO's out-of-area policy.[697] Adapting along DCI requirements would in any case fundamentally change the existing premises for the forces, most notably in the Army. Scepticism to DCI injunctions imposed by the MoD can therefore not be excluded. If so, this may have had a negative effect on the causal relationship between US influence and the shaping of Norwegian security and defence policy. In this perspective, we may claim that states' behaviour would be characterised by hesitancy and scepticism towards change.[698] As Allison argues, a continuation of the existing structure is therefore maintained, because uncertainty related to structural challenges (like in the Armed Forces) is evaded.[699]

In sum, our realist interpretation of Norway's approach to the DCI may also be comprehended within the context of domestic rivalry and bureaucratic politics. Through the American DCI, the stage was set for a new play-off between those who advocated an accelerated change versus those who preferred a more cautious approach. As such, the causal relationship between US influence and Norwegian security and defence policy may be more subtle and complex than initially recognised by the conceptual framework. To some extent, we may therefore claim that some of the explanatory power in our model has been conveyed from inter-state relationships towards intra-state rivalries.

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[695] FD, 98/03424–6/FD II–3/ESP/200.19, "Det amerikanske Defence Capabilities Initiative", December 15, 1998; interview with Landsverk, November 20, 2003; interview with Rognmo, Oslo, August 19, 2004.
[696] Interview with Nybakk; oral contribution by Løwer on "Brennpunkt", *NRK 1*, May 18, 2004.
[697] See among others Gunnar Garbo (1999): "Skal NATO fortrenge FN?", *Dagbladet*, June 20; Vigdis Hjort and Arild Linneberg (1999): "NATOs nye strategiske konsept", *Aftenposten*, September 2; and Francis Sejersted (1999): "Oppropet om NATO", *Aftenposten*, September 8.
[698] Tormod Heier (1999): *Forsvaret etter den kalde krigen – en militærpolitisk analyse av invasjonsforsvaret og verneplikten*, MA Thesis at the University of Oslo.

Norwegian Adaptation and Institutional Validity

A central mechanism for explaining Norwegian adjustments to US requirements was the strong correlation between solidarity and sensitivity to other member states' initiatives. Through close co-operation for common ends, states would develop mechanisms such as unselfishness, empathy and loyalty towards each other's concerns. We used these mechanisms in chapter 5 to explain much of the Norwegian adjustment to US operative requirements. However, as our empirical interpretation proceeded and the effort of displaying solidarity was put into context, a fundamental question emerged: What was the underlying motive for demonstrating solidarity? Why was it so important for Norway to accommodate the US proposal? The suspiciousness became even clearer as official documents were examined:

> ... the effort to demonstrate solidarity within the Alliance is crucial. Norway will have to be prepared to engage actively in the challenges and potential crises that our allies are engrossed by, if we are to expect their active interest in the challenges we are occupied with.[700]

"By demonstrating a willingness to contribute towards our allies' needs, we also strengthen others' willingness to assist Norway in a crisis".[701]

Putting the Norwegian motives into context, it may be claimed that certain mental reservations seem to be present. The underlying agenda seems to be the expectation of reciprocal behaviour: By helping others, prospects for allied assistance at home may increase. Is this, however, genuine solidarity? Can mechanisms such as solidarity, empathy and moral obligations explain Norwegian adaptation institutionally, or are they merely a realist's interplay? If the Norwegian accomplishment of the DCI was a genuine act of solidarity, it can be argued that references to national security and reciprocal assistance would have been superfluous. As these sentiments are mentioned in the same passage, underlying motives that can explain the security and defence co-operation across the Atlantic may be present. The institutional approach may as such be interpreted as an act of *realpolitik*, because the egoistic expectation of reciprocity constitutes the underlying rational motive.

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[699] Allison (1971): *Essence of Decision...*, p. 84.
[700] St.meld. nr. 38 (1998–1999), p. 9.
[701] St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), p. 35.

By forging a policy of expected solidarity and reciprocity, it can be argued that Norway as a dependent ally invests in goodwill among her patrons. This may be a goodwill Norway can benefit from if a crisis in the High North should arise, and allied assistance should be required. Given the costly pace of transformation, as required by the DCI, the quest for solidarity may have become even more precarious as states would find a full-fledged force too expensive to maintain. This would undoubtedly enhance a realist's hidden agenda: solidarity should be displayed to ensure reciprocal assistance at home. Solidarity inside NATO may therefore be regarded as a realist instrument rather than an institutionalist mechanism activated among close allies. This is also consistent with works by Tamnes, claiming that solidarity and idealism often went hand in hand with realism in Norway's foreign policy.[702]

It may be claimed, therefore, that the institutional approach implicitly includes certain realist connotations. It could even be argued that institutional mechanisms seem to entail less explanatory power as compared to realist explanations. Methodologically, we may argue that realist explanations constitute much of the independent variable, while institutional mechanisms contribute with a supporting and intervening effect.

Conclusion

As the conceptual framework aimed to explain US influence through the international structure and processes in NATO, the reader may end up with an impression that Norway's military reforms by and large were influenced by US imperatives. This is of course not true. However, as the model paid less attention to other intervening variables, such as experiences from the Balkans, consecutive budget restraints and new threat perceptions, the model may have led to an exaggerated interpretation of the effect from the DCI. It is important to note, however, that the thesis did not aim to explain Norwegian defence reforms per se. On the contrary, we aimed to focus on the effects that stemmed from the US-related dimension only. Being a qualitative analysis, the extent to which confounding influence from other variables were isolated thereby becomes a degree of personal judgement. In that regard, the model may suffer from the weakness that often tends to impair social science vis-à-vis natural science; judgements may easily become biased and the correlation effects are encumbered by uncertainty. Despite this, the model may nevertheless have provided us with tendencies and

[702] Tamnes (1997): *Oljealder*, pp. 339–447.

traces worth following in order to comprehend the dynamic interplay between larger and smaller allies.

Part III: Norway's Domestic Room for Manoeuvre

Part III evaluates the domestic consequences of a Norwegian policy that by and large tried to keep the United States institutionally inside NATO. Methodically, the consequences will be structured around the two dimensions of (a) Parliamentary accountability and (b) foreign policy consistency. Exploring the consequences within these two domains, the analysis allows us to grasp the essence of challenges that small states may face in the effort to nurture a larger ally.

More specifically, chapter 7 examines how tension between the Parliament and the MoD affects the military adaptation as explored in Part II: Was the MoD's agenda to become more integrated with key allies consistent with Parliamentary preferences? It will be argued that discrepancy on two central dimensions (the national-international dimension and the US-UN/EU dimension) implied political restraints for how far military adaptation could proceed. The chapter concludes by claiming that the MoD and the Parliament pursued slightly different approaches as to how the Armed Forces were to accommodate US requirements set forth through NATO. Even though the discrepancy was limited, it restrained the MoD's effort to transform more consistently along allied expectations.

As for the second dimension, chapter 8 examines to what extent the MoD-led adaptation is consistent with Norway's broader foreign policy portfolio as pursued by key actors in the MFA and the Parliament: Is the adapting force politically relevant with regard to those challenges that Norway emphasises? It will be argued that the US-dominated transformation process in NATO may undermine the Armed Forces' ability to underscore political achievements in intra-state conflicts; at the same time, Norway's foreign policy agenda is deeply engaged in particularly the challenges arising from these conflicts. The chapter concludes by claiming that NATO as the only security and defence pillar provides an unbalanced framework for Norway to adapt within, and that a new balance needs to be drawn between combat and post-combat performances.

Chapter 9 sums up the domestic conclusions and puts them into a broader context. It is argued that an obliging approach towards US initiatives has become more politically sensitive as Norway's closest ally bends towards unilateralism in the war against terrorism. Also, being attached to both the United States and Europe, the Norwegian reforms process faces severe challenges on how to focus scarce resources as effectively and consistently as possible.

To grasp these fundamentals, the analytical time span will extend from 2002 to 2004. This allows us to exploit data originating from key actors as international events unfolded.

In particular, the extended time frame allows us to exploit empirical evidences from the Parliament, key Ministries and the Armed Forces as the United States launched the third Gulf War in March 2003. To any NATO-member, the subject of Iraq had since 2002 been "the main bone of contention between Allies".[703] The political controversy attached to a pre-emptive war outside the UN may as such reflect the political complexity characterising the Norwegian transformation effort: How to maintain close ties to the United States while simultaneously underscore the fundamental role of the UN, and the growing role of the EU in European security and defence policy.[704]

As we shift focus towards domestic restraints, the level of analysis changes from the international towards the domestic sphere. The external dimensions of 'structure' and 'process' between states are exchanged with analysis of potential implications within the adapting state. To ensure consistency between the external and the domestic domain, Norwegian implications will deduce from findings made in Part II. In chapter 4 and 5, it was argued that US influence could be explained out of two main reasons: A Norwegian fear of being politically marginalised (the realist approach), and a Norwegian desire to ensure access and leverage through allied integration (the institutionalist approach). Part II claimed the two findings to be self-reinforcing: Increased integration made prospects for access and influence more likely, and could to some extent preclude political marginalisation.[705] In Part II's conclusive remarks, these relationships were operationalised into two realist and two institutionalist contentions: (a) to ensure credible security guaranties from the United States, (b) to maintain a US leadership role in Europe, (c) to maintain NATO cohesiveness, and (d) to nurture reciprocal allies.

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[703] Comment by NATO's Secretary General, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, in *Atlantic News*, 39 (3649): "NATO/United States: Allied Hold Best Joint Discussion Ever on Iraq, Condoleezza Rice says", Brussels, February 10, 2005, p. 1.

[704] The term "pre-emption" is a contested word and needs to be clarified. What is a *pre-emptive* war, and how does it differ from *preventive* war? In this thesis, we will use the definition as suggested by Stephen Van Evera. A pre-emptive war is defined as a war where one side moves first in order to exploit the advantage of moving first. The decision to move first can imply both mobilisation of forces and a regular attack. A preventive war is when "one side forsees an adverse shift in the balance of power, and attacks to avoid a more difficult fight later" (Stephen Van Evera (1991): "The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War" in Steven E. Miller, Sean M. Lynn-Jones & Stephen Van Evera (eds.): *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War*, revised and expanded edition (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press), p. 65, footnote no. 26).

[705] It could also be the opposite way. More integration may lead to more political marginalisation, i.e. when a member state is so neatly tied to institutional injunctions that national manoeuvrability is severely hampered. This logic often arises in international politics, particularly among republicans on the far right in the US debate. As for our small state analysis, the logic did not apply in our findings.

As we now change focus from allied expectations towards domestic implications, the analysis also changes in character. From being a study *of* policy, the thesis now becomes a study *for* policy.[706] The four explanations of US influence as listed above may as such be regarded as central political objectives in Norway's security policy. Pursuing this policy, however, is likely to have domestic consequences. As the work by Bjørn Olav Knutsen et al. shows us, the ambiguity on how NATO evolves – and we could add: the way the United States pursues her security objectives – is likely to accentuate different reactions among key actors in the political landscape.[707]

A number of questions may therefore be raised as to how domestic implications may affect the Norwegian room for manoeuvre: To what extent is it possible to adapt fully to allied requirements set forth through NATO? How may domestic restraints in the political landscape affect Norway's effort to show key allies a credible reform programme? And more fundamentally, how can we be sure that the allied transformation process, as advocated by the United States, is the right way to go? If the employment of force is an extension of politics by other means, is the nature and character of the allied adaptation politically relevant? Will the new force underscore Norway's broader foreign policy agenda? By analysing the political complexity inherent in these issues, we implicitly evaluate the domestic room for manoeuvre within which Norway's adaptation operates.

The reform process towards allied requirements between 1998 and 2004 was characterised by fluctuation. Before we analyse the domestic implications, a brief account of the reform process leading up to this period may be required.

In February 2001, Defence Minister Godal presented the Defence Bill No. 45 of 2000-2001: *The Restructuring of the Norwegian Armed Forces in the Period 2002-2005*. Building on the Defence Study 2000 and recommendations from the Defence Review Committee, the bill proposed conceptual amendments that explicitly rejected the ambition of a nationally balanced defence concept.[708] As pointed out by the Defence Review Commission, the chronic economic deficiency during the 1990s contributed to a balanced defence concept that only had a rhetorical meaning.[709] The Governmental proposal thereby signified a final break with a defence arrangement originating from the Cold War. A Parliamentary majority, however, rejected the proposal in June 2001:

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[706] Ian Gordon, Janet Lewis & Ken Young (1977): "Perspectives on Policy Analysis", *Public Administration Bulletin*, no. 25, p. 27.
[707] Knutsen et al. (2000): "Europeisk sikkerhet...", p. 52.
[708] St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), p. 27.
[709] NOU (2000): *Et nytt Forsvar...*, p. 18.

> The objectives as proposed [by the Government] seems to imply a lower ambition as compared to the existing defence policy objectives ... The majority is therefore of the opinion that existing ambitions ... must be continued.[710]

Criticism towards less military presence in North-Norway, lack of regional employment policies as well as inter-service rivalry between the military branches, provided in sum sufficient political clout to retain the notion of a balanced defence concept.[711] The parliamentary opposition nevertheless failed to identify a comprehensive alternative to the Governmental proposal. As a new non-socialist Government was elected into power in September 2001, sentiments towards the retention of a balanced defence gradually lost momentum. The Armed Forces were still perceived to be balanced, but only to the extent that they were able to handle "the totality of tasks".[712]

In April 2002, the Defence Minister presented to Parliament the Defence Bill No. 55 of 2003-2004: *The Implementation Proposition – Supplementary Guidelines for the Restructuring of the Norwegian Armed Forces for the Period 2002-2005*. The purpose was to achieve a more balanced approach between transformation costs and operative effectiveness on the one hand, and stable and predictable Parliamentary funding on the other. By the summer of 2002, the non-socialist government managed to negotiate a political compromise with the Labour Party, thereby ensuring a Parliamentary majority for accelerated reforms. The majority in the Defence Committee credited the MoD's preference for accelerated adjustments towards NATO requirements:

> The majority of the Committee ... wants to refer to the fact that the re-adjustment of the Armed Forces for the period 2002–2005 must be seen within the context of NATO's fundamental role for European security and stability and the requirements, demands and commitments this implies to Norwegian NATO membership.[713]

This political settlement ensured in principle a more predictable economic framework for the Armed Forces to transform within for the period 2002-2005. The compromise was by and large based upon the previous Government's proposal of a new defence concept – "a modern

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[710] Innst. S. nr. 342 (2000–2001), pp. 19–20.
[711] Ibid, p. 65.
[712] Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring...*, p. 142.
[713] Innst. S. nr. 232 (2001–2002), p. 7.

and flexible defence".[714] However, as the Defence Review Commission's warning of "a force in deep crisis" gradually lost momentum,[715] sustainable economic commitments became difficult to maintain throughout the period. Despite a consensus-oriented relationship between the MoD and the Parliament until the issuant Iraqi crisis, the economic imbalance continued to increase.[716]

It is important to note, however, that despite different opinions as to how resources should be spent, the overall nature and character of the military adaptation was largely consensus-oriented. Military operations undertaken in the Balkans and in Afghanistan, as well as reform processes such as Defence Study 2000, the Defence Review Commission and Defence Bill No. 45 (2000–2001), all signified relative harmony.

Discord on UN mandates, out-of-area operations and pre-emptive wars became more evident as Operation Iraqi Freedom started to unfold. The US-led operation initialised the resurrection of underlying conflicts that for long had been embedded in the Norwegian political landscape, but which had been subdued by the absence of an explicit controversial conflict. This harmony ended with the third Gulf War and influenced the policies as outlined in key documents such as the Defence Bill of June 2004, *The Continued Modernisation of the Norwegian Armed Forces in the Period 2005–2008*, and the MoD's strategic concept Strength and Relevance, from October 2004. On this background, the next three chapters examine the domestic implications of adjustments to a new NATO aiming to maintain relevance in the post-9/11 environment.

Chapter 7. Adaptation and Accountability

As part of Norway's military adaptation, this chapter examines the MoD's effort to live up to allied expectations while simultaneously accommodating limitations set up by Parliamentary decrees. By exploring the ministry-parliament relationship from the agency viewpoint, we may provide more knowledge on how discord on key issues affects a small state's room for manoeuvre.

The chapter analyses potential discrepancies between the Parliament and the MoD on two topics that were debated between 2002 and 2004. The first issue deals with the MoD's propensity to nurture bilateral relations with the United States, notably through NATO.

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[714] Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring*..., p. 143; St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), p. 27.
[715] NOU (2000): *Et nytt Forsvar*..., p. 18.
[716] Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring*..., p. 143.

Was the ambition of bringing the Armed Forces "... fully into line with our most important partners"[717] consistent with a broader Parliamentary agenda that also wanted to benchmark a clearer multilateral approach through the UN and the EU? The second issue builds upon a perceived dichotomy between national and international preferences in the transformation process. Did the MoD's objective "... to be among the 'best in the NATO class'"[718] coincide with the Parliamentary propensity of being visible in the High North? As the transformation process balances between allied expectations, Governmental and MoD ambitions, and Parliamentary prerogatives, an analysis along the two dimensions may disclose the complexity inherent in any domestic adaptation:

> Players who act in terms of no consistent set of strategic objectives but rather according to various conceptions of national, organizational, and personal goals; players who make governmental decisions not by a single, rational choice but by the pulling and hauling that is politics.[719]

In sum, however, evaluating the MoD's effort to adapt may provide us with more knowledge on how domestic policy processes towards allied injunctions proceed, and how military reforms are institutionally sub-optimised and restrained.

Methods and Theory

Methodologically, the chapter builds upon a test of two hypotheses that are mutually exclusive. The original hypothesis, around which we build our arguments, claims that there is a policy divergence between the Parliament and the MoD on allied adaptation. The alternative hypothesis claims the opposite: There is no policy divergence between the Parliament and the MoD on how the Armed Forces adapt. If the original hypothesis proves to be valid, we may suggest that the MoD's room for manoeuvre on allied adaptation is limited. Alternatively, if the preferences are congruent, we may assume a greater space for the MoD to transform within. If so, a logical deduction would be that Norway's political room for manoeuvre is more spacious, and that the prospects for a fully transformed force along allied standards is attainable. By testing the validity of the two hypotheses, we may get a clearer indication as to how far the MoD could proceed in its transformation effort.

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[717] Kristin Krohn Devold (2003): "På vei mot vårt "nye" Forsvar", *Norges Forsvar*, no. 1, p. 4.
[718] Devold (2002): "Omstillingen av Forsvaret...", Oslo, February 26.

The most relevant Parliamentary committees to include in the analysis will be the Defence Committee and the Foreign Affairs Committee. In terms of Parliamentary opposition towards the governmental reform process, different configurations were displayed. In terms of general defence reforms, the government received a broad Parliamentary recognition. As reform proposals became more concrete, however, various opposition groups materialised. The effort to focus on a more deployable force concept was opposed by the Socialist Left Party, the Centre Party and to some extent the Progressive Party. Together with the Labour Party, the same parties furthermore rejected an accelerated pace of force reductions, thereby sustaining a larger territorial force. On issues such as military operations abroad, an almost unanimous Parliament demanded an explicit UN mandate prior to any military engagement. Being the largest Parliamentary party and governmental associate on military reforms, a particular weight is put on the Labour Party. Regardless of political flavour, however, this political landscape served as a contextual background for MoD in its effort to accommodate allied requests for a more focused defence effort.

Discrepancy in the ministry-parliament relationship on how the security policy and the Armed Forces were to conceptualise could be regarded as a potential for *agency loss*. Agency loss is defined as the policy difference between the MoD's executive handling of the process and the Parliamentary intent. As the work by Professor Kaare Strøm shows us, in real life, "all delegation, before and after we grant authority to others to act in our name and place, entails potential agency problems".[720]

The theoretical perspective derives from the ideal-typical form of parliamentary democracy. In any parliamentary democracy, different institutions will have different preference configurations. According to Arend Lijphard, the discrepancy in preferences therefore presents a central dilemma: "Who will do the governing and to whose interests should the government be responsive when the people are in disagreement and have different preferences?"[721] As the work of Strøm, shows us, parliamentary democracy may be defined as

> ... a chain of delegation and accountability, from the voters to the ultimate policy-makers, in which at each link a single principal delegates to one and only

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[719] Allison (1971): *Essence of Decision...*, p. 144.
[720] Kaare Strøm (2003): "Parliamentary Democracy and Delegation" in Kaare Strøm, Wolfgang C. Muller & Thorbjørn Bergman (eds.): *Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Democracies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 55.
[721] Arend Lijphart (1999): *Patterns of Democracy. Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries* (New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press), p. 1.

> one agent, or to several non-competing ones, and in which each agent is accountable to one and only one principal.[722]

In this chain of delegated authority, we will analyse the relationship within a Principal-Agent framework. As pointed out by Arthur Lupia, policy delegation is a cardinal function for any modern state to function; it can be defined as "... an act where one person or group, called a *principal*, relies on another person or group, called an *agent*, to act on the principal's behalf".[723]

The Parliament is empowered by the voters to make political decisions, and designate to others, in our case the MoD, to act in its name and place. This chain of delegation consists of a series of agency relationships, from the voter, to the Parliament and further on to the government and the different ministries. The Parliament is the voters' agent, but also the MoD's principal.[724] In the reverse chain of accountability that mirrors the chain of delegation, the MoD is the agent. The MoD is thus accountable to the Parliament, or principal, through the government. The way we understand accountability is thereby closely related to the parliamentary mechanism of exerting control. In the words of Lupia, "an agent is accountable to a principal if the principal can exercise control over the agent and delegation is not accountable if the principal is unable to exercise control".[725] As the MoD pursues a transformation process according to NATO's Force Goals, does the Parliament still exercise control?

The MoD's Transformation Context

Before we scrutinise potential issues of controversy, a brief outline of the contextual background may be required. According to the MoD, a primary incentive to transform the Armed Forces into a more expeditionary force was allied demands, particularly from the United States: "There have been warnings from the American side, that if Europe does not show up to its responsibility, it may have consequences for the US engagement in Europe and for the future of NATO".[726] If NATO was to maintain its role as a centrepiece for transatlantic security and defence co-operation, including a continued US leadership role in Europe,

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[722] Strøm (2003): "Parliamentary Democracy and Delegation", p. 65.
[723] Arthur Lupia (2003): "Delegation and its Perils" in Strøm et al.: *Delegation and Accountability...*, pp. 33, 35.
[724] Strøm (2003): "Parliamentary Democracy and Delegation", pp. 64–65.
[725] Lupia (2003): "Delegation and its Perils", p. 35.
[726] St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), p. 22.

Norway and the other European NATO allies had to contribute actively in the transformation process. Only that way, according to Krohn Devold, could US security guaranties to Norway be sustainable.[727] The Norwegian MoD was one of the most zealous proponents for a more agile alliance. As pointed out by the Minister while participating in the USJFCOM exercise Millennium Challenge 2002:

> I'm here to learn. I'm here to make sure that Norway will be an even better and more important NATO member in the future and that we are interoperable and able to do a better job together with the United States in NATO in future operations.[728]

By playing a proactive role in the DCI and in the PCC process, Norwegian defence authorities gained the reputation of being among the most progressive proponents for a new NATO: "Our Allies shall say 'Look to Norway'. That gives us increased influence on issues that are important for us".[729] The MoD's vigorous effort to impress allies in NATO's ongoing "beauty contest" was also noticed in the United States. As pointed out by several US defence officials, the Norwegian MoD had been one of the most successful players in NATO's effort for a more focused transformation.[730] Krohn Devold's hard question in Norfolk in January 2003, "*how* do we do it? *How may Europe catch up with America*?"[731] seemed to follow a rather US dominated agenda: "Smaller specialised units, operating within important functional "niches", will enhance the Alliance's overall capabilities and strengthen its ability to respond swiftly and decisively".[732] The rationale for the MoD policy may be found in a blunt statement given by the Defence Minister: "Norway does not have any choice. We have to be active, innovative and modern".[733] An active stance to safeguard NATO cohesion was also related to the capability gap across the Atlantic; "NATO's biggest challenge".[734] It was therefore

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[727] Devold (2002): "Sikkerhetspolitikken i endring ...", Oslo, April 30.
[728] DoD (2002): "Media Availability With Defense Secretary Rumsfeld and Norwegian MoD", *News Transcript*, July 29, accessed at: http://www.defenselink.mil/transcripts/archive.html.
[729] Kristin Krohn Devold (2002): "NATOs krav til Norge – utfordringer i neste fireårsperiode", speech before the Norwegian Atlantic Committee, Oslo, October 30, accessible at: http://odin.dep.no/fd/norsk/aktuelt/taler/.
[730] Interview with Kramer, Towsend and Bell. See also Richard Holbroke (2003): "Give the UN a Self-Protected Force in Iraq", *International Herald Tribune*, August 26; and Elling Svela (2003): "Internasjonal presse roser norsk forsvar", *Forsvarets Forum*, 24 (17), p. 9.
[731] Devold (2003): "Transformation ...", p. 4.
[732] Ibid.
[733] Devold (2002): "Sikkerhetspolitikken i endring ...", Oslo, April 30.
[734] Devold (2002): "Trenger vi NATO?".

essential for Europe, according to Krohn Devold, to take an active stance in the American transformation process, to ensure "... efficient and relevant European inputs".[735]

Balancing US and UN/EU Relations

According to our original hypothesis, the MoD's preference for a more "... efficient and relevant European input" in the US transformation process was disputed by the Parliamentary majority. However, was the MoD's desire to "... bring us fully into line with our most important partners in the NATO alliance"[736] causing Parliamentary discord? At first glimpse, it may seem as if our original hypothesis can be rejected. After all, Parliamentary remarks for how the Armed Forces were to transform coincided with the Defence Bill of March 2004: *The Continued Modernisation of the Armed Forces for the Period 2005–2008*:

> The majority endorses the Governmental policy for the further modernisation of the Armed Forces for the period 2005–2008 ...; a modern and flexible force of high quality and flexibility that can be used effectively to contribute to national and international safety.[737]

However, if we go beyond the words, was the apparent concord consistent? Did the agent's outcome of delegated authority follow the principal's preferences, ideals and intentions for how a "modern and flexible force" was to be designed? The following passages will argue that political discord was evident both in terms of the explicit requirement for UN mandates, in the explicit requirement for both legitimacy and legality in the application of force, and on which profile the Armed Forces were to have.[738] Discrepancy on mandates and legitimacy/legality affected the Norwegian adaptation in the sense that Parliamentary sentiments became more explicit on forces designed for UN/EU operations.

A key catalyst behind the discrepancy was Operation Iraqi Freedom, "... one of the most controversial conflicts of modern times".[739] Norway's closest ally launched a pre-emptive war

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[735] Devold (2003): "Transformation ...", p. 4.
[736] Devold (2003): "On the Way...", p. 4.
[737] Innst. S. nr. 232 (2001–2002), p. 8.
[738] According to St.prp. nr. 42 (2003–2004), the employment of military force is *legal* when it is anchored in international law; military force is *legitimate* when it is substantiated politically and morally; "in international politics, however, it can often be difficult to make clear distinctions between politics, law and moral" (p. 36).
[739] Andrew Cottey (2004): "The Iraq War: The Enduring Controversies and Challenges" in Sipri (ed.): *SIPRI Yearbook 2004. Armaments, Disarmaments and International Security* (New York: Oxford University Press), p. 67.

against Iraq without an explicit mandate from the UN Security Council. Domestic conflict dimensions were activated and made the MoD's transformation effort towards allied requirements more demanding.

In the aftermath of 9/11, any country that strove for close US relations received a window of opportunity when it came to display sensitivity to US demands and expectations. This became particularly evident as the new Defence Minister, Kristin Krohn Devold from the Conservative Party, came into power in September 2001. According to Nybakk, at times, the new Minister's attempt to ingratiate herself in the US administration seemed to have neglected Parliamentary preferences for other issues, such as a broader international approach with a stronger emphasis on the UN: "In the effort to sort out which international profile the Armed Forces should have, the Committee had too little contact with the Defence Minister".[740] The perceived imbalance between UN/EU relations on the one hand, and US relations on the other, became a matter of controversy as the United States bent towards unilateralism in her war against terrorism. For a small state that favoured multilateralism and international rule by law, explicit support to US expectations became ambiguous. According to the leader of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee, the governmental approach towards the United States needed to find a new balance where UN and EU sentiments became more pronounced.[741]

Being the primary advocate for a pre-emptive war against Iraq, and hence neglecting a UN mandate, the MoD's close affiliation with US military requirements became more demanding. According to Ulriksen, such an approach as to how forces were designed and applied did not correspond well with the European and UN tradition for how conflicts were solved.[742] A plausible explanation to this may be found in a statement by the Defence Minister: NATO had more or less taken over the military role of the UN.[743] According to Jagland, the Norwegian government was too positive to US demands: "The Government does not take seriously the concern that the majority of the population feels about the American policy".[744] The Defence Committee voiced similar concerns, underlining explicitly Norway's long-standing

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[740] Interview with Nybakk. She claimed to have more contact with the Deputy Minister and the Political Adviser. See also Hege Ulstein and Andreas Nielsen (2004): "Klager på Devolds reisevirksomhet", *Dagsavisen*, August 31.
[741] Interview with Jagland.
[742] Ståle Ulriksen (2004): "Requirements for Future European Military Strategies and Force Structures", *International Peacekeeping*, 11 (3), p. 458.
[743] Devold (2002): "Omstillingen av Forsvaret...", p. 3.
[744] Thorbjørn Jagland (2004): "Regjeringen må vise mer initiativ i utenrikspolitikken", *Aftenposten*, October 6.

commitment to the UN: "Within the Norwegian restraints on capacities, the contribution to UN operations should increase".[745]

The MoD preference for close transatlantic relations rather than a more explicit UN profile could stem from two aspects that had a mutually reinforcing effect. Firstly, in NATO's Defence Planning Committee and Defence Review Committee, there was a growing tension between US war-fighting imperatives on the one hand, and the "softer" European approach on the other.[746] According to an internal report from NORDEL to the MoD and the MFA, "beneath the surface is a deep American scepticism towards European capacity and motives, and an equally European distrust to American foreign policy".[747]

The perceived discrepancy of interests was even admitted by governmental officials. According to Vidar Helgesen, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, "the EU security strategy is closer to the Norwegian values and preferences for how security is to be attained".[748] It may seem as if the difference between the EU's European Security Strategy of December 2003 and the United States' National Security Strategy of September 2002 derived from the nature of the EU. Being a multilateral organisation, the EU had institutionalised a more comprehensive concept of security. This contrasted a US approach that tended to be more single-minded in its quest for security interests.[749] As pointed out by the Norwegian Ambassador to NATO, Kai Eide, a new balance between forces for combat and post-combat requirements may be required, and is likely to become an issue some time in the future.[750]

Being dependent on NATO, and thus outside the EU, the MoD was more likely to focus on capabilities that presumably would keep the United States in NATO, rather than "softer" capabilities designed for UN and EU operations in the lower end of the conflict spectrum.[751] The Norwegian emphasis of displaying allied solidarity under the most demanding

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[745] Innst. S. nr. 234 (2003–2004), p. 20.
[746] Interviews with Colonel Alex Portelli, US Defense Attaché to Norway, Oslo, June 14, 2004; interview with Rognmo, Oslo, August 19, 2004. Although somewhat more discreetly, the same information was also voiced by the former Defence Counsellor at NORDEL, Finn Landsverk (interviewed in Oslo, October 14, 2004).
[747] NORDEL, VCR/20695, "Stemning og status foran NATO-toppmøtet", June 24, 2004.
[748] Interview with Vidar Helgesen, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Oslo, September 30, 2004.
[749] Gerrard Quille (2004): "The European Security Strategy: A Framework for EU Security Interests?", *International Peacekeeping*, 11 (3), pp. 427–428.
[750] Oral contribution by Kai Eide on the political relevancy of NATO's Force Goal process, at The Annual Meeting, arranged by The People and Defence Association, Oslo, February 24, 2005. The term "post-combat requirements" is defined as any military action taken to underscore political achievements in the transition phase from conflict to peace. The term is elaborated more carefully in chapter 9, within the context of nation building and peace building efforts.
[751] See among others Gerrard Quille (2004): "'Battle Groups' to strengthen EU military crisis management?", *European Security Review*, no. 22, accessed at: http://www.isis-europe.org/; and Wolf von Leipzig (2004): "The Sleeping Beauty Awakens", *Luxenburger Wort*, December 4, accessed at: http://www.assemblee-ueo.org/en/presse/articles/articles_2005.html. This information was confirmed through interview with Vollebæk.

circumstances may have complicated the effort of striking the right balance between combat and post-combat performances.[752]

Secondly, the inability to pursue a broader defence reform that encapsulated UN-related tasks was accentuated by a number of military reformists that gradually influenced on the Norwegian transformation process. This became particularly evident from 1998 and onwards. Stressing war-fighting capabilities such as Main Battle Tanks, Self-propelled Howitzers and frigates, little attention was left for post-combat performances.[753] On the contrary, the reformist's preferences for conventional high intensity combat skills accelerated adjustments along US guidelines in NATO. The recommended capabilities presented in the Chief of Defence's Defence Study 2000 and Defence Study 2003 may be illustrating; all units were to be designed for high intensity operations.[754]

In sum, this approach may have de-emphasised the European tradition of diplomacy and peacebuilding within a UN or EU context.[755] According to Jagland, even though transatlantic ties were vital to Norwegian security, the transformation process should not neglect the UN and the EU's competence of 'winning the peace' through various forms of confidence building measures, such as peacesupport operations and stability operations.[756] It could be argued that such a profile was more in accordance with the European way of handling crisis – an approach that had been neglected in US war-fighting concepts.[757] Ironically, Jagland's critique of the MoD's adaptation found support in US military soul searching as lessons learned from Afghanistan and Iraq emerged in 2002 and 2003. According to the USJFCOM, the US military severely lacked post-combat skills that could secure political objectives once

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[752] Oral contribution by Kai Eide, February 24, 2005. This remark is consistent with priorities made in the CHOD's defence study from 2003; capabilities for high intensity warfare and combat performances was to be emphasised (FSJ (2003): "Forsvarssjefens militærfaglige utredning 2003", pp. 14, 15).

[753] FSJ (2000): "Forsvarssjefens forsvarsstudie 2000"; FO (2000): "Forsvarets fellesoperative doktrine", vol. 1 and 2 (Oslo: Forsvarets stabsskole); Sverre Diesen (1998): *Militær strategi. En innføring i maktens logikk* (Oslo: Cappelen).

[754] FSJ (2000): "Forsvarssjefens forsvarsstudie 2000", pp. 8, 16–23; FSJ (2003): "Forsvarssjefens militærfaglige utredning 2003", pp. 15–19.

[755] Ulriksen (2004): "Requirements for Future European…", p. 471; interview with Jagland; see also Thorbjørn Jagland (2004): "To vekter og to mål i Midtøsten", *Aftenposten*, May 25; Morten Fyhn (2004): "Bunnrekord for norske fredsoppdrag", *Aftenposten*, July 3.

[756] Interview with Jagland. See also The European Union [EU] (2003*)*: "A Secure Europe in a Better World. European Security Strategy", Brussels, December 12, accessible at: http://ue.eu.int/cms3_applications/applications/solana/list.asp?cmsid=336&BID=111&page=arch&lang=EN; Frederic W. Kagan (2003): "War and Aftermath", *Policy Review*, no. 120; James Jay Carafano (2003): "After Iraq: Learning the War's Lessons", *The Heritage Foundation Backgrounder*, no. 1664, available at: http://www.heritage.org/research/policydate2003.cfm.

[757] Ulriksen (2004): "Requirements for Future European…", pp. 457–458. See also Thorbjørn Jagland (2004): "Regjeringen må vise mer initiativ i utenrikspolitikken", *Aftenposten*, October 6.

the battle was over.[758] US war planning "... lacks a defined unity of purpose, common understanding, shared vision and unity of effort for the conduct of stability operations."[759]

Elaborating on a policy divergence in the ministry-parliament relationship, it may also seem as if the issue of a more explicit UN role became more conspicuous. In key speeches, such as "The Government's Defence Political Challenges and Priorities" of January 2002, UN roles and missions were absent.[760] On the contrary, the importance of a military transformation that first of all was meant "... to strengthen our bilateral contacts, particularly with key allies" was given higher priority than adjusting towards UN requirements for open-ended peacesupport operations.[761] This challenged Parliamentary apprehensions. According to Nybakk, the Defence Committee explicitly had to remind the MoD on the role of the UN, and that any military operation undertaken by Norwegian forces had to have *both* legitimacy and legality.[762] Following Nybakk, this was not particularly recognised by the MoD in the initial process leading up to the Defence Bill of March 2004: "To the MoD, it was sufficient to have *either* legitimacy *or* legality".[763]

While the government strove to balance its critique of Operation Iraqi Freedom while simultaneously maintaining a close relationship, the Defence Committee became unified on three issues: A UN mandate was explicitly required before any Norwegian force was to be deployed internationally, pre-emption was completely unacceptable, and UN contributions were to increase.

Being the only European Defence Minister that has a personal relationship with the US Secretary of Defense,[764] the Minister had succeeded well beyond the limits of what many members in the Parliament found comfortable. As the government for months faced the dilemma of supporting a key ally or sticking to a UN mandate, Jagland urged the government to be more explicit in their critique of the United States, and dare to take independent

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[758] United States Joint Forces Command [USJFCOM] (2003): "Stability Operations: Joint Operating Concept", Version 0.2, Norfolk, Va., September 5, p. 5. Originating from the USJFCOM, the document's critical remarks aims towards all the service branches (the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, the Marine Corps, and the Coast Guard). The term "stability operations" is defined as "... military operations in concert with the other elements of national power and multinational partners, to maintain or re-establish order and promote stability" (ibid, p. ii)
[759] Ibid. See also DoD (2003): "DoD Considers Creating Reconstruction and Stability Force", *News Archive*, December 30, accessible at: http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Dec2003/.
[760] Kristin Krohn Devold (2002): "Regjeringens forsvarspolitiske utfordringer og prioriteringer", speech at Oslo Militære Samfund, Oslo, January 7, accessible at: http://odin.dep.no/fd/norsk/aktuelt/taler/.
[761] Devold (2002): "Sikkerhetspolitikken i endring ...", Oslo, April 30.
[762] Interview with Nybakk.
[763] Ibid. St.prp. nr. 42 (2003–2004) nevertheless stressed the requirement for both legality and legitimacy (p. 36).
[764] Interviews with Towsend, and Captain Jay Wilkins, Director on European Policy at the OSD, Pentagon, Washington DC, May 14, 2004.

viewpoints.[765] According to the Socialist Left Party members of the Parliamentary opposition, it was "... dramatic the way we are sticking up to the [US] world order".[766]

The Parliamentary scepticism accentuated as the US led Operation Iraqi Freedom gradually unfolded into 2004. The fact that the MoD's primary role model for change had become the primary exponent for pre-emptive wars without a UN mandate strained the domestic political landscape. The leader of the Foreign Affairs Committee claimed: "The War on Terrorism is not a war between civilisations or religions. But it may rapidly become such a war if the present American policy continues".[767] Following Jagland in the Parliamentary debate, it was therefore crucial for Norway to apply for a EU membership; a stronger and more cohesive Europe could influence the United States in directions where war-fighting could be balanced with peacebuilding and diplomacy.[768] Even though the MoD in its final version of the Defence Bill of March 2004 inserted more UN related arguments into the document,[769] the Parliament nevertheless found it appropriate to stress this issue even more. As pointed out in the Parliamentary remarks to the Defence Bill:

> the majority in the Committee is first of all concerned with the fact that all operations have a UN mandate. ... The majority will therefore furthermore refer to a continued policy on abstaining from preventive war-fighting and pre-emptive strikes that have no connection to international law.[770]

Even though the Defence Minister never had advocated pre-emption or preventive warfare, the Parliament nevertheless found it appropriate to stress the issue. This was particularly so as the MoD seemed to differentiate between *legality* and *legitimacy* in the event of military deployments.[771] This was, according to the leader of the Defence Committee, completely unacceptable.[772] In the final version of Strength and Relevance, statements explicitly

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[765] Jagland (2004): "Regjeringen må vise mer initiativ...", *Aftenposten*, October 6.
[766] Kjetil Bjørklund, member of the Parliamentary Defence Committee from the Socialist Left Party, interviewed in Elling Svela (2003): "Internasjonal presse roser norsk forsvar", p. 9. See also Geir Salvesen (2004): "Jagland kritiserer USA og Israel", *Aftenposten*, April 27.
[767] Thorbjørn Jagland (2004): "En avklaring om utenrikspolitikken er nødvendig", *Aftenposten*, June 11.
[768] Jagland debating the Minister of Foreign Affairs' annual account on foreign policy, January 29, 2004 in Stortingstidene [S.tid.] nr. 44 (2003–2004): *Debatt om utenriksministerens utenrikspolitiske redegjørelse [Parliamentary Debate on the Foreign Minister's Account on Foreign Policy]*, (Oslo: Stortingets informasjonstjeneste), issue no. 1, January 29, 2004. An electronic version of the debate is accessible at: http://www.stortinget.no/stid/2003/index.shtml.
[769] St.prp. nr. 42 (2003–2004), chap. 3; interview with Espen Stensersen, Deputy Director General in the MoD, Oslo, August 10, 2004.
[770] Innst. S. nr. 232 (2001–2002), p. 19.
[771] St.prp. nr. 42 (2003–2004), p. 36.
[772] Interview with Nybakk.

denouncing preventive war-fighting and pre-emptive attacks were inserted.[773] This was not evident in earlier versions.[774] Previous statements in Strength and Relevance, claiming that "sufficient anchoring to international law" was necessary,[775] were exchanged with "a clear anchoring in international law".[776]

The Parliamentary concern towards a transformation process that primarily seemed to cultivate close allies also made repercussions into the broader Parliamentary debate on foreign policy. The Minister of Foreign Affairs' call for Norway to "stand up and be counted" in order to support allies in Iraq,[777] aroused Parliamentary opposition. As replied by Jagland, "US striking power may be required, but it has to be subdued to international legitimacy and complemented with European peacebuilding and diplomacy".[778] The Defence Minister's explicit utterance of Norway as a driving force behind a more agile NATO that by many was regarded as a "US toolbox" had caused Parliamentary concern.[779]

Balancing Allied and National Prerogatives

To challenge the validity of the original hypothesis, another aspect should be included. Did the MoD's propensity of forging "... an advanced defence of Norway",[780] and overruling "... the classic idea of a passive defence of own territory"[781] coincide with Parliamentary preferences for a defence "... capable of solving relevant challenges at home"?[782] Being subjected to a broader policy agenda where military presence in the High North was blended with local employment, trade and industry, the MoD's effort to concentrate scarce resources towards purely operative requirements became hard to accommodate. This was particularly so as the DCI and PCC injunctions envisaged cost-intensive investments in more deployable forces. As pointed out in the Chief of Defence's Defence Study 2003, NATO's Force Goals requirements were ambitious, and exceeded far beyond the estimated budgets.[783] At the same

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[773] FD (2004): "Styrke og relevans", p. 53.
[774] FD (2002): "Styrke og relevans", revised draft of August 27, articles 75–82, and revised draft of December 13, articles 78–86.
[775] Ibid, revised draft of August 27, p. 21, and revised draft of December 13, article 82.
[776] FD (2004): "Styrke og relevans", p. 53.
[777] UD (2004): "Foreign Minister Jan Petersen's Statement to the Storting on Foreign Policy, 27 January 2004", Oslo, January 27, accessed at: http://odin.dep.no/ud/engelsk/aktuelt/taler/.
[778] S.tid. nr. 44 (2003–2004): *Debatt om utenriksministerens utenrikspolitiske redegjørelse.*
[779] See contributions from Kristin Halvorsen (The Socialist Left Party) and Svein Roar Hansen (The Labour Party) in S.tid. nr. 44 (2003–2004): *Debatt om utenriksministerens utenrikspolitiske redegjørelse.*
[780] Devold (2002): "Trenger vi NATO?".
[781] Devold (2002): "Truer NATO freden?".
[782] Innst. S. nr. 234 (2003–2004), p. 25.
[783] FSJ (2003): "Forsvarssjefens militærfaglige utredning 2003", p. 5.

time, the Defence Committee urgently expressed the Parliament's unanimous signal of asserting national sovereignty in the High North.[784]

According to former Defence Counsellor at NORDEL, the Parliamentary decision to procure five new frigates between 2005-2010 should be seen in this context. Even though the *Fridtjof Nansen Class* was superfluous from an allied perspective, the Parliament's request for a capability that could operate in the High North was definite. The investment, however, limited the MoD's economic freedom of action to accommodate other, and more relevant force goal requirements from NATO. Spending 20 billions Norwegian kroner on frigates was economically incompatible with allied requests for a more deployable land component that could operate swiftly out-of-area.[785] The effort to accommodate NATO requirements on more helicopter resources had to be cancelled for the same reasons.

Following the former Defence Counsellor, the United States and other allies would like to see a more focused defence effort towards common challenges, but Parliamentary priorities made this impossible.[786] In October 2003, the Defence Committee stressed Norway's "... responsibility to maintain sovereignty over an ocean that is seven times larger than the territorial area. ... This has to be emphasised in the next long-term plan [the Defence Bill of March 2004]".[787]

This national imperative was, according to Nybakk, not sufficiently acknowledged as the MoD strove for a more deployable force that could underscore allied committments; "we therefore wanted to protect North-Norway from further base closures, and instead underscore the need for more national anti-terror preparedness".[788] The Defence Committee agreed to the governmental Home Guard reform, which aimed to corroborate the national defence against international terrorism. The governmental effort to reduce the Home Guard in personnel and districts, however, was rejected.[789]

Despite the Parliamentary opposition towards a smaller but more effective and flexible defence concept, Krohn Devold continued to underscore her image as an economist:

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[784] Ibid, p. 9.
[785] Interview with Landsverk, October 14, 2004.
[786] Ibid. It is important to note that Landsverk underscored the Parliament's constitutional right to make this decision.
[787] Innst. S. nr. 11 (2003–2004): *Innstilling fra forsvarskomiteen om bygging av Skjold-klasse missiltorpedobåter* [*The Report of the Standing Committee on Defence on Building of Skjold-Class Missile Torpedo Boats*] (cf. St.prp. nr. 82 (2002–2003): *Bygging av Skjold-klasse missiltorpedobåter* [*Building of Skjold-Class Missile Torpedo Boats*]), Oslo, October 16, p. 2, accessed at: http://www.stortinget.no/inns/2003/index.shtml.
[788] Interview with Nybakk.
[789] Ibid; Innst. S. nr. 232 (2001–2002), pp. 15–16.

> Conventionally, military wisdom would dictate that the big battalions usually win. But the *numbers* are no longer decisive. *Quality* is. ... Sunk cost should not influence decisions; ... relevance must overrule sentimentality.[790]

The Minister's effort to free resources through downsizing a territorial bound force had for long been appreciated in NATO. According to a NATO defence planning review on Norway from 2001,

> the recent Parliamentary decision to retain existing elements of the territorial defence structure ... will only exacerbate the funding difficulties. There are significant doubts about Norway's ability to implement its revised Long Term Plan and the capability improvements sought by NATO.[791]

The MoD's effort to centralise the military infrastructure at home, to convey resources into forces that could respond more swiftly and decisively with allied forces caused Parliamentary discord.[792] Even though the Parliamentary majority endorsed many of Godal's proposals as presented in February 2001,[793] the Defence Committee nevertheless retained the Missile Torpedo Boats, all 18 Home Guard districts and 83,000 Home Guard personnel.[794] The impression that the transformation process had become too narrow and expeditionary in its profile, and thus neglecting crucial national prerogatives, continued as Godal's successor, presented the Defence Bill of March 2004.[795] According to a united Defence Committee, it was unacceptable to shut down NASAMS air defence systems at Bodø, and transfer it further south to Ørlandet.[796] Even though this would, according to the MoD, facilitate a more efficient spending of scarce resources, it would nevertheless leave the region without a defensive NASAMS air-defence system.[797] Also, the MoD's effort to reduce the number of Home Guard districts in Finnmark from two to one, in order to exert synergy effects, was rejected by

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[790] Devold (2003): "Transformation ...", p. 13.
[791] MoD, 2001/01393–23/FD II/MRI/200.17, "NATO Defence Planning Review 2001 – Norway", November 23, 2001.
[792] See among others Marit Arnstad (2004): "Et sterkt Forsvar i nord", *Nationen*, May 18. Arnstad is the Parliamentary Leader for the Centre Party and member of the Defence Committee; interview with Nybakk.
[793] St.prp. nr. 45 (2000–2001), pp. 43–44.
[794] Innst. S. nr. 232 (2001–2002), pp. 64–65.
[795] See among others Jørgen Hyvang (2003): "Forsvarets egne feller dom: Norge for dårlig rustet til krig", *Dagsavisen*, September 19.
[796] Innst. S. nr. 234 (2003–2004), p. 54.
[797] Nordland Arbeiderparti (2004): "Omorganisering av Forsvaret", Resolution from the Annual Conference, March 21, accessed at: http://www.dna.no/index.gan?id=22615&subid=0&PHPSESSID=476f35831e5aa48509a2fbb060c99e49.

Parliamentary remarks.[798] Due to operative necessities, Finnmark's geographic location and size made it necessary to retain two districts – one in the East and one in the West of Finnmark County.[799] Similar remarks were made with respect to the basing of helicopters. Rather than centralise the helicopters at Sola, outside Stavanger, to increase the efficiency profit with already existing helicopter communities,[800] the Defence Committee urged the MoD to provide permanent basing at Bardufoss. This was closer to the operational theatre in the High North.[801]

Moreover, the MoD proposal to centralise facilities for F-16 maintenance and for the Coastal Forces Command was rejected; two military bands were also saved from the MoD's effort to rationalise.[802] Many of the rejections, particularly those related to North Norway, can be seen in the context of Parliamentary policies for local trade and industry. A more focused centralisation could lead to less local employment, and put more strain on the regional welfare system.

Ironically, a quote from SACEUR in 1997–2000, General Wesley K. Clark may best describe the Parliamentary concern between 2001 and 2004: "The central idea in military operations is effectiveness, not efficiency. Military operations should not be run like business".[803] The Parliamentary apprehensions towards adjustments that went too far in the direction of complete allied integration and dependency had an effect. Before the Defence Bill of March 2004 was released, the MoD had to spend a considerable effort on convincing the Parliament of the national rationale for change, cushioning the international dimension.[804] This was moreover underscored by a comprehensive media campaign launched by the most reform-oriented officers. Being engaged in the transformation process, high-ranking officers aimed to convince the Parliament and the public about the national precedence given to the adapting force.[805]

Political statements underscored the renewed emphasis on national prerogatives. As pointed out by the Minister in her account to the Parliament in December 2003, "the transformation towards a force with shorter response time is … primarily propelled by the

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[798] St.prp. nr. 42 (2003–2004), p. 102.
[799] Innst. S. nr. 234 (2003–2004), p. 58.
[800] St.prp. nr. 42 (2003–2004), p. 99.
[801] Innst. S. nr. 234 (2003–2004), p. 55.
[802] Ibid, pp. 50, 54, 67.
[803] Wesley K. Clark (2003): "Iraq: What Went Wrong?", *The New York Review of Books*, 50 (16), p. 1.
[804] Interview with Stenersen.
[805] See among others Sverre Diesen (2003): "Hvilket Forsvar trenger Norge?" *Aftenposten*, December 23; Sverre Diesen (2004): "Forsvarets omstilling", *Dagbladet*, March 12; Jørgen Berggrav (2004): "Det nye Forsvaret er

requirement for smaller and more available forces in our own areas of responsibility".[806] The propensity for a more proactive international profile, as portrayed in 2002 and early 2003, was consequently played down.

As such, it may seem as if the potential agency problem between the MoD and the Parliament was of limited scope; both the agent and the principal agreed to keep a national focus on the transformation. This was also confirmed by the Minister's acceptance to retain 14 Missile Torpedo Boats of the *Hauk-Class*. Like the frigates, these were capabilities that both NATO and the Chief of Defence initially had recommended to dispose,[807] but which proved to be of great importance for the Parliamentary concern over sovereignty enforcement and territorial security.[808] Allocating scarce resources to a capability that primarily made sense in an anti-invasion scenario therefore made it hard to underscore the MoD's commitments to a new and more viable Alliance.[809]

To what extent may the national/international dichotomy substantiate our hypothesis' claim of policy divergence in the ministry-parliament relationship? Clearly, the MoD's effort to pursue an enforced centralisation of the national military infrastructure constituted a key ingredient in the agency discord. The necessity to close down numerous military facilities to free resources for a quantitatively smaller but qualitatively better force went contrary to Parliamentary preferences for national presence and operative sustainability.[810] This was particularly related to the waste areas in the High North. Defence Committee members from the Socialist Left Party, the Centre Party and the Progressive Party, complained over the absence of a comprehensive plan for the Northern areas.[811] Contrary to Krohn Devold's quotation of President George W. Bush, claiming that "power [is] increasingly defined not by size, but by *mobility* and *swiftness*",[812] the Parliamentary majority argued for a larger Home Guard and more Missile Torpedo Boats to ensure sovereignty and territorial integrity.[813] Despite these objections, which by and large aimed to sustain sovereignty by a large force and

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mer nasjonalt troverdig", *Aftenposten*, April 26; Jørgen Berggrav (2004): "Et troverdig Forsvar", *Aftenposten*, June 5; Robert Mood (2004): "På høy tid å omstille Forsvaret", *Aftenposten*, June 3.

[806] Account by the Norwegian Minister of Defence, Kristin Krohn Devold, to the Parliament on Norway's participation in international operations for 2004, December 15, 2003 (Stortinget (2004): "Stortingsforhandlinger 2003–2004" (Oslo: Stortingets informasjonstjeneste). An electronic version of the account is accessible at: http://www.stortinget.no/stid/2003/.

[807] Interview with Landsverk, October 14, 2004; Sigurd Frisvold (2001): "Prioriteringer for et større Forsvar", *Aftenposten*, April 18.

[808] Innst. S. nr. 11(2003–2004).

[809] Interview with Landsverk, October 14, 2004.

[810] Interviews with Holme and Landsverk, October 14, 2004.

[811] Innst. S. nr. 234 (2003–2004), p. 9.

[812] Devold (2003): "Transformation ...", p. 13.

[813] Interview with Nybakk.

broad presence in North Norway, the Parliamentary majority credited the MoD in its effort to emphasise "... quality rather than quantity".[814]

On this basis, it may be claimed that the MoD's effort to modernise the defence structure and to accommodate allied expectations was hampered, although not dramatically. The Parliament was wary about proposals where the MoD, in its ardour for more allied integration, proceeded on a costly pace of transformation that could undermine military presence and resilience in the Northern region. That was why, according to the leader of the Defence Committee, a number of military facilities in North Norway were saved for the long-term planning period 2005-2008.[815] Apart from Defence Committee members in the Labour Party and those represented in government (the Conservative Party, the Christian Democrats and the Liberal Party), the remaining members explicitly disagreed on the imbalance between international capabilities and national presence.[816] Coupled with the opposition's local trade and industry policies, the domestic pace towards allied adaptation became a complex process.

Conclusion

Having evaluated the MoD's effort to adapt towards allied requirements, which conclusions may be derived? To what extent does the Principal-Agent framework provide convincing evidences for a hypothesis claiming that the MoD's room for adaptation is limited? Moreover, were the potential limitations of such a magnitude that it affected the Norwegian room for manoeuvre vis-à-vis key allies in NATO?

As for different preference configurations, the empirical analysis has portrayed different agendas between the principal and the agent. While the Defence Minister initially seemed to pursue a policy with clear preferences towards the United States, the Parliament followed a broader agenda consisting of local, national and international preferences. Blending claims for national sovereignty with local policies on trade and industry, the Parliament seemed to advocate a larger force structure with more territorial presence. Coupled with the controversial Operation Iraqi Freedom on the international arena, the MoD's ability to transform along allied requirements became a political process of domestic ambiguity.

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[814] Innst. S. nr. 234 (2003–2004), p. 8
[815] Interview with Nybakk.
[816] Innst. S. nr. 234 (2003–2004), p. 9–11.

If we hold on to Lupia's work, which claims that any delegation implicitly entails potential agency losses,[817] can we claim the original hypothesis to be valid? Is the incongruence of such a magnitude that allied adaptation was severely hampered by rivalling policies? Due to the political settlement between the Labour Party and the minority government between 2001 and 2005, there existed a general consensus between the Parliamentary majority and the Executive. Hence, as the MoD accentuated its reform process in 2003 and 2004 towards a continued fundamental re-orientation, singular issues arose as matters of controversy. This was particularly so with regard to international operations and military presence in the Northern regions. As the Labour Party did not follow the government on these issues, the Executive had to moderate her refocused defence effort along national prerogatives.

Hence, despite the attempt to illustrate divergent policies and preferences, the political discord within the Principal-Agent framework was relatively moderate. Apart from retaining a few bases in North Norway, and making the point of UN mandate and national sovereignty more explicit, no Parliamentary remarks seemed to have quelled the MoD's intention of bringing Norway into line with our most important allies. On the contrary, a concept for deployable brigades, for more professional troops, for non-commissioned officers, and for the right to order officers instantly abroad, was endorsed by the Parliament.[818] With these dramatic changes in mind, the conceptual fundamentals were consistent throughout the chain of delegated authority. As the empirical evidences failed to provide a picture of profound incongruity between the principal and the agent, we may claim the alternative hypothesis to be of increased validity.

How may this have affected the Norwegian room for manoeuvre? Firstly, it tells us that the political decision-making process in a modern society entails a considerable potential for agency movement, in fact more than the parliamentary model initially suggests. Strøm, claiming "no model does full justice to reality", also acknowledges this.[819] Despite a singular line of delegation, which is designed to contain agency loss, a considerable room for manoeuvre existed for the MoD to adapt within. Within the domestic political landscape, the MoD defined the fundamentals and pointed out the premises for allied integration. Even though the Parliamentary majority approved conceptual reforms, the MoD was the catalyst and driving force behind the military adaptation.

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[817] Lupia (2003): "Delegation and its Perils", pp. 33–54.
[818] Innst. S. nr. 234 (2003–2004), pp. 30, 35, 37, 39.
[819] Strøm (2003): "Parliamentary Democracy and Delegation", p. 59.

This assumption is underscored by the fact that the Executive more often than the Parliament experiences inferiority in consultancies with a larger patron.[820] Hence, the Parliament only seems to undertake minor corrections and adjustments to a variety of fundamental reforms propelled by the MoD.[821] Apart from adjustments on the Home Guard reform of 2002,[822] the leader of the Defence Committee admitted that the Parliament only marginally defined the fundamental premises for how the Armed Forces were to conceptualise.[823]

Secondly, the falsified hypothesis indicates that the MoD was careful not to accommodate allied requirements that the Parliament was likely to reject. Krohn Devold and her civil servants continuously probed the Parliamentary landscape to find out how far the MoD could proceed in its accommodation of allied requirements. Within the perceived room for manoeuvre, the MoD outlined propositions that presumptively would attain Parliamentary acceptance, and retained reforms that were likely to be overruled. This was also confirmed through interviews with civil servants in the MoD, claiming that prevailing Parliamentary sentiments sent a legitimate constitutional signal for how far the Armed Forces could adjust to allied expectations.[824] Krohn Devold's accountability to the Parliament led to a voluntary abstention in the transformation effort. The ability to forge a defence concept designed to increase allied integration was thereby to some extent sub-optimised. Subjecting to a broader Parliamentary agenda on UN mandates, national resilience and local employment policies, the ability to forge a concept for allied cultivation and leverage was somewhat reduced.

Chapter 8. An Inconsistent Foreign Policy?

This chapter evaluates the political nature and character of Norway's military adaptation, as proposed by the United States and agreed upon by the NATO members. Even though decisions are taken collectively inside the Alliance, our interpretation in Part II indicated that US requirements by and large were accommodated. This chapter therefore examines to what extent the transformation process coincides with Norway's broader foreign policy portfolio: Is the adapting force politically relevant for the Norwegian engagement abroad?

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[820] See among others UD (2004): "Foreign Minister Jan Petersen's Statement to the Storting...", Oslo, January 27, 2004.
[821] Confirmed through interview with Nybakk.
[822] Innst. S. nr. 232 (2001–2002), pp. 15–16.
[823] Interview with Nybakk.
[824] Interviews of MoD officials in 2004: Efjestad, Stenersen and Landsverk, October 14; interview with Per Fredrik I. Pharo, Deputy Director General in the MoD, Oslo, August 14, 2004.

Contrary to the US transformation context, which states that "... the Armed Forces' foremost task is to fight and win wars, ... necessitating capabilities to defeat a wide range of adversaries",[825] our contextual starting point is intra-state conflicts and post-combat performances.[826] As intra-state conflicts are by far the most common conflicts of today,[827] such a contextual examination of the transformation process is of interest. Firstly, because the MFA claims nation-building efforts in Afghanistan to be of primary importance for the Alliance and for the Armed Forces.[828] Secondly, as post-combat performances involve close integration with many other political tools, such as diplomatic, economic and humanitarian efforts, intra-state conflicts allow us to examine the adapting force from a broader foreign policy perspective. In sum, this approach may reveal potential pitfalls that a small state may face when forging capabilities designed for combat efficiency and decisive operations on the battlefield.

As Norway's broader foreign policy portfolio tends to embrace challenges that often arise from intra-state conflicts, the chapter first examines the political relevance of the US-led transformation process in NATO. Thereafter, the chapter discusses to what extent the focus on combat efficiency and decisive operations is consistent with Norway's broader foreign policy portfolio. The chapter concludes that consistency between the adapting force and Norway's broader agenda abroad is incongruent: NATO as the only framework for transformation has made the adapting force unbalanced vis-à-vis the most common challenges that Norway wants to address on the international arena.

The Operative Context in Norway's Broader Foreign Policy

Various terms have been used over the years to describe the activities we are trying to analyse. The deployment of military force in Germany and Japan were referred to as

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[825] Joint Chiefs of Staff (2004): "The National Military Strategy of the United States of America", Washington D.C., May, p. 3.
[826] The term "intra-state conflict" is a contested term and needs to be approached cautiously. As major intra-state conflicts often involve neighbouring states and the international community, it can be claimed that few intra-state conflicts remain self-contained (Renata Dwan and Micaela Gustavson (2004): "Major Armed Conflicts" in Sipri (ed.): *SIPRI Yearbook 2004...*, p. 96)
[827] Apart from the war between the US led multinational coalition and the Government of Iraq, the long-standing conflict over Kashmir between India and Pakistan was the only intra-state conflict in 2003 (ibid, p. 95).
[828] UD (2003): "Foreign Minister Jan Petersen's Statement to the Storting on Norway's Contribution to International Operations and Overall Involvement in Afghanistan and Iraq in 2004", Oslo, December 15, accessible at: http://odin.dep.no/ud/english/news/speeches/bn.html. See also St.prp. nr. 1 (2004–2005), p. 33.

occupations.[829] Military operations in Haiti and Bosnia were generally termed peacekeeping or peace enforcement missions.[830] The military operations in Somalia (1993) and Iraq (1991) were labelled intervention operations.[831] The USJFCOM uses the terms stabilisation operations and reconstruction to refer to its post-conflict operations in Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003).[832] Regardless of what label we put on the conduct of operations, a common feature has been the intent to underpin a process of stabilisation, reconstruction and democratisation. This implies a manifold and complex set of agendas. Each carries within itself a number of contradictions, as, for example, the need to tolerate losses, or hold your fire when fired upon.[833] Occupation, peacekeeping, peace enforcement, intervention, stabilisation operations, and reconstruction do not fully capture the scope of such operations. Neither does the term nationbuilding, but it comes closest to suggesting the full range of activities and objectives involved.

Nationbuilding has been defined as "... the use of armed force in the aftermath of a conflict to underpin an enduring transition to democracy".[834] The political relevancy of a transforming force thereby goes beyond the ability to conduct decisive combat operations on a conventional battlefield. Political relevancy in military terms is as much viewed within the context of providing an enduring security environment from where democratic processes and institutions may prevail. It encompasses all kinds of post-combat performance to accommodate security, humanitarian, administrative, political and economic challenges.

This brings us into the field of peacebuilding. In the broadest sense, peacebuilding is about helping war torn states to re-establish the rudiments of normal life after a period of conflict. The concept was described in the UN document An Agenda for Peace in 1992. It referred to a more comprehensive approach to "... identify and support structures which will tend to

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[829] Winston Churchill (1954): *Triumph and Tragedy*, vol. 6 in Winston Churchill: *The Second World War* (London: Cassel &Co).
[830] See among others Erwin A. Schmidl (ed.) (2000): *Peace Operations Between War and Peace* (London: Frank Cass); and Alex J. Bellamy, Paul Williams & Stuart Griffin (2004): *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Cambridge: Polity Press).
[831] Michele A. Flournoy and Kenneth F. McKenzie (2001): "Sizing Conventional Forces: Criteria and Methodology" in Michele A. Flournoy (ed.): *QDR 2001. Strategy-Driven Choices for America's Security* (Washington D.C., National Defense University), p. 174.
[832] USJFCOM (2003): "Stability Operations...".
[833] Richard Dowden (2003): "The British really are superior", *New Statesman*, April 28. See also J.J.A. Wallace (1997): "Manoeuvre Theory in Operations Other Than War" in Brian Holden Reid (ed.): *Military Power. Land Warfare in Theory and Practice* (London, Frank Cass).
[834] James Dobbins (2003): "Nation-Building. The Inescapable Responsibility of the World's Superpower", *RAND Review*, Summer 2003, p. 1, accessible at: http://www.rand.org/publications/randreview/issues/summer2003/nation1.html.

strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict".[835] Peacebuilding may as such be defined as "... all external efforts to assist countries and regions in their transition from war to peace".[836] Through the amalgamation of preventive diplomacy, and peacekeeping, the opportunity for post-conflict peacebuilding becomes attainable. As preventive diplomacy is used to avoid a crisis, peacebuilding is used to prevent a slide back to conflict.[837]

According to the MFA, peacebuilding constitutes an important supplement to the process of creating social stability and a sustainable peace.[838] As with nationbuilding, the effort may include a coterminous and coordinated use of any means, i.e. juridical, political, diplomatic, economic, humanitarian, social and military, to make up a coherent and stable social fabric.[839] As for the MFA approach, peacebuilding has been directed into three mutually reinforcing dimensions: security, political development, and social and economic development.[840] The MFA approach thereby resembles the UN approach:

> ... the resumption of economic activity, the rejuvenation of institutions, the restoration of basic services, the reconstruction of clinics and schools, the revamping of public administrations, and the resolution of differences through dialogue, not violence.[841]

As this short passage illustrates, nationbuilding and peacebuilding are closely intertwined. Hence, a common political objective is their mutual ambition to undertake action so that a sustainable transition phase from conflict to peace can be accomplished. The two terms will therefore be used interchangeably.

The term "post-combat performances" will be used to describe how military force may underscore this political objective. Post-combat activities thereby contrast military tasks at a conventional battlefield in two ways. Potentially opposing parties will operate

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[835] The United Nations [UN] (1992): "An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-Keeping", Report of the Secretary-General, adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council, June 17, accessible at: http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/.
[836] UN (2003): "Preventive Action and Peacemaking" (New York: Department of Political Affairs), [undated], accessible at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpa/.
[837] UN (1992): "An Agenda for Peace...", paragraph 57.
[838] UD (2004): "Strategic Framework: Peacebuilding ...", pp. 10–11.
[839] Ibid, p. 5.
[840] Ibid, pp. 16–34.
[841] UN (2001): "Peace-Building Done Well a Powerful Deterrent to Violent Conflict, Secretary-General Tells Security Council", *Press Release*, no. 2779, February 6, accessible at: http://www.unis.unvienna.org/unis/en/press_releases.html.

unconventionally, or asymmetrically;[842] any definite Centre of Gravity from where potential opponents extract their power cannot be easily defined or militarily destroyed.[843] A common feature is the absence of larger hostile formations in the operational theatre from where nationbuilding and peacebuilding is to be accomplished. The rationale for maintaining a large conventional force for decisive battle is dwindling.

US Transformation Efforts and Political Relevance

Together with NATO's former Secretary General and the Secretary General of the European Council, the Norwegian Defence Minister addressed key allies in Brussels in October 2002. Krohn Devold's title was What Europe Wants from NATO. Addressing NATO's challenges on transformation, her preference "... would be to avoid altogether setting out European views as opposed to North American – or U.S.-thinking".[844] The speech was warmly appreciated by US officials, who invited her as a key speaker to the Open Road 2003 seminar, hosted by SACLANT in January 2003. In that address, entitled Transformation – Implications for the Alliance, the Minister praised the role of the United States as an initiator and driving force behind a more relevant NATO:

> The United States has, on several occasions, made important initiatives to help provide a roadmap for NATO's relevance, for instance through the *Defence Capabilities Initiative*, the *Prague Capabilities Commitments* and the *NATO Response Force*. ... We, *The European Allies have to catch up*.[845]

If we analyse the US initiatives from a nationbuilding or peacebuilding perspective, a fundamental question may be raised: Is the US-led transformation effort in NATO relevant with regard to political achievements in the most common conflicts of today? To what extent

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[842] In this thesis, the term "asymmetry" relates to threats posed by smaller powers or non-state actors to inflict damage on a more powerful state's vulnerabilities. These may be directed towards citizens by means of terrorist action, the use of WMD, or criminal sabotage (Sipri (2004): *SIPRI Yearbook 2004*..., p. 6).

[843] Inge Tjøstheim (1998): "Militærmaktens betydning i dag og i fremtiden" in Anders Kjølberg and Bernt Bull (eds.): *Sikkerhetspolitisk tenkning i en ny tid – fra enhet til mangfold* (Oslo: Europaprogrammet), pp. 89–90. The term "Centre of Gravity" is defined by Carl von Clausewitz as "... the hub of all power and movement, on which everything depends. This is the point against which all our energies should be directed" (Carl von Clausewitz ([1831]/1976): *On War*, edited and translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press), pp. 595–596).

[844] Kristin Krohn Devold (2002): "What Europe Wants from NATO", speech at the conference Prague 2002: Challenge and Change for NATO, Brussels, October 3. The document is accessible at: http://odin.dep.no/fd/english/news/speeches/010011-090072/dok-bn.html.

[845] Devold (2003): "Transformation ...", pp. 14, 25.

does the refocused defence effort as advocated by the United States in NATO underscore Norway's broader foreign policy effort? Based on the US experience from the campaigns launched in Afghanistan in October 2001, and in Iraq in March 2003, the political validity of combat forces for post-combat performances can be questioned. In both campaigns, the role model for NATO's transformation pursued impressive war-fighting operations; US forces won decisively, rapidly, and with minimal loss of life. Translating the military victory into political achievements, however, proved to be more demanding. According to Riste, "the establishment of stable democratic regimes requires a "long haul" for which the United States in particular seems ill prepared".[846] Apprehensions on the political relevance of combat ready forces in non-conventional wars was furthermore voiced by Secretary Rumsfeld: "My impression is that we have not yet made truly bold moves, although we have made many sensible, logical moves in the right direction, but are they enough?"[847]

US Ambassador Bob Barry, the OSCE's Head of Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1995–1997, claimed that the United States did not do enough in terms of being a role model for European transformation. Combat ready forces were of limited relevance when it came to attaining political objectives once the intense war-fighting phase was over: Forces for high intensity warfare were "... ill prepared to follow up on military victory with actions which would validate the sacrifices made in war".[848] Historically, military forces are conceptualised around the issue of war-fighting, thereby eschewing the challenges of dealing with the battlefield after the battle. The political relevancy of the US transformation process was, according to Frederic W. Kagan, too narrow:

> The U.S. has developed and implemented a method of warfare that can produce stunning military victories but does not necessarily accomplish the political goals for which the war was fought. [849]

This was also implicitly acknowledged by the British General Sir Michael Jackson, claiming that "military friction" across the Atlantic may occur due to differences in the way military

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[846] Olav Riste (2005): *Norway's Foreign Relations – A History* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget), p. 283.
[847] *USA Today* (2003): "Rumsfeld's war-on-terror memo", October 23, accessible at: http://www.usatoday.com/news/washington/executive/rumsfeld–memo.htm.
[848] Bob Barry (2003): "The United States and Nation-building: Path to Democracy or Hegemony?", discussion paper from British American Security Information Council (BASIC), London, September 5, accessible at: http://www.basicint.org/iraqconflict/Pubs/Pubs_index.htm.
[849] Kagan (2003): "War and Aftermath", pp. 1–2.

force is applied to address security challenges.[850] While the US tended to focus on overwhelming force with conventional war-fighting capabilities,[851] European forces often preferred a "softer" approach engaging the local population with foot patrols.[852] To contrast the two approaches:

> When confronted with a house used by snipers, the US would invariably call in an air strike or an armoured attack, while a British commander would send troops to search the building to clear it of civilians before using extreme violence.[853]

Even though the statement is stereotypical,[854] the way force was employed signalled different conceptual preferences. As pointed out by Rumsfeld:

> DoD has been organised, trained and equipped to fight big armies, navies and air forces. It is not possible to change DoD fast enough to successfully fight the global war on terror; an alternative may be to try to fashion a new institution, either within DoD or elsewhere.[855]

The Secretary's soul-searching was consistent with statements by retired US generals. Clark claimed there was a strong tradition among Pentagon organisations to emphasise "decisive operations" rather than a more balanced approach which encapsulated post-war performance: "The Pentagon's military organizations concentrated on using their basic expertise – the application of military power – rather than the broader requirement in the situation".[856] Similar assessments were voiced by the Norwegian MoD albeit in a more diplomatic varnish: "one should not underestimate the difficulties arising from … different threat perceptions … and

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[850] Nigel Morris (2004): "British General Admits Anglo-US 'Friction'", *The Independent*, April 21. Similar tension is described in Clark (2001): *Waging Modern War*, p. 399.
[851] See among others Colin Powell (1992): "US Forces: The Challenges Ahead", *Foreign Affairs*, 71 (1), pp. 32–45.
[852] See among others William Langewiesche (2001): "Peace is Hell", *The Atlantic Monthly*, September/October; and James Fallows (2004): "Blind into Baghdad", *The Atlantic Monthly*, January/February.
[853] Trevor Royle (2004): "Black Watch Will not Blindly Follow US Orders", *Sunday Herald*, October 24.
[854] See among others Thomas E. Ricks (2004): "Marines to Offer New Tactics in Iraq", *Washington Post*, January 7. When US Marines were to take over responsibility for Western Iraq after the US Army, they would pay more attention to the restraint in the use of force and more cultural sensitivity, as compared to their predecessors.
[855] *USA Today* (2003): "Rumsfeld's war-on-terror memo".
[856] Clark (2003): "Iraq: What Went Wrong?", p. 3. See also Andrew Cottey (2004): "The Iraq War: The Enduring Controversies and Challenges" in Sipri (2004): *SIPRI Yearbook 2004…*, p. 79–80. pp. 67–93.

different approaches as to how security challenges are addressed".[857] Differences on how threats are wielded militarily may therefore aggregate conceptual discrepancy across the Atlantic.

This may contrast alternative approaches as to how wars are fought to achieve political ends through the minimum use of force.[858] According to an internal memorandum by NORDEL, the biggest challenge to transatlantic security and defence co-operation was to reach a common understanding of the threat perception, and how these were to be addressed.[859] This was acknowledged by the USJFCOM. Even though the primary objective was to win the war, the command recognised the importance of a military concept adequately designed to secure the overall strategic goal of "winning the peace".[860] This would require forces that could coexist with combat operations. From this perspective, the USJFCOM admitted that the United States did not have "a coordinated or comprehensive plan for stability operations":

> Current stability operations appear to be ad hoc and lack integration with war planning activities. ... There lacks a defined unity of purpose, common understanding, shared vision and unity of effort for the conduct of stability operations. Equally, a means of effectively planning and coordinating civil-military action is absent.[861]

Hence, as famously pointed out by Clausewitz, war is all about attaining political objectives. A precondition is a mutually reinforcing relationship between military means and other tools, including diplomacy. Based on the USJFCOM's lessons learned after engagements in Afghanistan and Iraq, the relevance of a transformation process that according to NATO's SACEUR primarily seeks to underscore "combat-ready forces" can be questioned. This critique finds support in reports by the RAND Corporation, claiming "... there has been no comparable increase in the capacity of U.S. armed forces or U.S. civil agencies to conduct

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[857] St.prp. nr. 1 (2004–2005), p. 20; St.prp. nr. 42 (2003–2004), p. 29.
[858] This approach is, according to Basil H. Liddell Hart, called the strategy of indirect approach: "In studying the physical aspect, we must never lose sight of the psychological, and only when both are combined is the strategy truly an indirect approach". (B. H Liddell Hart (1957): *Strategy* (London: Faber & Faber), p. 327). According to Børresen et al., when US forces were deployed to Macedonia to reinforce the NORDBAT-force in 1993, there was a risk for increased tension in the area because US forces were unconditionally trained for major combat operations, and lacked essential peace keeping skills (Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring*..., p. 207).
[859] NORDEL, VCR/20695, "Stemning og status foran NATO-toppmøtet", June 24, 2004.
[860] USJFCOM (2003): *Stability Operations*...", p. ii.
[861] Ibid, p. 5.

post-combat stabilisation and reconstruction operations".[862] The emphasis on overwhelming firepower and material dominance has given the United States a biased approach as to how forces are made politically relevant. According to one analyst, "the battlefield lies in the political will of the opponents, the hearts and minds of the citizens.... Changing how we think will not be easy, as it goes against the grain of what has been called the American way of war".[863]

On this basis, it is of interest to discuss the extent to which post-combat performances, particularly nationbuilding, are weighted in Norway's military adaptation. In the foreword to the MoD's strategic concept, Krohn Devold argued for a guideline that was to supplement NATO's strategic concept of April 1999.[864] As NATO's primary tools are combat ready forces, such as the NATO Response Force, it may be questioned to what extent the Force Goal process in NATO constitutes an adequately balanced framework for the Norwegian Armed Forces to transform within. The lopsidedness inside NATO is implicitly confirmed in Strength and Relevance: Due to NATO's transatlantic dimension and integrated military command structure, the military potential is more comprehensive by far than in the EU; the EU, however, "... possesses a far more complementary and broad set of security policy means than NATO".[865]

As Norway's effort to gain access and influence among key allies requires the government to use the entire spectrum of security policy means optimally,[866] transforming the Armed Forces within the context of a NATO framework only may be a paradox.[867] The reason for a one-sided focus on combat requirements is mainly because NATO is still perceived as "an Article 5 organisation"; since Norway became a founding member of NATO in 1949, it was never an option for the Armed Forces to defend herself in isolation from others. As NATO lacks a more comprehensive security political toolbox equivalent to that of the EU,[868] it may be natural to expect the reform process to accommodate key military requirements: to ensure operative efficiency in the entire range of crisis, and maintain a credible military deterrent.[869] This, however, is a demanding ambition. As combat operations generally are perceived as

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[862] Dobbins (2003): "Nation-Building..."; p.13. See also James Dobbins et al. (2003): *America's Role in Nation-Building: From Germany to Iraq* (Santa Monica, Ca.: RAND).
[863] Douglas M. McCready (2003): "Learning from Sun Tzu", *Military Review*, 83 (3), p. 86.
[864] FD (2004): "Styrke og relevans", p. 5.
[865] Ibid, p. 19.
[866] Ibid, p. 20.
[867] See Minister of Defence, Kristin Krohn Devold's foreword, in FD (2004): "Styrke og relevans", p. 5.
[868] Oral brief by Kai Eide on "The NATO-EU relationship" at The Leangkollen Conference 2005, arranged by the Norwegian Atlantic Committee, Asker, January 31, 2005.
[869] St.prp. nr. 42 (2003–2004), p. 44.

being the most difficult part, war-fighting skills are likely to be emphasised.[870] As pointed out by the former Chief of Defence, General Frisvold, "worst-case scenarios" will always have to be emphasised.[871] This was also consistent with assessments made by senior MoD officials serving in NORDEL. When asked about how Norway responded to US combat requirements in NATO, the diplomatic answer was that "Norway was *not* among the countries receiving most criticism from the United States".[872]

As more complex nationbuilding scenarios emerged, a transformation process designed primarily to deploy combat ready forces in NATO would be questioned. As NATO may face a 30-year perspective with nationbuilding tasks in Afghanistan,[873] The Deputy Minister in the MFA, Vidar Helgesen pointed out that post-combat activities would become a major issue in the future.[874] In that perspective, a risk-averse approach with full-dimensional protection could prevent forces from engaging with the people they were supposedly assisting. If political goals were to be achieved by winning the local population's 'hearts and minds', post-combat performances could be perceived as becoming increasingly relevant.

Conceptual discord among NATO allies as to which capabilities were of most relevance was looming across the Atlantic. According to Rognmo, the Assistant Defence Counsellor at NORDEL, Belgium was harshly blamed by the United States in the Force Goal process leading up to new war-fighting requirements. Belgium's disregard of Main Battle Tanks, due to its limited usability in nationbuilding tasks, received US criticism: It could weaken the collective security pact as enshrined in the Washington Treaty.[875] Influential policy makers in Washington also voiced US apprehensions towards Europeans that eschewed combat performances: "If these [post-combat] operations are its sole purpose, it will become a loose collective security pact, not a true alliance with real military punch".[876] Former Norwegian envoy to NORDEL, Finn Landsverk, underscored this point more diplomatically, claiming that "the United States is very concerned on how the European force structure evolves; US representatives therefore actively engage in the examination of the different member states throughout the force goal process".[877]

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[870] Ivo H. Daalder (1996): "The United States and Military Intervention" in Michael E. Brown (ed.): *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MITT Press), p. 472.
[871] Frisvold (2004): "Utfordringer på vei mot fremtidens Forsvar".
[872] Interview with Landsverk, October 14, 2004.
[873] See Ron Asmus (2003): "Rebuilding the Alliance", *Foreign Affairs*, 82 (5), pp. 20–31.
[874] Interview with Helgesen.
[875] Interviews with Rognmo, August 19, 2004, and Landsverk, October, 14, 2004.
[876] Binnendijk and Kugler (2002): "Transforming European Forces", p. 119.
[877] Interview with Landsverk, October 14, 2004.

At the same time, however, conventional forces' inability to achieve political objectives once regular combat ceased was still voiced as problematic. According to the former US Ambassador, Bob Barry:

> The military despises peacekeeping and nationbuilding tasks that interfere with their primary goal of fighting wars. When Bosnia was in the headlines, military planners claimed that assigning brigades to peacekeeping duties interfered with the training cycle, discouraged re-enlistment and in general hollowed the Army. Reflecting their experience with pacification efforts in Vietnam, they shied away from "mission creep".[878]

Evidences of military reluctance towards post-combat activities such as nationbuilding were validated by Norwegian military sentiments. Consistent with the Ambassador's apprehensions, the previous Norwegian Chief of Defence warned strongly against "mission creep";[879] a tendency where military force was used for non-combat operations, such as providing security so that humanitarian aid could be distributed and working civil administration could be set up.

The overall emphasis on conventional war-fighting capabilities and worst-case scenarios could, however, make sense in a narrow security paradigm where US security guaranties through NATO needed to be sustained. Hence, being a dependent ally had consequences for the nature and character of the military adaptation.

The Army's rapid reaction force, the Telemark Battalion, which was committed to NATO Response Force 4 for a six months rotation by 2005, is an illustrating point. According to a Pentagon Fact Sheet, "combat operations" was the primary guideline for the NATO Response Force, and "SACEUR will certify the unit's readiness".[880] Only one officer was allocated to post-combat activities such as civil-military co-operation.[881] Mounted with Main Battle Tanks and Armoured Personnel Carriers, the transforming force regarded the battlefield as the only primary theatre. The Norwegian emphasis on combat operations was thus consistent with US requirements set forth through NATO. According to SACEUR, General James L. Jones, the

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[878] Barry (2003): "The United States and Nation-building...", p. 3.
[879] Frisvold (2004): "Utfordringer på vei mot fremtidens Forsvar".
[880] U.S. Department of State (2002): "NATO: Building New Capabilities for New Challenges", *Fact Sheet* (The White House: Office of the Press Secretary), November 21, accessible at: http://www.state.gov/p/eur/rls/.
[881] Oral brief by Major Carsten Seljestad, Second in Command in the Telemark Battalion, on "The Telemark Battalion", before the Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies, Rena, April 30, 2004.

NATO Response Force "will ensure that all Allies can engage together at the sharp end of military operations".[882]

As resources allocated to defence are about to become even scarcer, the imbalance between combat and post-combat performances is likely to be more pronounced. Top Generals' main concerns still seem to be the dwindling competence in real combat performance.[883] This concern was, according to Clark, a misunderstanding of what the employment of force is about; competence in the destruction of the opposing force on the battlefield was but one prerogative. Just as important was success in the succeeding post-combat performance to prevent hostile forces transforming into a guerrilla movement and exploiting the power vacuum following the war.[884]

By excluding the post-war planning phase critical to any political disbursement in the theatre, the transforming force may be of limited relevance in typical nationbuilding scenarios such as those in Kosovo, Afghanistan or in post-war Iraq. The one-sided focus on combat agility can lead to numerous tactical victories, but little strategic or political outcome. As pointed out by Kagan, "*combat* is characterised by breaking things and killing people; *war* is about much more than that".[885] Consistent with Clausewitz' ideas, the employment of force is also a matter of unifying and reconciling the various facets of a government's military activity.[886]

The EU's European Security Strategy may present a more relevant framework for the Armed Forces to adopt within. The strategy underscores the importance of underlying conditions originating from poverty and disease: "45 million people die every year of hunger and malnutrition ... Aids contributes to the breakdown of societies. ... Security is a precondition of development".[887] Deducing the EU's so called "Battle Groups" from such a broad context, the military force is to specialise in intra-state conflicts and post-combat performances, preparing the ground for larger, more traditional peacekeeping forces, ideally provided by the UN or the Member States. This conceptual approach deviates, according to Solana, from the transforming force advocated by US defence officials because "the EU

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[882] NATO (2004): "Short Remarks by Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR), General Jones at the NRF/ACT/HRF Exhibition", *NATO Speeches*, June 28, accessible at: http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2004/.
[883] Lars J. Sølvberg (2004): "En svekket Hær. Et styrket Forsvar?", *Aftenposten*, October 28.
[884] Clark (2003): "Iraq: What Went Wrong?", p. 2.
[885] Kagan (2003): "War and Aftermath", p. 6.
[886] Clausewitz ([1831]/1976): *On War*, p. 606.
[887] EU (2003): "A Secure Europe...", p. 2; see also The White House (2002): "The National Security Strategy..., pp. 17–29.

supported multilateralism and that the USA was more unilateral ...".[888] Ironically, France tended to support the US war-fighting focus inside NATO. This would, according to an MFA official, make it easier for France and the EU to exploit the potential for influence in the most likely scenarios involving post-combat and nationbuilding efforts.[889]

The EU's somewhat "softer" approach as to how challenges are addressed and how forces are to conceptualise may not necessarily stem from a European weakness in military capabilities. After all, the EU is the second largest military power on earth, possessing eight aircraft carriers in service or under construction, and between 50,000 and 100,000 troops continuously engaged abroad since 1999.[890] As Gerrard Quille argued, conceptual discrepancy in the transformation process could just as much arise from European and US differences on how military force is applied.[891] Interpreting the European strategy, the EU takes a different stance on balancing combat and post-combat performances; the conventional battlefield is but one of several theatres.

The approach taken by the EU contrasts the US stance, and could as such put Norway into a dilemma of choice. As pointed out by then president candidate George W. Bush, "the problem comes with open-ended deployments and unclear military missions. ... But we will not be permanent peacekeepers, dividing warring parties. That is not our strength or our calling".[892] This attitude may have made it easier for the Pentagon to close down the US Army Peacekeeping Institute, an institution designed to teach US officers the lessons of post-combat performance. It was only re-opened after Congressional pressure and public complaints from US soldiers claiming that they were ill suited to fill the power vacuum emerging after the combat phase.[893]

Military Adaptation and Foreign Policy Objectives

Over the past decade, the Norwegian Armed Forces made major investments in combat efficiency. The return on the investment side was evident in several operative improvements.

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[888] *Atlantic News*, 39 (3645): "Solana Suggests 'Early Warning System' for Avoiding Relationship Problems with USA", Brussels, January 27, 2005, p. 3.
[889] Oral brief by Anita Nergård, Assistant Director General in the MFA, on "Hva er Norges sikkerhetspolitiske utfordringer og målsettinger?", before the Telemark Battalion, Rena, March 31, 2005.
[890] Ulriksen (2004): "Requirements for Future European...", p. 457.
[891] Gerrard Quille (2004): "The European Security Strategy...", p. 435.
[892] George W. Bush, Jr. (1999): "A Period of Consequences", speech at The Citadel, South Carolina, September 23, accessible at: http://citadel.edu/pao/addresses/.

This was demonstrated from one campaign to the next, from NATO's air-campaign over the Balkans in spring 1999 to the US-led coalition of the willing in Afghanistan in October 2001.[894] The emphasis on combat performances coincided with preferences by those who set the tone in NATO, most notably the United States and Great Britain.[895] A prerogative for collective cohesiveness was the willingness to share the burden and the risk with key allies under any circumstances. Being perceived as the most demanding task, the quest for war-fighting capabilities such as Main Battle Tanks and Self-propelled Howitzers was emphasised over a lighter and potentially more vulnerable force. The self-interest of gaining military interoperability with leading allies was implicitly regarded as an investment in Norway's own security. Furthermore, broad and unpredictable threat assessments encouraged a so-called "scenario robust" force; a military concept being able to provide the government with a flexible tool that could sustain Norway's freedom of action under changing circumstances, at home and abroad.[896]

The choice of combatant robustness and operative flexibility had its consequences. Fewer forces were available to underpin the broader Norwegian portfolio of displaying international solidarity in regions suffering from political and social instability. According to the Army's Annual Report 2003, ground forces above company size could not be sustained abroad for a longer period of time.[897] Peacebuilding efforts, like those of the UNIFIL era in 1978-1998, were de-emphasised. It may be questioned to what extent "a smaller but better force" is congruent with the broader Norwegian effort of "... preventing conflict and making, keeping and building peace"?[898]

As Norway does not formally have a comprehensive national security strategy, the inquiry will juxtapose various documents and political signals. Together with statements and speeches from the MoD, the MFA and the Armed Forces, key documents such as the Defence Bill of March 2004, Strength and Relevance, and the MFA's Strategic Framework for Peacebuilding of August 2004, have been scrutinised. In sum, these documents signify a broad and

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[893] Barry (2003): "The United States and Nation-building...", p. 4. See also Jack Kelly (2003): "Iraq Provides Peacekeeping Institute with Needed Boost", *Post-Gazette. Com*, November 23, accessible at http://www.post-gazette.com/pg/03331/244686.stm.
[894] Kristin Krohn Devold (2004): "Fra snuoperasjon til transformasjon", speech at Oslo Militære Samfund, Oslo, January 5, accessible at: http://odin.dep.no/fd/norsk/aktuelt/taler/; Frisvold (2004): "Utfordringer på vei mot fremtidens Forsvar".
[895] Interview with Bell.
[896] FD (2004): "Styrke og relevans", p. 76.
[897] Hæren (2004): "Årsrapport 2003. Hæren" [The Army: "Annual Report from the Army"], Oslo, May 24, p. 26.
[898] UD (2004): "Strategic Framework: Peacebuilding ...", p. 5.

ambitious strategy for how Norway is to safeguard her room for manoeuvre on the international arena.

Defining Norwegian interests and values must in addition take into consideration numerous variables, such as institutional affiliation, prevailing sentiments within the society, and the individual preferences of a minister. National policies will have to balance between various preferences, forging compromises rather than a consistent set of priorities. This may particularly be so for ministries that comprise a bundle of interests, such as the MFA. While the MoD primarily focuses on security and defence policy, the MFA embraces a broader portfolio of departments such as human rights and international development, trade policy, natural resources and environmental affairs, as well as various bilateral relations. In the MFA, at least four stereotypes that encapsulate the magnitude of interests and values originating from the Norwegian society and political landscape can be identified:

- A classical approach that focuses on state security and "self interests"; engaging militarily abroad is expected to invoke access to allies and a sense of reciprocity.
- An idealistic approach that focuses on the "missionary impulse"; engagement abroad is based on a belief that rich countries have a moral duty to assist those who are worse off.
- A liberal approach, which claims that "peace is inseparable"; engagement abroad is based on self-interest with a view to promoting a better and more peaceful world.
- An engagement approach that aims to attain "access and influence"; active engagement in various international processes of peace building, mediation and development aid provides intimate relationship with an international network of states.

As the MoD is organised into departments such as for security policy, operations and emergency planning, and long-term planning, there may be reason to suggest that certain structural discrepancies with the MFA's broader portfolio exist. What kind of force promotes most effectively Norwegian values and interests on the international arena? Which concept provides most influence for a small state on various institutional arenas internationally? In other words, are the MoD priorities on robust commitments to NATO and "scenario robust" forces optimal choices? Is such a force able to underscore Norway's broader influence in areas such as the EU and the UN, and thus preclude a possible marginalisation in such areas?

At first glimpse, the two policies may seem hard to reconcile. Combat agility and scenario robustness summon fewer but qualitatively better troops. Active peacebuilding summons a more personnel-intensive approach, and signifies less combat agility in equipment and conceptual profile. This dilemma was early recognised by the MoD as the United States urged the Europeans to refocus on a combat role for NATO outside its traditional area of responsibility. According to the MoD following the Norfolk Conference on NATO transformation in November 1999:

> A major concern for many member states will be that more focus on high technological forces will increase the expenses. There is a limit for how much one can reduce the force structure in order to modernise the rest.[899]

However, according to the Chief of Defence's Defence Study 2003, a military concept designed for conventional war-fighting was to characterise the future Armed Forces: "The Army is to continue her development towards high intensity operations within the framework of allied corps/brigades".[900]

Despite MoD injunctions forging a conceptually lighter and more mobile structure,[901] top army generals maintained their effort to increase combat agility through an accelerated update of heavy war-fighting capabilities: "There are no alternatives to these capabilities, and it would be meaningless to ask for additional funding to other platforms ... as long as they still are the best!"[902] When the acquisition of 18 Self-propelled Howitzers from the Netherlands was cancelled in 2004, the former Chief of Defence claimed it was "a serious problem for the Army";[903] "I fear that our war-fighting capability will deteriorate".[904] From a military perspective, as post-combat operations and civil-military activities were not considered core missions, investing time and resources on these issues was regarded as as being of less relevance. As pointed out by the new Chief of Defence from April 2005, General Sverre Diesen, scarce resources had to be allocated to war-fighting qualities and combat efficiency.[905]

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[899] FD, 98/03968–2/FD II/SE/ABH/011.1– USA, "Inntrykk etter Norfolk-konferansen 13.–15. november 1998", November 16.
[900] FSJ (2003): "Forsvarssjefens militærfaglige studie 2003", p. 14.
[901] St.prp. nr. 42 (2003–2004), p. 53.
[902] General Inspector for the Army, Lars J. Sølvberg commenting in Grandhagen (2004): "Guns 'n' Generals". See also Kjetil Eide (2004): "Dramatiske investeringskutt for Hæren", *Hærfra*, no. 4, pp. 16–17.
[903] Ian Kemp and Joris Janssen Lok (2004): "Norway Cancels Deal with the Netherlands", *Jane's Defence Weekly*, September 22, p. 12.
[904] Frisvold (2004): "Utfordringer på vei mot fremtidens Forsvar".
[905] Sverre Diesen (2004): "Jacob Børresens forsvar – analyse eller ideologi?", *Norsk Militært Tidsskrift*, 174 (11), pp. 24–25.

The inability to underscore a broader MFA agenda on how Norway was to be portrayed internationally was acknowledged by the former Chief of Defence, General Sigurd Frisvold in 2004. Ten years earlier, approximately 2000 personnel had been engaged in various post-conflict operations; as of 2004, the number was down at 600: "When it comes to international operations, we are probably all time low in modern times".[906]

The quest for increased agility is as such incompatible with MFA sentiments favouring more visibility abroad to underscore Norway's commitment to peacebuilding and reconstruction. Preferences for a broad visibility abroad rather than a too focused approach in specific theatres are not new. Regardless of personal and departmental affiliations prevailing in the MFA, numerous sources refer to international idealism as a key ingredient in Norway's foreign policy image.[907] In the mid 1990s, the MFA rejected a MoD proposal to concentrate the Armed Forces towards fewer but larger deployments to achieve more "strategic punch" internationally.[908] This would, according to the MFA, undermine a UN policy that was regarded as an important channel for promoting own interests.

This apprehension seems to be consistent with lessons learned from various workshops arranged by the MFA on Norway's image abroad. One of the conclusions was the strong relationship between a state's political image and international leverage.[909] To Norway, the ability to contribute substantially to peacebuilding activities was regarded as important for a small state's international latitude: "In the global battle for influence, ... national image plays a critical determining role".[910] Emphasising a military concept for forced entry into hostile theatres with Main Battle Tanks, Armoured Personnel Carriers and Self-propelled Howitzers, the conceptual design seemed to be less concerned with operations that could underscore the MFA's broader portfolio in peacebuilding, reconstruction and development aid; this was, according to Helgesen, a major export article.[911] Due to a relative decline in geostrategic value, the emphasis on peacebuilding efforts was used actively to voice Norwegian

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[906] Frisvold (2004): "Utfordringer på vei mot fremtidens Forsvar". See also Sverre Diesen (2004): "Forsvarets omstilling", *Dagbladet*, March 12.
[907] See among others Trond Berg Eriksen, Andreas Hompland and Eivind Tjønneland (2003): *Et lite land i verden 1950–2000*, vol. 6 in *Norsk idéhistorie* (Oslo: Aschehoug), pp. 463–464; Erling Dokk Holm (1999): "Fred som merkevare", *Morgenbladet*, October 29.
[908] Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring*..., pp. 200, 234.
[909] UD (2003): "Norges omdømme – Workshop 17. juni 2003: Sammenfatning av workshopen", Oslo, June 17, accessed at: http://odin.dep.no/ud/norsk/profilering/032091-991750/.
[910] UD (2003): "Norway's Public Diplomacy: a Strategy", a report made by Mark Leonard and Andrew Small, The Foreign Policy Centre, to the MFA, Oslo, [undated], p. 1, accessed at: http://odin.dep.no/archive/udvedlegg/01/06/mI10_018.pdf. The MFA's refusal to deploy artillery units to UNPROFOR in 1994 because "... it would break with previous practice" may be another example (Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring*..., p. 204).
[911] Interview with Helgesen.

interests.[912] Former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thorhild Widvey underscored this concept even more: "... we want to focus on those characteristics that other countries emphasise: Norway's role in peace processes and as a mediator; a facilitator and co-operative partner in development projects".[913] To the Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce she also described Norway's image as a "Humanitarian superpower – Norway's role as a partner in peace and development".[914] This international profile was moreover evident in the broader foreign policy perspective envisaged by the Norwegian Prime Minister, Kjell Magne Bondevik: "Norway must be a peace-nation, an actor for conflict solving and peacekeeping activity."[915]

According to former Deputy Minister in the MFA, Espen Barth Eide, Norway was criticised at the highest levels in the UN for non-participation in various UN operations.[916] This was also consistent with apprehensions set forth by the leaders of the Defence Committee and the Foreign Affairs Committee: It was politically unwise for Norway not to be militarily visible on the broader international arena.[917]

The Deputy Minister in the MFA pointed out that even though some conflicts required war-fighting capabilities, most conflicts in the world today were in a sphere of political, social and economic reconstruction.[918] Conceptualising along war-fighting imperatives, like the NATO Response Force initiative, could complicate the effort of deploying forces for long-term and sustainable contributions abroad. According to Helgesen, a rotation every three or six months, due to a small force structure, could not be reconciled with long-term peacebuilding commitments in areas such as Afghanistan or Iraq.[919] This was consistent with apprehensions set forth by Ambassador Kai Eide. When confronted with questions related to the political relevance of NATO's Force Goal process and NATO Response Force, Kai Eide admitted this as a key dilemma, to Norway as well as for NATO: "Particularly when it comes

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[912] Riste (2005): *Norway's Foreign Relations...*, pp. 273, 275, 286.
[913] Thorhild Widvey (2003): "Hundreårsmarkeringen 1905–2005 – politiske hovedmål ved markeringen", speech given to Team Norway, Ottawa, November 6, accessible at: http://odin.dep.no/odinarkiv/norsk/dep/ud/2003/taler/bn.html.
[914] Thorhild Widvey (2003): "Public Diplomacy", speech given to the Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce, Ottawa, November 7, 2003, accessed at: http://odin.dep.no/odinarkiv/norsk/dep/ud/2003/taler/bn.html. See also Gudleiv Forr (2003): "Når noen tenker stort", *Dagbladet*, June 2; and Morten Fyhn (2003): "Krafttak skal styrke Norges omdømme", *Aftenposten*, June 18.
[915] Kjell Magne Bondevik (2000): "Årsskiftet 1999/2000", speech at *NRK 1* and *TV 2*, January 1, accessed at: http://odin.dep.no/odinarkiv/norsk/dep/smk/2000/taler/003-bn.html.
[916] Fyhn (2004): "Bunnrekord...", *Aftenposten*, July 3.
[917] Comment by Jagland in Morten Fyhn (2004): "Bunnrekord ..."; Innst. S. nr. 234 (2003–2004), p. 19.
[918] Interview with Helgesen; Sipri (2004): *SIPRI Yearbook 2004...*, p. 95.
[919] Interview with Helgesen.

to Afghanistan and the Greater Middle East, we need both kinds of forces, but where is the balance?"[920] A review made for the Norwegian Conservative Party pointed out that NATO's one-dimensional military character could make the Alliance of less importance for Norway in the years ahead.[921] From that perspective, the Norwegian commitment to NATO Response Force could potentially undermine the broader foreign policy agenda of active engagement in various open-ended peacebuilding projects.[922] MoD officials implicitly acknowledged this admonition; forces committed to NATO's Response Force could not be used for other purposes.[923]

How can a "softer" conceptual profile increase the Norwegian room for manoeuvre? It could be argued that Norway's good standing and credibility in the UN and among Third World countries is as important as costly war-fighting concepts aimed to cultivate key allies. As pointed out by Helgesen, a broad representation in various hot spots provides Norway with real time and firsthand information. This again makes it easier for the MFA to initiate international programmes, set the agenda, and act proactively in theatres where great powers face difficulties. This facilitates, according to Helgesen, a broad Norwegian representation and leverage in many international decision-making processes.[924] Approaching the military conceptualisation from a "softer" EU or UN perspective could as such become complementary to allied adaptation rather than a negation. Following Helgesen, since the end of the Cold War, and particularly after the 9/11, the UN Security Council has become a more potent arena for addressing new challenges. Transforming beyond combat performances could as such be regarded both *realpolitik* and idealism. Precluding prospects for political marginalisation, i.e. a Norwegian exclusion from important decision-making processes from where national preferences and interests could be voiced, could be reached. This approach coincided with the "self-interest approach" as advocated by the Minister, Petersen:

> Our involvement in peace processes, our participation in peacekeeping and stabilisation operations, our efforts to promote human rights, our extensive

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[920] Oral contribution by Kai Eide at The Leangkollen Conference 2005.
[921] Vidar Helgesen et al. (2004): "'Verden'. En presentasjon av utfordringer, og forslag til Høyres svar", Report to the Concervative Party, Oslo, April 16, p. 16. See also Jean-Yves Haine (2004): "ESDP and NATO" in Nicole Gnesotto (ed.): *EU Security and Defence Policy. The first five years (1999–2004)*, (Paris: Institute for Security Studies), pp. 131–154.
[922] See in particular interview with Petter Skauen in Hilde Harbo (2004): "Advarer om at fredsrolle kan svekkes", *Aftenposten*, February 5, available at http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/uriks/article963066.ece, and Ståle Ulriksen interviewed in Maria Reinertsen (2005): "FN versus NATO: 25–62", *Morgenbladet*, February 4–10.
[923] Statement made by Rear Admiral Jan Reksten in Fyhn (2004): "Bunnrekord...", *Aftenposten*, July 3.
[924] Interview with Helgesen.

> humanitarian efforts and development co-operation, can all be viewed in this [self-interest] perspective.[925]

Deputy Secretary General in the MFA, Jørg Willy Bronebakk pointed out a US analogy. Diplomats in the US State Department often faced difficulties in terms of gaining access to actors in vital conflicting areas. This was particularly so in new areas in Africa that had become of increased relevance after the 9/11. Many Third World countries regarded the United States with suspicion; the American superpower status often made it difficult for the State Department to stand forth as an impartial and disinterested actor.[926]

Norway, however, due to her good standing as a credible and impartial mediator enjoyed great access and leverage in many new hot spots. As pointed out by Riste, Norway's smallness facilitated situations from where "... Norwegian representatives can build up close relations with guerrilla leaders without them fearing that they may be betrayed for ulterior motives".[927] This again exalted Norway's status as an important partner for the US State Department; this was particularly so when State officials were denied access to ongoing processes around the world.[928] A comment made by Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage in 2004 underscored the consistency of this claim: "Norway's reputation as peace-builder gives you great influence when your opinions are expressed".[929] In that respect, a military adaptation designed to substantiate the MFA's effort to extend peace and stability could also increase a small state's political room for manoeuvre vis-à-vis key allies.[930]

Conclusion

Based on Norway's effort to pursue a broad foreign policy portfolio, which conclusions can be drawn? What is the domestic challenge of adjusting to a US-led transformation programme that by and large embraces NATO's Force Goal process? Two conclusions are presented.

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[925] UD (2004): "Foreign Minister Jan Petersen's Statement to the Storting...", Oslo, January 27, 2004.
[926] Interview with Bronebakk.
[927] Riste (2005): *Norway's Foreign Relations...*, p. 273.
[928] Interview with Bronebakk.
[929] Ole Berthelsen (2004): "Richard Armitage: Humper i USAs forhold til Norge", *Nettavisen*, September 13, accessible at: http://pub.tv2.no/nettavisen/verden/article277784.ece.
[930] According to Vollebæk, Norway's solid reputation on the international arena also elevated Norwegian officials into the leading troika of OSCE in the period 1998–2000. This central position provided Norway with firsthand information and influence on the broader processes. Despite the OSCE's limited success, their presence nevertheless facilitated a favourable environment for less violence and more humanitarian assistance. (Interview with Vollebæk; Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring...*, p. 221).

NATO as the Only Point of Military Reference

The first pitfall relates to the fact that Norway only has NATO as her primary point of reference. Even though NATO members act independently and reach consensus on which forces are to be prioritised, the dominant role of the United States in NATO has an impact on the other members' opinions. When transformation initiatives from the primary donor of military assistance are proposed, recipients tend to follow suit. This was explained conceptually in our theoretical model in chapter 3, and visualised in the subsequent empirical interpretation. As this chapter has argued, such an approach may not necessarily underscore the broader Norwegian portfolio in terms of gaining political achievements in intra-state conflicts.

The Norwegian dilemma of having but one pillar to rely on seems to be confirmed by statements made in the MoD's Strength and Relevance. Although wrapped in a diplomatic varnish, the strategic concept claimed that "a reasonable balance between a close co-operation with the USA to ensure the transatlantic dimension, and co-operation with larger European allies and allies that are more comparable to Norway in size is desirable".[931] This apprehension was moreover consistent with remarks made by Vollebæk; due to Norway's non-membership in the EU, it became increasingly important to sustain a vital transatlantic link for security and defence co-operation.[932]

Hence, the consequence of being outside the EU may have accelerated as the Norwegian force structure became more dependent on, and integrated into, NATO. Relying on collective norms of reciprocity, Norway became a primary advocate for allied niche capabilities that could help any ally in pinch. As pointed out by the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

> In order to strengthen our support from nations that can help us, we must be prepared to contribute in areas that are important to them. ... Reciprocity is one of the keys to networking."[933]

The Norwegian adaptation towards "a smaller but better force" inside NATO was primarily focused on military requirements on how to increase combat efficiency with key allies in the operational theatre. The question on the extent to which the same capabilities possess political relevancy vis-à-vis Norway's broader effort abroad, has been less pronounced.

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[931] FD (2004): "Styrke og relevans", p. 75.
[932] Interview with Vollebæk.
[933] UD (2004): "Foreign Minister Jan Petersen's Statement to the Storting...", Oslo, January 27, 2004.

The transformation process ran into a challenging landscape as to how effectively the force can translate military action into political achievements in a post-Cold War security environment characterised by more intra-state conflicts.

Reconciling Combat and Post-Combat Capabilities

The second challenge relates to the first one, but points more explicitly towards operative requirements in those nationbuilding scenarios that much of Norway's international activity focuses on. The challenge is voiced by the MoD and the MFA, as well as from defence officials in Brussels: A long-term commitment to nationbuilding in Afghanistan is to be NATO's primary challenge in the coming decades.[934] Transforming along US war-fighting principles in NATO may therefore be an ambiguous process; capabilities required to energize allied solidarity under the most demanding circumstances may be hard to reconcile with a "softer", larger and more sustainable force of high quality that could underpin Norway's broader portfolio abroad. To Norway, this dilemma is likely to spur debate as to which defence concept is best designed to safeguard her political room for manoeuvre. The MoD's effort to focus on robust deployments to fewer places may be hard to reconcile with MFA and Parliamentary preferences stressing a more active participation in various peacebuilding, mediation and reconstruction projects worldwide.

How far should combat agility be emphasised at the cost of a "softer" and more personnel-intensive concept? Where is the balance between small sophisticated forces able to fight with key allies, versus a more sustainable stabilisation force underpinning political achievements in the most common conflicts of today? Ambassador Kai Eide implicitly voiced this dilemma of choice when elaborating on NATO's role in Afghanistan. According to Eide, there was a clear imbalance in NATO's Force Goal process on how combat and post-combat requirements were emphasised; this was likely to be a matter of allied controversy in the years to come.[935]

On the one hand, Norwegian defence officials put much effort into cultivating US networks by forging sophisticated robust forces that could share the risk and the burden with key allies. This aspect signified allied solidarity, and Norwegian forces received valuable combat experience. On the other hand, by forging the same combat capabilities as the United

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[934] St.prp. nr. 1 (2004–2005), p. 33; St.meld. nr. 34 (2003–2004): *Om samarbeidet i NATO i 2003* [Co-operation in NATO in 2003] (Oslo: Utenriksdepartementet), pct. 8, accessed at: http://odin.dep.no/ud/engelsk/publ/p10001859/032191–040002/dok–bn.html.

[935] Oral contribution by Kai Eide on the political relevancy of NATO's Force Goal process on The Annual Meeting, arranged by The People and Defence Association, Oslo, February 24, 2005. A similar perspective was presented by Vidar Helgesen in an interview.

States, scarce resources were tied to allied prestigious projects. The NATO Response Force was such a project; conventionally robust forces strained the material and economic burden to a small state's force. Transforming along concepts built upon conventional war-fighting capabilities could hamper the ability to allocate scarce resources to alternative concepts that from a small state perspective could provide as much political leverage on the international arena.

Chapter 9. Perspectives on Domestic Restraints

Part III has evaluated the consequences of US influence along the two dimensions of (a) Parliamentary accountability and (b) a consistent foreign policy. To put the previous two conclusions into context, a central question can be raised: What characterised the Norwegian adaptation when US expectations for change induced domestic discord? More specifically, what made the Norwegian political environment particularly receptive or hesitant to US proposals, and what were the political and military challenges in that respect?

On Receptiveness and Hesistancy Towards a Key Ally

In 2002–2004, Norway's long-term security problem of keeping the United States interested in Norway became increasingly linked to the controversial war against terrorism and regime change. Being the primary US security concern, the post-9/11 environment became a window of opportunity for Norwegian defence officials to cultivate a key donor and principal. Norway was receptive to US expectations of a collective stance towards international terrorism. As explained in Part I and interpreted in Part II, a receptive attitude was particularly evident in the Norwegian effort to sustain NATO as a viable forum for transatlantic security and defence co-operation. According to Petersen, this had become even more crucial after 9/11: As Norway and the other smaller states entered the 21st Century, the United States was more than ever "the irreplaceable power"; it was, according to the Minister, a misunderstanding to believe that any single state or coalition could replace a NATO where the United States was actively engaged.[936]

According to a report from the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment, to safeguard Norway's room for manoeuvre, small states needed to accommodate "agents", and hope for a

[936] Jan Petersen (2003): "Sikkerhetspolitisk samarbeid i Europa eller over Atlanterhavet? Ja takk, begge deler", speech at Oslo Militære Samfund, Oslo, October 13, accessible at: http://odin.dep.no/ud/norsk/aktuelt/taler/.

benevolent return of support and attention; it was unlikely to expect other states to promote Norwegian interests unless Norway provided concessions in return.[937] Paying attention to US proposals as to how NATO should transform thereby accentuated incentives for more usable forces abroad. This was, according to Petersen, essential if NATO was to maintain its status as a primary arena for transatlantic security and defence co-operation; more burdensharing between NATO allies was the best remedy to preclude the US-EU channel from becoming the most important arena for transatlantic consultation.[938] Such a situation would make it more demanding for Norway to attain allied attention and recognition for own viewpoints.[939]

As the United States gradually leant towards unilateralism and started to prepare for a pre-emptive war against Iraq, meeting US expectations became increasingly demanding: public opinion measurement polls across Europe revealed an increasing scepticism towards the US policy.[940] Transatlantic disagreements as to how international terrorism and indeterrable threats were to be addressed caused Norwegian hesitance. The controversial approach "... to stop rogue states and their terrorist clients *before* they [were] able to threaten or use weapons of mass destruction"[941] resurrected underlying conflict dimensions between self-interests and ideals in Norway's broader foreign policy.

This had domestic implications as to how far the MoD wanted to proceed in its effort to refocus the defence effort towards out-of-area operations. Among key actors in the political landscape, diverging preferences and perceptions related to the transatlantic turbulence were activated. Political controversy made the MoD less explicit in its effort to portray allied expectations. Considerations on the Northern dimension, regional politics, industry and employment, and the Parliament's explicit demand for UN mandates, legality and legitimacy, all signified a larger force for national presence and peacebuilding abroad.[942] At the same time, and in a somewhat different direction, the Parliamentary majority also advocated accelerating reforms towards more sophisticated forces emphasising quality before quantity.[943]

The transatlantic turmoil as to how the war against terrorism should be addressed became more pronounced as US and Norwegian strategies materialised in 2002–2004.

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[937] Knutsen et al. (2004): "Europeisk sikkerhet...", p. 117.
[938] Ibid; see also Jan Petersen (2002): "NATO-toppmøtet i Praha; utvidelse, omstilling og utfordringer for Norge", speech at the Norwegian Nobel Institute, Oslo, November 14, accessible at: http://odin.dep.no/ud/norsk/aktuelt/taler/.
[939] Ibid.
[940] Lundestad (2003): *The United States and Western Europe...*, p. 276.
[941] The White House (2002): "The National Security Strategy...", p. 14 (the author's italics).
[942] Innst. S. nr. 234 (2003–2004), pp. 9, 19, 20.
[943] Ibid, p. 8.

A more assertive US policy on how military force should be used to fight undeterrable threats made the Norwegian adaptation sensitive to domestic objections. According to The National Security Strategy of the United States, the rejection of stability in international politics and the ambition of implementing systemic changes in the world,[944] presented grave challenges to a Lilliputian that strove for stability and institutional co-operation. While the US strategy defined international terrorism as a state of war involving military force,[945] Strength and Relevance claimed it to be a "new form of crime" that primarily needed to be addressed with non-military means.[946] According to Lundestad, it had become increasingly demanding for Norway to be identified with a close ally "... emphasizing preemption over deterrence".[947] This was also recognised by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, claiming the United States was less patient in multilateral arrangements; the EU, however, was more keen on preventing conflicts by non-military means and committing themselves to international co-operation.[948]

Displaying fundamentally different approaches as to what role military means should play in the global effort to thwart terrorism, Norwegian sensitivity towards US requirements set forth through NATO became more complex. Following Lundestad, "unilateralism hardly existed as an option for Europe – the European countries did not have the power and were too dependent on each other and the outside world for that".[949] This admonition gradually became influenced in the Norwegian policy process leading up to the Armed Forces' strategic concept. In the process, the draft versions of Strength and relevance gradually accommodated parliamentary and public sentiments. The parlance changed in character; legality and legitimacy in the employment of force were displayed more vigorously as compared to the original draft. Similar adjustments were undertaken by the MoD in the process leading up to the long-term defence plan as proposed to the Parliament in March 2004. Norwegian ideals related to the role of the UN and the explicit rejection of pre-emptive wars was particularly underlined.[950]

The Norwegian ambiguity towards her closest ally on the issue over Iraq may have increased even more as the EU gradually emerged as a more credible security and defence alternative. Launching Operation Artemis in Congo in June 2003, the EU signalled a more

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[944] The White House (2002): "The National Security Strategy...", p. 1.
[945] The White House (2002): "The National Security Strategy...", p. 29.
[946] Oral brief by Svein Melby, Researcher at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, on "Comments on the Armed Forces' Strategic Concept 'Styrke og relevans'", at Oslo Militære Samfund, Oslo, February 3, 2005; see also FD (2004): "Styrke og relevans", p. 23.
[947] Lundestad (2003): *The United States and Western Europe...*, p. 276.
[948] Petersen (2003): "Sikkerhetspolitisk samarbeid...", October 4.
[949] Lundestad (2003): *The United States and Western Europe...*, p. 271.

independent role in the realm of security and defence policy.[951] With France as a "framework nation", the operation was a successful test of the political apparatus of the European Security and Defence Policy. To Norway, however, the primary objective was to preclude the EU from developing parallel structures and capabilities that already existed within NATO. That was, according to Petersen, "... a waste of resources and could in a longer perspective undermine NATO".[952] It was therefore vital for Norway to enhance NATO as the primary transatlantic pillar, and convince the United States that the war against terrorism was best addressed within multilateral processes.

This brings us over to the political and military challenges. As the United States is likely to address new threats at the time, place, and in their own choosing, and as there is a strong Norwegian desire for supporting the UN, how may this affect the Norwegian defence planning process? Having strong affiliations to Europe and the United States, as well as to NATO and the UN, the transforming force may easily become trapped between ambiguous conceptual priorities.

On Defence Planning Priorities

Succeeding General Sigurd Frisvold as the Chief of Defence in April 2005, Diesen urged on his first day in office the politicians to be more precise when national security interests were to be described.[953] Having been one of the main architects behind the reforms from 1998 to 2004, Diesen clearly acknowledged the demanding nature of his inquiry: "I must immediately stress that this is not a critique of the politicians, but rather a recognition of how demanding it is to identify the security political challenges of today".[954]

As Part III has illustrated, the challenge of defining a consistent fundament for the Armed Forces to adapt within was accentuated by diverging domestic attitudes: (a) those who wanted a modern and flexible force that was highly interoperable with US forces, such as the MoD; (b) those who, partly additionally, wanted a clearer peacebuilding profile and a stronger focus on UN-led operations, such as the MFA; and (c) those who accentuated national prerogatives. Balancing between competing ideals and interests in the transformation process, the Norwegian defence planning may be an ambiguous process. Infirmity within the political

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[950] Interview with Stenersen.
[951] Ulriksen et al. (2004): "Operation *Artemis*...", pp. 508–525.
[952] Petersen (2003): "Sikkerhetspolitisk samarbeid...", October 4.
[953] Comment by General Sverre Diesen in Agnar Kaarbø (2005): "Politikerne må være presise", *Aftenposten*, April 1.

decision-making process may prove to be an illustrative example. According to Holme, politicians often want to have it both ways without necessarily underscoring high ambitions with adequate funding; political guidelines have often underestimated costs and overestimated prospective budgets.[955] Actors not directly involved in practical long-term defence planning seldom worry about the financial consequences when more troops are requested. Being less concerned about how to produce more troops of higher quality within existing budgets, it may have been more tempting for the political opposition, the MFA and academics to focus on ideals and interests rather than on concrete conceptual alternatives.[956]

Concerning Holmes' apprehension, Frisvold urged for more consistency in the political decision-making process; a balance between ambitions and resources, as well as between investments and operative service, was a decisive requirement for the long-term planning of any adapting force.[957] Referring to the Parliamentary remarks from the Defence Bill of March 2004, domestic ambitions, such as "national presence", "international engagement", "support to NATO", "an active UN-role", and "a focus on quality",[958] may therefore be increasingly demanding.

How was the effort to reconcile Norwegian interests and ideals expressed in the MoD's long-term plan as proposed to the Parliament in March 2004? Facing a broad array of domestic and allied expectations, the MoD proposed a so-called "scenario-robust" force, where most capabilities were given a coinciding role nationally and internationally.[959] In the effort to reconcile sprawling interests, scarce resources were spent on a broad array of capabilities within the three service branches. Depending on how the Armed Forces' operative structure is analysed, some 20 to 25 different capabilities can be identified.[960] Based on MoD's priorities on (1) national tasks, such as crisis management and ensuring sovereignty; (2) allied tasks, such as collective defence and various peace operations, and (c) other tasks, such as supporting diplomacy and international peace and stability,[961] a broad assortment of military capabilities and platforms can be justified.

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[954] Ibid.
[955] Nils Holme (1999): "Problemstillinger i forsvarsplanleggingen", speech at Oslo Militære Samfund, Oslo, January 11. Even though Holme's statement refers to the situation in the 1990s, it may still have relevance for today. As for the end of the fiscal year 2004, the defence budget was approximately 4 billion kroner below the approved agreement as agreed upon in a compromise between the Government and the Labour Party in 2002.
[956] See among others Iver B. Neumann (2002): "Norges handlingsrom og behovet for en overgripende strategi", *Det sikkerhetspolitiske bibliotek*, no. 3 (Oslo: Den norske atlanterhavskomité).
[957] Frisvold (2004): "Utfordringer på vei mot fremtidens Forsvar".
[958] Innst. S. nr. 234 (2003–2004), pp. 8, 9,12,14, 15, 20, 25, 26, 50, 53, 54, 55, 58.
[959] St.prp. nr. 42 (2003–2004), p. 53.
[960] Ibid, p. 69; interview with Otterlei.
[961] FD (2004): "Styrke og relevans", pp. 62–65.

These priorities may also be regarded as an outcome of domestic rivalry between competing actors. Retaining a broad range of capabilities, a "scenario robust" force can accommodate any domestic actor advocating allied integration, national presence or peacebuilding efforts. Spending scarce resources across a broad assortment of capabilities is as such consistent with acknowledgements from the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment: When external circumstances change in character, as in the post-Cold War era, political actors such as the Parliament, the MoD and the MFA, are likely to weigh the situation differently, pursue different preferences, and ultimately act less cohesively.[962]

On that basis, we may raise the following question: What effect may the political ambition of "scenario-robustness " have on the defence planning process? Firstly, the ambition to "... handle a broad array of challenges in a flexible way"[963] justifies the service branches' retention of many different platforms acquired during the Cold War. As pointed out by the Army's General Inspector between 2003 and 2005, Lars J. Sølvberg, the new Army will build upon the previous heritage; it should continue to modernise the robust key platforms, and upgrade the Main Battle Tanks.[964] As we discussed in the previous chapter, many of these platforms may be of limited usability in some of the most likely post-Cold War scenarios, those of peacebuilding and reconstruction in wartorn societies. When the Army aims to achieve "scenario-robust" forces, flexibility is gained through the retention of existing ones, and acquisition of numerous new vehicles and combat configurations. As for the Telemark Battalion only, the number of different platforms rises to 15.[965] As a consequence, scarce resources are spent on logistical support, maintenance and update of an increasing number of systems, rather than on operative agility inside a more homogeneous force structure. The Army, claiming that one of the most demanding tasks was to identify and dispose of numerous overlapping systems, acknowledged this challenge.[966]

The second assumption builds on the first one. It suggests that unless the number of capabilities is reduced, the existing force structure is likely to undergo a downsizing according to so-called "salami-tactics". Instead of having command over a complete set of capabilities, all units and service branches are likely to take a small piece of the total

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[962] Knutsen et al. (2000): "Europeisk sikkerhet...", p. 12.
[963] St.prp. nr. 42 (2003–2004), p. 53.
[964] Lars J. Sølveberg (2005): "En ny hær", p. 48.
[965] Oral brief by Seljestad. The following platforms are numbered: Leopard 2/A4 MBT, NM 205 Minesweeper, Leopard 1 Leguan paver, Leopard 1 engineer digger, Hydrema mineclearer, FUCHS NBC vehicle, M-113 and CV 90 Armoured Personnel Carriers, light terrain vehicle, Mercedes Benz patrol vehicle, aircushion boats for reconnaissance, M 198 and M 202 command and control vehicle, Scania trucks for logistics and mobile communication and snowmobiles.

reduction. Under the auspices of "scenario-robustness", operative legitimacy for a variety of forces is sustained. Lobbying for its own relevance and critical competence, each of the service branches is likely to protect its domain in competition with the others. The service branches are moreover likely to receive incentives for close co-operation with those segments in the political landscape that share the same preferences, but from an industrial or regional policy perspective.

The ability to forge a more focused defence planning is thereby reduced by two mutually contradictory trends: on the one hand, there exists a strong unwillingness within the Armed Forces to dispose of key capabilities; on the other hand, there is also a political ambiguity in defining clear priorities that are consistently funded, and which can serve as a beacon for a more homogeneous and cost effective force structure. Retaining a large number of capabilities and combatant systems within the service branches, the defence planning process may be incapable of providing larger forces, as well as deploying in more open-ended conflicts.[967] As explored in chapter 8, rotation of various small capabilities between the service branches neither has strategic impact in the theatre, nor does it influence allied decision makers at the political level.[968] The former Chief of Defence, General Frisvold, echoed this claim; fewer but larger forces would provide Norway with more international leverage as compared to the retention of many small contingencies.[969] The political eagerness to deploy numerous capabilities could thereby hinder the effort of spending scarce resources more effectively on a comprehensive defence with sufficient 'punch' and sustainability.[970]

Conclusion

With the end of the Cold War, Norway's security policy changed in character. Active engagement in NATO's out-of-area operations made the Armed Forces a more visible and attractive instrument for Norwegian interests abroad. This was not only due to allied expectations of active Norwegian participation, nor in the effort to sustain a US leadership role in NATO. Just as important may have been the effect of peacebuilding as a potential channel for Norwegian access and latitude internationally. Being displayed as a credible actor

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[966] Sølvberg (2005): "En ny hær", p. 48.
[967] Interview with Otterlei.
[968] Ibid.
[969] NTB (2004): "Forsvarssjefen bekymret over små ressurser".
[970] Frisvold (2004): "Utfordringer på vei mot fremtidens Forsvar".

in NATO or the UN, a small state was able to achieve more leverage than her size would summon.

Regardless of self-interests or ideals, however, the Armed Forces' activity abroad coincided with increasingly strained budgets, escalating costs on military investments, and more controversial conflicts, notably the US-led war against terrorism. Having one leg on each continent, in Europe and in the United States, the requirement for a focused stance in the defence planning process became more urgent. This was particularly so as the post-9/11 environment revealed transatlantic tension as to how international terrorism was to be addressed.

A clearer focus as to how the Armed Forces should transform in order to exploit scarce resources more effectively may therefore be increasingly difficult. The Minister of Foreign Affairs acknowledged this challenge, claiming that Norway's limited resources presented difficult dilemmas as to what a small state was to emphasise: "we must not be spread too thin".[971] By putting the adapting force into a broader foreign policy context, political authorities from various ministries may be expected to be more engaged in the conceptual design of a small state's Armed Forces: Which force structure entails the largest political potential in terms of safeguarding Norwegian leverage internationally, and underscores Norway's broader foreign policy portfolio? This is particularly so with respect to those capabilities that primarily were designed for the Cold War era, and which drain scarce resources from alternative concepts that may possess more relevance in a more dynamic international environment. A more active role by the MFA could ensure military capabilities that were more flexible and compatible to scenarios that exceeded combat performances. Through closer interaction between the ministries in overcoming incompatible demands for both combat and post-combat performances, scarce resources could more effectively be allocated to those concepts that build upon a more homogeneous force structure.

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[971] Petersen (2003): " *Sikkerhetspolitisk samarbeid...*", October 13.

Part IV: Bridging Expectations and Demands

Part IV builds on the conclusive remarks made in Part II and III: How can Norway's Armed Forces ensure political leverage among key allies while simultaneously enjoying broad Parliamentary support and be consistent with a broader foreign policy agenda? The inquiry may be of particular relevance for a small state that has to balance realpolitical interests vis-à-vis the United States with idealistic sentiments in a broader foreign policy perspective. Reflecting constructively on how apparently incompatible trends can be bridged, this part explores how the adapting force may conceptualise with regard to realpolitical motives and normative ambitions.

Chapter 10 identifies which operative mechanisms an adapting force may emphasise in order to gain strategic access and exert political influence on allied decision-making processes. It will be argued that a unique *modus operandi* that few others possess is a precondition for occupying central slots in an allied chain of command; from here, smaller states may preclude political marginalisation through active participation at a strategic level. Chapter 11 extrapolates on this logic and presents a so-called 'first in, first out' concept. Blended with a so-called 'follow-up' force, the chapter argues that such a concept can have a political effect on key allies and underscore Norway's broader portfolio abroad.

The contextual starting point builds upon an international environment that is increasingly dynamic. As pointed out by Secretary Rumsfeld as the war against terrorism unfolded, "the mission will define the coalition – not the other way around".[972] To a small state that prefers institutional accountability, such a statement from a key ally presents grave conceptual challenges. It could also, however, imply prospects for political pay-off if the adapting force is perceived militarily relevant among key allies and institutions. Remarks by Jan Petersen after the terror attacks on the United States in 2001 may be illustrative:

> A positive and quick feedback is ... the best guaranty for American military support to Norway if we should need it. Ultimately, we safeguard our own

[972] DoD (2002): "Secretary Rumsfeld Speaks on '21st Century' Transformation of the U.S. Armed Forces", *Speeches Archives*, January 31, accessible at: http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/index.html. See also Donald Rumsfeld (2001): "A War Like No Other Our Nation Has Faced", *The Guardian*, September 28, 2001; and Joseph Fitchett (2002): "Pentagon in a League of Its Own", *International Herald Tribune*, February 3.

> security by responding positively on the American request [for military support].[973]

The Minister's request for positive and quick responses to sudden events on the international arena was symptomatic for the post-9/11 environment. Being a staunch advocate for multinational, formal and transparent processes within the UN, NATO or the evolving NATO-EU framework, Norway increasingly found herself in a transatlantic and European landscape driven by informal and ad hoc related processes; NATO's mechanisms for consultancy were increasingly under pressure.[974] As pointed out by Krohn Devold, the traditional great powers played a more prominent role than previously, and the co-operation between NATO and the EU became increasingly informal; military operations pursued through coalitions of the willing could as such "... replace the clean-cut NATO operations in the future".[975] The Defence Minister regretted the increasing difficulty to exert leverage on ongoing processes in NATO; many members seemed to have talked to each other beforehand; "... Norway is basically not in the first place to get access to these arrangements".[976] Similar concerns were also voiced by other top officials in the MoD, such as the Director General on Armaments, Leif Lindback:

> the great powers in NATO coordinate their effort in advance – many of the successive premises are thereby already set when they reach the decision-making table ... The consequence is an increased effort in maintaining a number of bilateral contacts. In that sense, the general level of activity has become much more dynamic.[977]

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[973] FD, [no catalogue number], "Dagsordens punkt nr 1: Kampen mot internasjonal terrorisme. Ytterligere norske bidrag", account by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Extended Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs, Stortinget, November 2, 2001.
[974] St.prp. nr. 42 (2003–2004), pp. 26, 29; confirmed through interviews with Efjestad, Olsen, Knudsen and Lindbach. See also media reports by Nils Morten Udgaard (2004): "En politisk misjonsbefaling", *Aftenposten*, January 22; and Ulf Petter Hellstrøm (2004): "NATO pusser opp fasaden – og skjuler sprekkene", *Aftenposten*, June 28.
[975] Devold (2002): "Sikkerhetspolitikken i endring ...", Oslo, April 30.
[976] Ibid.
[977] Interview with Lindback. An example may be the Conference of National Armament Directions (CNAD), where the USA, United Kingdom, France, Germany and Italy coordinate their views and preferences before they meet in NATO (interview with Lindbach). See also Traavik in Ulf Peter Hellstrøm (2004): "EU holder Norge utenfor...".

Apprehensions were also voiced from the MFA. In his annual statement on foreign policy to the Parliament in January 2004, Petersen put the MoD's concern of marginalisation into a broader context:

> The competition for the international community's attention has become much fiercer. ... But our need for good, responsive partners has not lessened. On the contrary, time and time again we have experienced that networking is absolutely necessary in order to gain recognition and acceptance for our views and interests. And we have also experienced the opposite, i.e. how difficult it can be to achieve good results when negotiating from a hugely inferior position.[978]

As argued in Strength and Relevance, it required a military force which could "... influence and shape Norwegian security policy imperatives".[979] In that sense, a small state's force could be employed as a political catalyst to extend the room for manoeuvre so that Norwegian interests and objectives could be ensured.[980] On that basis, which military mechanisms may best facilitate political influence on the international arena? Which policy can ensure a small state's latitude in a game of international politics where great powers, the EU, and the US-EU channel, gradually became more influential?[981]

Chapter 10. Military Mechanisms and Political Influence

This chapter explores the operative mechanisms that are of most relevance if a political pay-off vis-à-vis key ally is to be attained. The chapter thereby builds on findings in Part II, which suggested that US influence could be explained as a function of Norway's quest for access and leverage in allied communities. The chapter also builds on Part III because domestic restraints are sought overcome through alternative conceptual designs. More influence in allied decision-making processes may as such lead to a refocused defence effort that takes more into consideration the challenges that Norway's foreign affairs portfolio is engrossed by.

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[978] UD (2004): "Foreign Minister Jan Petersen's Statement to the Storting...", Oslo, January 27, 2004.
[979] FD (2004): "Styrke og relevans", p. 20.
[980] Ibid.
[981] Devold (2002): "Sikkerhetspolitikken i endring ...", Oslo, April 30; oral brief by Kåre R. Aas, Director General in the MFA on "NATO's Istanbul Summit", before the Norwegian Atlantic Committee, Oslo, July 1, 2004. See also Ulf Peter Hellstrøm (2005): "Ny norsk EU-runde etter NATO-utspill", *Aftenposten*, February 14; and St.prp. nr. 1 (2004–2005): *For Budsjetterminen 2005* [*Budgets for Fiscal Year 2005*] (Oslo: Forsvarsdepartementet), p. 18.

To evaluate the potential for increased leverage, in the sense that political effect is emphasised over military efficiency, the analysis will proceed as follows. First, military mechanisms for attaining political influence will be identified. Second, the political impact of these mechanisms will be discussed from a multinational coalition perspective. Third, the political validity of these mechanisms will be illustrated by contrasting two central capabilities within the Norwegian Armed Forces.

The chapter concludes with the following assumption: Political influence is most effective if the adapting force is designed for strategic operations. Rather than dispatching numerous small niche capabilities to various theatres, a refocused defence effort would concentrate on forces that made national representation at the strategic level possible. From here, Norwegian defence officials can exert influence on decision-making processes that are of a more political than military-technical nature.

Access Through Central Positioning

The Armed Forces' international engagement in the past decade provided Norway a good political standing internationally. Norway enjoyed great access to US defence officials, and Norwegian concerns were listened to. However, despite great efforts in Lebanon, Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Afghanistan and Iraq in 1978–2004, the MoD and MFA apprehensions above illustrates the demanding task of maintaining allied access and attention. Despite active involvement in many international operations, involving a total of almost 50,000 personnel between 1970 and 2000,[982] the MoD expressed its concern for a possible marginalisation.[983] Works by Børresen et al. may further our understanding of this paradoxical phenomenon. Many allies deliberately exploited their position in NATO staff and headquarters to advance specifically national preferences; Norwegian officials in allied positions were idealists, they were not expected to portray Norwegian interests in the Alliance.[984] This may, according to a Norwegian officer at SHAPE, still be the case.[985] A fundamental question can therefore be raised: Is there a relationship between how you engage militarily and what leverage you enjoy politically?

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[982] Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring*..., p. 231. In the 1990s, Norway participated in 23 different UN and NATO led operations (ibid, p. 196).
[983] St.prp. nr. 42 (2003–2004), p. 26.
[984] Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring*..., p. 50.
[985] Interview with Commander Senior Grade Tor Jørgen Melien, Staff Officer, J-5 at SHAPE/Belgium, Oslo, February 18, 2005.

Elaborating on the question of political effect rather than military effectiveness in the Pentagon, US defence officials unanimously emphasised one military operative prerogative: Once a coalition is deployed, those who join in from the start with capabilities that are crucial for success will benefit from a "tremendous political influence".[986] By joining early on, while the political uncertainty is great and other partners hesitate, any contributor would get "a fair share" of the total number of slots in the command and control hierarchy. The more a coalition partner was represented in the different slots, particularly at the strategic level, the more access and influence were enjoyed. Access and the subsequent possibility to exert political leverage thereby increased with the number of military liaison officers and defence officials seated in the upper chain of command, at the level that dealt with policy.[987] A representation in the political sphere, from where small states could gain political achievements, therefore depended upon the ability to provide unique capabilities at the critical moment of time. According to Captain Jay Wilkins in the OSD:

> Please quote me on this: the critical moment of time is not one or six months *after* the operation has been launched, but *prior* to it! If you are tardy, you will only be represented at the tactical level. ... Deploying capabilities we already have will not provide sufficient punch at the level from where policy-decisions are made.[988]

The Pentagon message underscores statements made by senior US defence officials in Europe. As pointed out by the former Assistant Secretary General in NATO, by "standing up and being counted" at the early stage of an impending operation, access to decision-makers at the strategic and political level would be ensured: "From there, you can voice your interests and exert political influence on crucial decision-making processes".[989] On that basis, it could be argued that the ability to cultivate networks, voice preferences, address concerns and present arguments with those who work on bilateral and multilateral security arrangements, are made possible.[990] A military detachment at a later stage, or with capabilities that do not

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[986] Interview with Wilkins.
[987] Ibid. The importance of being present at the early stage of any incipient process is also confirmed by several sources in the MFA (cf. Hellstrøm (2004): "EU holder Norge utenfor...", *Aftenposten*, September 6).
[988] Interview with Wilkins.
[989] Interview with Bell; confirmed through interview with Portelli.
[990] Interviews with Wilkins and Portelli. This mechanism of influence is consistent with information provided through interviews with Vollebæk and Jagland.

make a difference on the ground, often results in local confinements at the lower end of a coalition's chain of command.[991]

Consistent with this logic, some military concepts and some military detachments entail more political effect than others. According to a senior defence official in the Pentagon, small states ought to identify shortages in their patron's arsenal: "Things we need will automatically give you access and influence – it's like a free economic market".[992] This also seems to be consistent with NATO interpretations. Claims from Bell voiced that "smaller countries – like Norway – must play to their strengths".[993]

As Norway, despite an active decennium abroad, finds access to allies increasingly demanding, a more focused transformation could be suggested. Based on the logic above, operative mechanisms like uniqueness, strategic deployability and high readiness, may accumulate increased strategic clout for a small state.

To what extent did the emphasis on political effect coincide with a Norwegian reform that aimed to underscore the Armed Forces' usability in international operations? On the one hand, it could be claimed that the detachment of a Helicopter Wing to Kosovo 2004, an Engineer Company to Iraq in 2003–2004, and an Infantry Company to Kabul in 2004–2005 signified crucial political commitments.[994] For a small state that fears marginalisation, the effect of having the Norwegian flag represented among the other coalition partners could be regarded as a political goal in itself. On the other hand, the extent to which a modest representation on the ground provides any political long-term effect may be questioned. Even though forces are present, influence on decision-making processes often tends to correlate with its strategic importance.

The Norwegian Chief of Defence, General Sigurd Frisvold, implicitly acknowledged this problem, claiming that modest contributions of small units do not provide much political clout or influence internationally.[995] More niche capabilities would make the force concept less

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[991] Interview with Lieutenant Colonel John Hall, Political-Military Planning Group at the Middle East Division, J-5, Pentagon, May 13, 2004; interviews with Wilkins and Portelli.
[992] Interview with Towsend.
[993] Robert G. Bell (2003): "Future Roles of NATO: Capability Requirements and Norwegian Contributions", keynote address at the Norwegian International Defence Seminar on "Technology, Counter-Terrorism and Future Force Structures", Lillestrøm, October 14, 2003, accessible at: http://nids.ffi.no/proceedings03.asp.
[994] The ambition to become more visible on the international arena was one of the main motives for Norway when deployments to international operations gradually shifted character from combat support roles towards more combat agility (Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring*..., p. 212).
[995] NTB (2004): "Forsvarssjefen bekymret over små ressurser", *Aftenposten*, October 12.

cohesive and robust; "I would recommend a few larger contributions rather than many small".[996] From a logistical point of view, scarce resources are spread too thin.[997]

Being dispatched one by one, capabilities are reduced in size. This may impede the military commanders' ability to internalise with policy makers at a higher level, and cultivate allied networks.[998] Combined with a tardy deployment, a military detachment is less likely to occupy central slots in a coalition's chain of command from where national preferences could be voiced and allied networks cultivated. As pointed out by several US defence officials, smaller units for traffic control, street patrolling and mine clearances are nice to have. However, their modest size and conventional *modus operandi* do seldom facilitate access to the most central slots in a coalition of the willing.[999] As we shall see in the Ukrainian analogy below, military detachments abroad does not automatically provide political influence.

Influence Through A Focused Concept

How can a military force gain political effect in the sense that prospect for marginalisation is minimised in company with greater allies? As the MoD's portfolio on investments gradually loses flexibility due to long-term and cost-demanding acquisition projects (i.e. new frigates, Main Battle Tanks and jet fighters),[1000] any capability would need to be scrutinised cautiously: Which capabilities may underscore a coherent military concept with strategic clout?

This approach deviates from military analysis that often tends to emphasise tactical excellence and military efficiency in the local theatre.[1001] During the Cold War, the logic focused more on the quantitative effect on the battlefield than on the strategic impact among allies.[1002] Regardless of size and quality, Norway's geo-strategic vulnerability and importance for US decision-makers exalted her status to the highest level in Washington. Long-term defence planning retained incentives for conceptual ideas that primarily had a meaningful role in the regional and local theatre, at the tactical level.

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[996] Sigurd Frisvold (2004): "Utfordringer på vei mot fremtidens Forsvar", address at Oslo Militære Samfund, Oslo, October 11.
[997] See Øyvind Heien (2004): "Et makroperspektiv på logistikk i det norske forsvaret", *Norsk Militært Tidsskrift*, 174 (11), pp. 28–29.
[998] This dilemma was also acknowledged in interview with Helgesen.
[999] Interviews with Miller, Hall and Wilkins; confirmed through interview with Otterlei.
[1000] Interview with Lindback.
[1001] Roald Gjeldsten (2001): "Simulert forsvar?", *Forsvarsstudier*, no. 3 (Oslo: Institutt for forsvarsstudier), p. 9.
[1002] See Ragnvald H. Solstrand (1982): *Quantitative Methods in Long-Term Defence Planning – Towards Structural Planning*, vol. 1and 2 (Trondheim: Institutt for organisasjon og arbeidslivsfag, Norges tekniske høgskole); Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring*..., p. 303.

It may be argued that operations at the tactical level still characterises conceptual military thinking. At the NATO exercise Joint Winter 2003 in North Norway, the primary activity focused on "... joint action at the tactical level, and the results were very satisfying".[1003] The Norwegian emphasis on the regional and local level contributed to less participation in the broader NATO discussion; with the exception of the Northern Command. In the Cold War paradigm, strategic access and leverage was irrespectively ensured by Norway's overall importance in the allied effort of defending Western Europe from a Soviet attack. According to Diesen, this trend still prevails; Norway has little tradition for strategic thinking. None of the Armed Forces' so-called strategic documents express any coherent and consistent view as to how military force is to be applied in order to underscore political objectives.[1004] To the extent there is a strategy, it is more "... an informal synthesis of political guidance, military threat assessments, economic limitations and accustomed ideas" of what the Armed Forces is to be.[1005]

As conflict scenarios with Russia has been excluded from NATO's war planning, military conceptualisation runs into a more challenging landscape on how to maintain attention. The MoD confirms this: The present status of mutual dependency is less distinct across the Atlantic.[1006] The MFA objective to "... maintain US attention towards Norwegian security concerns"[1007] may therefore be gained through concepts that are crucial for allied operational success. This perspective is also consistent with the mechanisms emphasised by the Pentagon officials. As Wilkins pointed out:

> If you want access at the highest level, you must provide capabilities that are unique, that make a difference on the ground; that can deploy themselves; and feed themselves in the theatre, at a critical point of time.[1008]

If Norway has an interest in cultivating allies for national security gains, it may be debatable to what extent a modest military detachment at the tactical level will facilitate access and leverage at the strategic level.

[1003] St.prp. nr. 1 (2004–2005), p. 46.
[1004] Sverre Diesen (2000): "Trenger vi en ny strategi?" in Tønne Huitfeldt (ed.): *Forsvaret i en ny tid*, p. 78.
[1005] Ibid, pp. 78–79.
[1006] St.prp. nr. 42 (2003–2004), p. 29.
[1007] Jens Eikaas (2002): "Forholdet Norge-USA", introductory remarks before the Norwegian Naval Academy, Washington D.C., June 6, 2002; interview with Vollebæk.
[1008] Interview with Wilkins; confirmed through interviews with Kramer, Towsend and Bell.

Asked about which mechanisms facilitated most political leverage, Lieutenant Colonel John Hall at *J5 Operations* in the Middle East Division in Pentagon referred to a Ukrainian analogy. Even though Ukraine deployed 1,500 infantry personnel to Operation Iraqi Freedom, she did not gain access to the strategic level from where political influence could be displayed. Ukrainian preferences, concerns and perspectives were confined to the tactical level with little resemblance higher up in the chain of command.[1009] Why was this so? After all, a contribution of 1,500 personnel is far above Norwegian standards.

As J5 in Pentagon explained it, this was first of all due to the fact that the Ukrainian contingent arrived too late. By the time the Ukrainian forces deployed, the chain of command had been defined. Representatives from the other contributing forces, those who had put their troops at risk in the most dangerous phase, had occupied the influential slots in the command and control hierarchy. This is in accordance with remarks made by Deputy Supreme Allied Commander Transformation, Admiral Sir Ian Forbes; command and control structures tend to freeze once they have been established; they set the premise for much of the successive work in any operation, and those who occupy the most central slots benefit from considerable influence.[1010]

Secondly, the Ukrainian infantry detachment was highly conventional. The force did not make any crucial difference for decision-makers at the strategic level. Designed to operate at a tactical level only, the Ukrainian contribution was quickly absorbed by numerous other multinational forces at the same level. Despite the political symbolism attached to the Ukrainian engagement, access and influence on long-term interests in the bilateral relationship were limited. Together with approximately 40 other coalition partners,[1011] such as El Salvador and Thailand, access and influence were primarily displayed among decision-makers on the ground; any personal long-term relationship with decision-makers higher up at the political level was absent.[1012]

Thirdly, the Ukrainian contribution was not unique in character. Even though the Ukrainian detachment was of great value due to "over-stretch" among coalition forces, the contingent did not possess any specific relevance that made it highly indispensable.

[1009] Interview with Hall.
[1010] Informal interview with Admiral Sir Ian Forbes, Deputy Supreme Allied Commander Transformation, arranged by the Norwegian Atlantic Committee, Oslo, May 26, 2004.
[1011] Cottey (2004): "The Iraq War…", p. 67, footnote no. 2.
[1012] Informal interview with Forbes. This was also the case for Poland. Even though Poland deployed a brigade Headquarters to Operation Iraqi Freedom, President Kwasniewskij did not receive the political pay-off he expected during his visit to Washington D.C. His requests for visa exemption for Polish citizens travelling to the United States were rejected on the basis of terrorism.

As such, the capability did not serve as a catalyst to exalt Ukrainian defence officials into the political realm. Although her tactical impact on the ground was important, providing 1,500 troops was primarily regarded as a political sign of solidarity. As pointed out by Hall:

> Apart from their NSR [Senior National Representative], Ukrainian liaison elements were unable to make access further up in the system; they had too few liaison elements in the top slots of the command and control structure. Consequently, they did not reach a level from where military means could be translated into political effect.[1013]

Promoting specific Ukrainian interests or cultivating long-term objectives, i.e. receiving exclusive US attention, were therefore left unaffected.[1014] Again, a comment from Sir Ian Forbes underscores the Ukrainian analogy: "If you do not have any punch, in the sense of a unique force with adequate sustainability, your influence is likely to be limited".[1015]

What may come out of the Ukrainian analogy? How can the Armed Forces conceptually transform to ensure access in the upper chain of command, and thus preclude prospects for political marginalisation?

Conceptual Guidelines

Based on the Ukrainian analogy, one of the lessons learned was that military capabilities could generate political effect if they had a unique *modus operandi*, and could deploy at short notice. These mechanisms could for small states provide strategic clout and serve as a substitute for larger units with more sustainability. Hence, a precondition for a swift and relevant response is high readiness and strategic mobility. It may be claimed that this is only feasible if the forces are sufficiently light. To illustrate the political potential inherent in this logic, a comparative analysis between two of the most central capabilities within the Armed Forces may be accomplished. By comparing the conceptual differences behind Special Forces and mechanised infantry, we may get a clearer understanding of which operating principles, or mechanisms, are of most relevance when the task is to gain political effect. Contrasting lightly equipped Special Forces with armour-heavy units entails a methodological fallacy. Militarily, the two capabilities are designed differently because they are to accomplish

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[1013] Ibid.
[1014] Interviews with Hall and Wilkins.
[1015] Informal interview with Forbes.

different tasks; they may as such have their own independent rationales. In our context, however, that is not the point. By contrasting the characteristics between lightly and heavily equipped forces, we may more easily grasp the logic of which operative mechanisms are best designed to translate military effectiveness into political effect – or leverage.

The First Example: Special Forces

Based on the Armed Forces' experience from Bosnia and Afghanistan, Special Forces from the Navy and Army have proved to be significant political facilitators. The operative mechanisms inherent in this capability, such as instant deployability, strategic mobility, sustainability, low cost, and unique *modus operandi*,[1016] carry liaison officers and defence officials into the highest levels of decision-making processes.[1017] This is a risky and complicated affair, particularly so as the missions also imply offensive combat operations on hostile territory.[1018] Displaying political resolve and dedication in a critical situation, particularly when other allies hesitate, is thereby of great importance. Within any coalition or alliance, such a dicey detachment is therefore likely to facilitate great allied attention. According to former General Director at the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment, Nils Holme:

> The risk of being among the first to enter a hostile theatre where losses may occur, and where others hesitate, is an utmost commendable military action. It is of immense importance to our closest allies, and gives us enormous political prestige and leverage.[1019]

As we elaborated on in chapter 4, Norway's engagement in Operation Enduring Freedom with highly competent Special Forces signified a Norwegian willingness to share the risk and the burden with key allies.[1020] As pointed out by the Defence Minister, "The USA is Norway's closest ally and it is extremely important that Norway is perceived as a solidary and relevant

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[1016] Oral brief by Lieutenant Colonel Odd Søbstad from the Norwegian Operative Headquarters/Land Operations, on "Konvensjonelle eller spesialstyrker? Case Afghanistan", at the Military Academy's Land Warfare Seminar, Oslo, May 19, 2004. See also Forsvarets overkommando (2000): *Forsvarets fellesoperative doktrine*, vol. 2, pp. 203–209.
[1017] Interview with Vollebæk; informal interview with General Jan Blom, Military Attaché at the Norwegian Embassy in Washington D.C. at the Norwegian Embassy's Washington Conference 2003, April 4, 2003.
[1018] Oral brief by Lieutenant Colonel Karl Egil Hanevik, Commander in Chief of the Army's Special Forces Command on "Hærens jegerkommando", before the Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies, Rena, April 30, 2004; Forsvarets overkommando (2000): *Forsvarets fellesoperative doktrine*, vol. 2, p. 205.
[1019] Interview with Holme.

partner to the USA".[1021] Political leverage, however, was first of all achieved because this capability could be deployed almost instantly. This was also acknowledged by the MoD, claiming that Norway would benefit politically if the Armed Forces could display forces early on in a coming campaign; "politically, it will be of great value to visualise this, particularly towards the USA and NATO".[1022] The early detachment of a highly potent force in Afghanistan provided Norway with allied recognition and access to crucial decision-making processes, both in the operational theatre, and in the USCENTCOM at Tampa, Florida.

In the operational theatre, an early Norwegian representation with Special Forces-liaisons, both at the Task-Force level and at the Task-Group level,[1023] provided Norwegian authorities access to firsthand and real-time information. This may have been of particular importance as the atmosphere in the United States following the 9/11 attack was rather emotional: It propelled a sense of uncertainty among Norwegian MoD officials regarding how policy makers and US forces would profile its war on terrorism, regionally and globally.[1024] Under such a volatile and dynamic condition, a highly valuable and early detachment made it easier for Norway to get accept for specifically national rules of engagements. This was particularly so as the Norwegian code of conduct implied more restrictions than those used by her US colleagues.[1025]

Moreover, a unique and early detachment facilitated a small state's ability to exert influence on the conduct and framing of consecutive operations within the coalition.[1026] Norwegian liaison elements easily achieved access to key targeting procedures.[1027] Operating at the strategic level in the chain of command, Norwegian liaison elements could exploit the strategic value of its detachment to the limit.[1028] This again optimised the political

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[1020] It may also be worth mentioning that the early detachment of six F-16s to the operation also was of great importance to the Norwegian success.
[1021] FD, "Norske offiserer til Central Command i USA", Memo, November 1, 2001.
[1022] FD, 2001/02824–143/FD II–4/ARE/011.1–usa–spmp, "Alliert solidaritet og status for terrorrelaterte merbevilgninger blant sentrale allierte", October 30, 2001.
[1023] The Task-force level is responsible for the operationalisation of missions dispatched from the strategic command; the Task-group level receives their missions as operationalised at the Task-force level.
[1024] Haaland and Guldhav (2004): "Bruk av norske styrker...", p. 7
[1025] Ibid, p. 8; oral brief by Brigadier Ove Sandli, Norway's Senior National Representative to the USJFCOM, on "Operation Enduring Freedom", at The Washington Conference 2003, April 4, 2003; oral brief by Søbstad. See also Tor Husby (2003): "480 kamptokter over Afghanistan", *BFO-Nytt*, June 18, 2003, accessed at: http://www.bfo.no/Nyheter/BFO–nyheter/2003/juni/488_tokter.htm.
[1026] Haaland and Guldhav (2004): "Bruk av norske styrker...", p. 8.
[1027] Informal interview with Blom and Wang during The Washington Conference 2003, April 4, 2003. See also Laugen and Guldhav (2004): "Bruk av norske styrker...", p. 7.
[1028] Haaland and Guldhav (2004): "Bruk av norske styrker...", p. 8.

value of the military detachment, and facilitated according to several defence officials, important channels into the OSD.[1029]

At the strategic level in USCENTCOM, the early detachment in Afghanistan exhaled Norwegian defence officials into important decision-making processes from where policies were drafted. From this level, the Norwegian government gained access to the consecutive and highly dynamic development in the US-led effort to thwart international terrorism.[1030] The importance of such a central placing could not be understated. A Norwegian exclusion from the top slots in the command and control structure could have made it more demanding to cope with unforeseen events. A central positioning in the chain of command made Norwegian defence officials well informed about policies and consecutive operations that domestically stirred great political controversy.[1031] More importantly, however, due to a highly valuable contribution, Norwegian defence officials got the chance to exert leverage on several allied commanders and policy makers. Having displayed resolution and solidarity with the United States, Norwegian defence officials were consulted and listened to at the political level.[1032] The importance of being represented when other NATO allies did the same had been accomplished. This was, according to the MoD, of great political importance.[1033] In the words of the Defence Minister: "We responded to the call. Our contribution has been noticed in NATO, and our American allies pay attention to our contributions".[1034]

To display more clearly the political impact of a timely deployment of strategically mobile forces, the opposite course of action (non-participation in the initial stages of Operation Iraqi Freedom) may serve as an analogy. According to the second Norwegian Senior National Representative at USCENTCOM, Brigadier Ove Sandli, the Norwegian liaison elements were "friendly but firmly guided out of the situation centre at Tampa" when the briefings changed

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[1029] Interviews with Vollebæk, Towsend and Wilkins.
[1030] Informal interview with Blom and Sandli at The Washington Conference 2003.
[1031] FD, 2001/02824–146/FD I–1/KHO/KHM/MDA/011.1–usa–spms, "Utkast til strategi for 'Kampen mot terror'", October 31, 2001. See among others: Skjalg Fjellheim and Anne Kristin Hjukse (2001): "Disse satans mordere", *Dagbladet*, October 14; Harald Eraker (2001): "Bombing splitter Steinkjer SV", *Ny Tid*, October 20; Geir Ove Fonn (2001): "Krigshandlingene er etisk betenkelige", *Vårt Land*, October 20; Petter Olsen (2001): "Viser avsky for bombing", *Aftenbladet*, November 1; Trygve Mellvang (2001): "Forlanger bombestans", *Dagbladet*, November 5; Espen H. Mikalsen, Terje Mosnes and Sissel Fantoft (2001): "Stans bombingen", *Dagbladet*, November 7; *Nettavisen* (2001): "Halve Norge mot bombing", November 9, accessible at: http://pub.tv2.no/dyn–nettavisen/arkiv/?archiveSection=399&archiveItem=184514; Anders Horn (2001): "Vil ha klarere krigsmotstand i SV", *Ny Tid*, November 9; Mina Gerhardsen (2001): "USA truer fredsarbeidet", *Dagbladet*, December 29.
[1032] Interview with Simmons and Vollebæk.
[1033] FD, 2001/02824–143/FD II–4/ARE/011.1–usa–spmp, "Alliert solidaritet og status for terrorrelaterte merbevilgninger blant sentrale allierte", October 30, 2001.
[1034] Devold (2002): "Omstillingen av Forsvaret...", p. 4.

focus from Afghanistan towards Operation Iraqi Freedom.[1035] Norwegian defence officials were denied access to vital decisions and processes. This had an effect on the general Norwegian awareness of a highly dynamic situation in a volatile region.[1036] The exclusion also had an impact on the quality and quantity of information; this was of vital importance to respond adequately to domestic and allied actors as the US-led war against terrorism unfolded.[1037] When Norway dispatched an Engineer Company consisting of 150 troops to Iraq after a UN mandate was in place by July 2003, the political effect was limited. Apart from the political symbolism of being the first country to support the US-led coalition after a UN mandate was in place, the detachment did not facilitate access to decision-making processes above the tactical level. On that basis, the ability to cultivate a network of allies higher up in the chain of command, from where Norwegian policy preferences could be voiced, was limited.

With this in mind, a swift deployment with a unique capability at an early stage makes it easier to translate military resources into political achievements. The swift deployment of a unique capability to Afghanistan provided Norwegian defence authorities with a strategic instrument. By means of a highly deployable concept, the Special Forces facilitated access to top-ranking officials, both within the coalition and within the US administration.[1038] In addition, the same assets belonged to the lower end of the cost-demanding acquisition list. As compared to capabilities with a lower level of preparedness and tactical mobility only, the political pay-off was extraordinary.[1039] This was acknowledged by the MoD. In the Defence Bill of March 2004, it was explicitly acknowledged that Special Forces were a strategic asset for any military operation. Therefore, "an increased capacity for the Special Forces is important, primarily to enhance our national freedom of action, our flexibility and our sustainability".[1040]

The Second Example: Mechanised Infantry

How does the logic of (a) a unique force, deployed at (b) an early stage, with (c) sustainable forces, at (d) a low cost relate to the Armed Forces' priority on mechanised infantry? To what extent are armour-heavy units relevant as 'a strategic asset for international leverage'?

[1035] Informal interviews with Sandli, Blom and Wang at The Washington Conference 2003.
[1036] Informal interviews with Blom and Wang at The Washington Conference 2003.
[1037] Ibid.
[1038] Interviews with Towsend, Miller and Wilkins.
[1039] Interviews with Holme, Simmons and Towsend.
[1040] St.prp. nr. 42 (2003–2004), p. 56.

As various concepts are explored with regard to allied influence, we can hardly disregard the Army's emphasis on mechanised units at brigade level: In the future, "the Brigade will be the Army's primary product".[1041] As infantry and cavalry gradually merge into mechanised and armoured formations, they signal stamina and a desire to maintain their status as the Army's spearhead. However, is the one and only Norwegian mechanised infantry brigade (Brigade North), a relevant asset for a small state's effort of achieving access and leverage internationally? Despite a cost-intensive effort to increase war-fighting qualities, by combining tactical mobility, armoured protection, firepower and tempo,[1042] to what extent may Brigade North provide a strategic pay-off to her political principals? As Brigade North is the only brigade left in the Army with operative status, this question is of critical importance.[1043] This is even more so as competence at the brigade level constitutes a primary rationale for the transforming Army.[1044]

Following the Special Forces-logic above, if Brigade North was to hold any strategic value, it would need to make a difference on the ground; not when critical and risky phases had come to an end, but when allies needed it most. Strategic deployability, high readiness and operative sustainability would be critical. If Brigade North were to be deployed on short notice, it would definitively play a crucial role in the initial framing of a hostile theatre. The forced entry by a potent formation at the early stages of an operation would, according to the Special Forces-logic, ensure Norwegian representatives access to any slot in the chain of command. From such a position, a small state's interest and concern could be voiced with a 'punch that is above its weight'. From that perspective, Brigade North would have been a stepping-stone; a military catalyst and facilitator for a small state's political entry into any coalition's strategic policy process.

The state of readiness for Brigade North is set to be no more than six months by 2008.[1045] Based on the Ukrainian analogy, such a modest ambition would reduce the military impact, and the political relevancy of the Armed Forces' primary land component. Even though one of the three combat battalions in Brigade North, the Telemark Battalion, could be deployed within 30 days, it would nevertheless signify a very modest political effect. As pointed out by

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[1041] FSJ (2003): "Forsvarssjefens militærfaglige utredning 2003", p. 16.
[1042] Forsvarets overkommando (2000): "Forsvarets fellesoperative doktrine", vol. 2, chap. 3–5.
[1043] St.prp. nr. 42 (2003–2004), p. 65; FSJ (2003): "Forsvarssjefens militærfaglige utredning 2003", p. 15; Lars J. Sølvberg (2004): "Operasjon Jupiter – på vei mot en ny hærordning", address by the Army's General Inspector at Oslo Militære Samfund, Oslo, January 19, accessible at: http://www.mil.no/haren/start/gih/Foredrag/article.jhtml?articleID=79184.
[1044] FSJ (2003): "Forsvarssjefens militærfaglige utredning 2003", p. 16; see also Knut H. Grandhagen (2004): "Guns 'n' Generals", *Hærfra*, no. 5, p. 22.

several senior officers, influence among allies and coalition partners starts with the detachment of units no smaller than a brigade; by that size, one can benefit from political leverage at the strategic level in the command and control hierarchy.[1046] Deputy Director General in the MoD, Jonny Otterlei, confirms this:

> If you are able to deploy a brigade headquarters within a reasonable timeframe, you will also be represented at a higher level in the decision-making processes; this ambition is not realistic when we deploy a single battalion, no matter how well equipped and trained it appears to be.[1047]

From this perspective, it may be claimed that priorities made by the Army leadership is inconsistent with the political apprehension of being marginalised. Rather than focusing on capabilities with short response time and strategic mobility, armoured units consisting of Main Battle Tanks, Armoured Personnel Carriers and Self-propelled Howitzers were given priority. If a small state's defence officials were to gain access to allied policy making processes, conventional war fighting capabilities were sub-optimal facilitators.

Firstly, the emphasis on Main Battle Tanks and Armoured Personnel Carriers in a brigade framework is a particularly costly approach. As a consequence, the availability of capabilities that could be used to provide access and influence among coalition partners would be reduced. Emphasising a few but costly capabilities put restraints on the size of the force, and subsequently the ability to join allied commanders at a higher divisional or strategic level.[1048] A small force therefore makes the liaison elements fewer and feebler. A reduced volume also means less operative resilience. This again may hamper any sustained engagement abroad. The Armed Forces would neither have the sustainability nor the operative credibility to take lead or be represented at the strategic level from where Norwegian defence officials could voice national preferences.[1049]

Secondly, it may also be claimed that the structural design of Brigade North is too heavy. As a consequence, the Brigade also becomes strategically static. Consisting of three armoured battalions with *Leopard II* Main Battle Tanks, as well as CV 90 and M-113 Armoured Personnel Carriers, any deployment out of Norway would require enormous strategic air-lift

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[1045] St.prp. nr. 42 (2003–2004), p. 62; FSJ (2003): "Forsvarssjefens militærfaglige utredning 2003", p. 15.
[1046] Interview with Holme; interview with Ragnvald Solstrand, Deputy Director General at the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment, Kjeller, March 30, 2004.
[1047] Interview with Otterlei.
[1048] Interviews with Otterlei and Solstrand.
[1049] Ibid.

resources. Only one of the combat battalions, the Telemark Battalion, consists of 450 to 500 20ft containers, in addition to 13 Main Battle Tanks and 26 Armoured Personnel Carriers.[1050] As pointed out by Ulriksen, Gourlay and Mace, the detachment of a similar battalion from France to Congo required no less than 44 *Antonov-124* flights.[1051] As long as Norway does not possess any strategic air-lift capability herself, Norway's largest and most decisive land power component would have to rely upon other allies to assist it into the theatre, by train or sea lift. This could make the military deployment tardy and incapacitate Norwegian defence officials' ability to occupy central slots from where political effect could be attained.

This assumption may be even more valid if we bring in the allied perspective of uniqueness. As pointed out by Robertson, the Alliance has more than enough of "heavy metal armies".[1052] In the event of a possible deployment abroad, *Brigade North* after a six months preparation time, would neither be a timely, nor a unique facilitator for political leverage. Being a typical Cold War legacy, allies on both sides of the Atlantic possess numerous armoured brigades that are more deployable and sustainable than Brigade North.[1053] From that perspective, a Norwegian contribution would likely be confined at the tactical level, together with numerous other participants. The most central positions from where Norwegian defence officials could exert leverage would likely be pre-defined, pre-fixed, and pre-settled by other governments' more deployable forces. Those who took the political and military risk of sending their troops first into peril would arrange the command and control structures according to their preferences.[1054]

Thirdly, that Brigade North is designed to operate at the tactical level only.[1055] As such, its *modus operandi* on a conventional high intensity battlefield is not likely to elevate Norwegian liaison elements further up in a coalition's chain of command. The absence of capabilities with a strategic value, such as unique strategic intelligence gathering or strategic lift capacities, underscores this argument. Statements by Bell, confirm this: "Influence comes with unique capabilities that can operate independently at the highest level".[1056]

[1050] Oral brief by Seljestad.
[1051] Interview with Ståle Ulriksen, Researcher at the Norwegian Institute for Foreign Affairs, Oslo, March 12, 2004. See also Ståle Ulriksen, Catriona Gourlay & Catriona Mace (2004): "Operation *Artemis*: The Shape of Things to Come?", *International Peacekeeping*, 11 (3), p. 516. This information is also confirmed through interview with Jon Berg, correspondent for *Jane's Defence Weekly* in Norway, Oslo, May 5, 2004.
[1052] NATO (2002): "Speech by NATO Secretary General...", January 24.
[1053] Robert L. Paarlberg (2004): "Knowledge as Power", *International Security*, 29 (1), pp. 122–151; oral brief by Seljestad. Seljestad claimed that due to insufficient and divided location of combat service support (CSS) elements, the Telemark battalion had reduced sustainability abroad.
[1054] Interviews with Holme and Wilkins.
[1055] Forsvarets overkommando (2000): *Forsvarets fellesoperative doktrine*, vol. 2, pp. 148–149.
[1056] Interview with Bell.

Conclusion

This chapter aimed to address the question of the operative mechanisms that facilitate political influence vis-à-vis larger allies. In the effort to preclude political marginalisation, what may come out of the preceding analysis?

Firstly, it may seem as if the MoD's effort to accommodate allied requirements by forging niche capabilities of limited size and resilience provides less political effect that can be used to preclude marginalisation. Rather than rotating between isolated niche capabilities that would make a difference at the tactical level only, a concept for strategic deployments of unique combat and post-combat packages could be a more influential alternative. Such a concept would build upon the mechanisms deduced throughout this chapter: (a) high readiness, (b) strategic mobility, (c) logistic sustainability, and (d) low cost investments. Adapting along these mechanisms, a small state could gain a strategic effect out of her military deployments. This may ensure central access to decision-making processes at the political level, thereby preclude a confinement in the military-technical sphere. The Special Forces concept holds the title to many of these mechanisms. Being an indicator for political success, the MoD recognises the Special Forces-logic as the only instrument for strategic access; any other capability in the Armed Forces is designed for tactical dispositions only.[1057] This is moreover consistent with apprehensions set forth by senior MoD officials. When confronted with the challenge of gaining political influence through military deployments, the answer was that "apart from the Special Forces, we do not have such capabilities".[1058]

Secondly, it may seem as if defence officials' awareness of gaining political influence through critical military deployments has been undercommunicated in the transformation process. Despite significant leverage and goodwill gained through the swift deployment of Special Forces to Afghanistan in 2001, the same operative mechanisms do not seem prevalent within the broader defence concept. On the contrary, the conceptual design still builds upon numerous capabilities from the Cold War era; these are mainly meaningful at the tactical level and do not necessarily provide a strategic outcome. The unwillingness to dispose of armour-heavy forces thereby makes scarce resources allocated to defence less effective. From a security political perspective, it may seem as if the absence of strategic assets within the military toolbox hinders defence authorities' effort to preclude marginalisation. A reason for this may be related to methodical aspects in the transformation process. As we explained in

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[1057] St.prp. nr. 42 (2003–2004), p. 60.
[1058] Oral brief by Efjestad, on "NATO's Istanbul Summit", before the Norwegian Atlantic Committee, Oslo, July 1, 2004.

chapter 2, allied expectations for more modern forces have primarily been related to operative deficiencies from the Balkan campaigns in the 1990s.

The adapting forces' awareness of how these reforms could be translated into political pay-off, in the sense that Norwegian representatives got access to political rather than military processes, seems to have been less prevalent. Tactical capabilities rather than strategic concepts have been the primary focus for adaptation.

Chapter 11. Towards a 'First In, First Out' Concept

Based upon the logic above, which military concept may provide strategic clout through its operative uniqueness and political relevance? And more importantly, how can such a force underscore Norway's foreign policy commitments and benefit from broad Parliamentary legitimacy? Finalising Part IV, this chapter presents an alternative military concept that seeks to combine domestic fundamentals that apparently seem hard to reconcile: how to combine an efficient combat force for allied influence, while at the same time strengthen Norway's normative commitments to those who suffer most.

Few allies possess a concept able to deploy one to two lightly equipped infantry battalions to any theatre within 96 hours. Concentrating on a flexible pool of first entry forces that could enter combat as well as post-combat environments, Norway could extend her room for manoeuvre in NATO, the UN and in the EU. The conceptual design builds upon the operative mechanisms elaborated on in the previous chapter, and may serve as a catalyst for political effect with regard to realpolitical interests as well as to normative ideals: a highly deployable air-mobile force that can make a forced entry into hostile territory or swift responses to humanitarian crises makes Norway a valuable partner for any coalition. This so-called 'first in, first out' concept could as such become a political catalyst for a small state's effort to preclude marginalisation. With regard to NATO or the EU, possessing available forces for combat and post-combat performances on short notice could elevate Norwegian defence officials into allied decision-making processes that were of national importance. As for the UN, the ability to provide immediate relief to any humanitarian crisis would corroborate Norway's image as a reliable international actor. Such an approach would be consistent with the foreign policy profile that Norway wants to signify abroad.

Political and Military Assumptions

When elaborating on a 'first in, first out' concept that may extend Norway's international latitude, a number of political and military postulations are required. A small state's limited resources allocated to defence must not be spread too thin; priorities have to be made. If a small state is to adapt strategically, some operative tasks will have to be given a higher priority than others.

As for political assumptions, chapter 7 pointed out that any Norwegian engagement abroad has to build upon both legality and legitimacy.[1059] Any detachment abroad will also have to be in accordance with national rules of engagement. We may also expect any Norwegian contribution to be an integral part of a broader allied campaign. As a Norwegian contribution most likely would be of limited size and scale, forces that operate within a larger allied formation would most likely be the most realistic alternative.[1060] Finally, the most critical assumption may be the prerogative of Parliamentary endorsement. Any risky or potentially open-ended detachment early on in any operation would likely stir scepticism within any Parliamentary constellation. The likelihood of a fragmented landscape with the absence of a clear Parliamentary majority could incite this challenge even more.[1061]

As for military assumptions, we may expect the larger allies to provide the most costly tasks related to combat support and combat service support. Only that way, it could be argued, can small states specialise on military concepts that others deem helpful. As a 'first in, first out' deployment may entail risky detachments under unstable and unpredictable circumstances, extensive force protection measures are required through a credible combat support and combat service support framework.

As for the *transportation phase*, we may presuppose allied assistance on tasks such as the provision of safe air transport corridors, air traffic control, air-to-air tanking and air combat patrols. This is only attainable through extensive investments in military hardware that exceed a small state's defence budget. For the same reason, the *deployment phase* and successive land operations will require substantial combat support and combat service support from a broader allied framework. It may therefore be assumed allied services on a number of tasks: (a) dominant fire power support by PGM launched from platforms at sea and in the air; (b) air superiority in the operational theatre, (c) close air support if required to the initial entry phase,

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[1059] FD (2004): "Styrke og relevans", p. 38.
[1060] St.prp. nr. 1 (2004–2005), p. 33.
[1061] For further reading on this critical aspect, see among others former Prime Minister Kåre Willoch (2003): "Voksende 'stortingsregjereri' skaper problemer", *Aftenposten*, July 3.

(d) allied ground surveillance, (e) combat search and rescue services, and (f) medical evacuation. Regardless of a combat or post-combat situation, these aspects may be of relevance to any deployment due to the volatile situation characterising theatres that undergo stress and suffering.

For these combat support and combat service support assumptions to be effective, we may also assume interoperability between Norwegian and allied forces on standard operational procedures in equipment and competence. Having assumed that other allies can accomplish these functions, a small state's 'first in, first out' concept is attainable. By deploying within 96 hours to any operational theatre with a sustainable force, a small state's unique concept may serve as a catalyst for political access and leverage.

Military Tasks

Before we elaborate on how a 'first in, first out' is to be designed, we should define the operative ambitions. Identifying the operative tasks will ensure consistency between political expectations and military operative requirements.

As explored in Part II, an important incentive for allied adaptation was the effort to share the risk and burden with other allies; this as a means to make allied bonds more sustainable. If burdensharing was to be credibly accomplished, the military objective had to be displayed under the most demanding circumstances. A force that is not designed or trained for combat performances may be of little relevance when allies would need it most. The emphasis on robust entry into hostile theatres is therefore likely to occupy a central position in the operative portfolio. However, to ensure a flexible pool of first entry forces, post-combat performances that underscore the MFA's peacebuilding efforts in the lower end of the conflict spectrum may also be required.[1062] As pointed out by Petersen, the effort to assist in humanitarian operations is implicitly in the interest of Norway's broader foreign policy agenda.[1063] We therefore suggest that a 'first in, first out' concept needs to be trained in the whole range of conflicts, in combat as well as in post-combat performances.

[1062] UD (2004): "Strategic Framework: Peacebuilding – a Development Perspective", Oslo, August 16, pp. 10–11, accessible at http://odin.dep.no/filarkiv/221493/peace-engelsk.pdf

[1063] UD (2004): "Foreign Minister Jan Petersen's Statement to the Storting…", Oslo, January 27, 2004.

Conceptual Design

Having assumed that a 'first in, first out' concept is bound to operate within a broader framework to ensure interests in NATO as well as in a broader foreign policy context, we have excluded some of the most cost demanding combat support and combat service support elements. This is consistent with DCI and PCC requirements. As explored in chapter 2, increased specialisation by NATO members was a precondition for spending scarce resources more effectively.

A precondition for political achievements abroad, regardless of a combat or post-combat context, often tends to rely on an early presence. Strategic deployability facilitated by a pool of strategic transport aircraft can therefore be a vital catalyst for international latitude. For a small state, a wing consisting of six to eight *Airbus A-400*s may be a start, shuttling continuously between airfields in Norway and the operational theatre.[1064] Access to such a capacity would not only underscore a small state's realist motives in NATO; it could also substantiate the UN commitments that key actors in the MFA and in Parliament are engrossed by.[1065] Strategic airlift assets are nevertheless an expensive investment for small states; realistically, the concept is likely to depend upon additional support from states such as Russia, Ukraine or the United States.

Possessing a wing of available strategic airlift capacities, a force with high readiness is attainable. However, in order to safeguard a short response time, units need to be highly specialised, lightly equipped, and ready to go. A joint force pool consisting of the following units can be suggested: ISTAR forces with integrated elements from the Army, Navy and Air Force.[1066] This may include human intelligence from the Intelligence Service, Special Forces from the Army and the Navy, and lightly equipped rangers/long-range reconnaissance patrols. The ISTAR element should be able to operate in a nuclear, biological, radioactive and chemical environment; the concept should also accomplish forward air control tasks, handling electronic ordnance devices and effectuate battle damage assessments. Depending on the type

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[1064] How such a fleet is to be financed is a matter of choice and priorities. St.prp. nr. 42 (2003–2004) suggests three alternatives for the acquisition of new jet fighters: (a) additional funding from the Parliament, (b) financial arrangements with other allies, (c) funding through downsizing in the other service branches (pp. 125–126). In principle, the same logic is applicable when it comes to strategic airlift capacities. As of June 2004, Norway signed a Memorandum of Understanding on the acquisition of this capability within the framework of PCC. The MoU is to provide Norway with lease/rent of a specific number of flying hours by 2005 (St.prp. nr. 1 (2004–2005), p. 34).

[1065] The Norwegian detachment of one C-130 *Hercules* during the Kosovo conflict in 1999 may be an example. Being available to the UNHCR, the aircraft transported medical supplies and Kosovo-Albanian refugees between Italy, Albania and Macedonia (Børresen et al. (2004): *Allianseforsvar i endring*..., p. 220).

[1066] ISTAR is the abbrevation for Intelligence, Surveillance, Target Acquisition and Reconnaissance.

of mission, the force should also have co-operative skills for collaboration with various political and military actors in the area of responsibility.

Combined with a comprehensive effort to communicate the mission towards the local populace, i.e. by means of strategic information campaigns or through confidence-building measures, operative challenges could be addressed more effectively. The ultimate end state would be a more stable political and social environment from where effective and legitimate governance could prosper.

Mounted on lightly equipped vehicles, armoured with fixed machine guns and anti-tank missiles for its own protection, the ISTAR force is not designed to conduct large-scale conventional war-fighting. The concept is designed to operate primarily as sensors for platforms operating in space, in the oceans, or in the air above 15,000 feet. Operating as dispersed formations in theatres labelled as "the contested zones",[1067] this could be a crucial contribution to any multinational coalition. The "contested zones" are especially on land, in urban areas, mountains and jungles, as well as in the littorals and in the air below 15,000 feet.[1068] Being networked into a broader allied command and control configuration, common situation awareness may ensure both combat and post-combat effectiveness. This would serve as an alternative to the individual units' possession of heavy weapon systems and vehicles that ultimately would reduce the ability to deploy on short notice.

Facilitating adequate sustainability, improved logistics and force protection is of great importance. A force that cannot provide its basic needs, such as security and food, is unlikely to accomplish political achievements or gain allied credibility. Combining strategic deployability with own force protection may be a demanding challenge if armoured protection and firepower, as provided by Main Battle Tanks and Armoured Personnel Carriers, are omitted. Force protection may therefore be accomplished along a course of operation that compensates for the absence of armour-heavy capabilities. Emphasising increased information awareness, higher operative tempo, smaller units, and dispersed manoeuvre, first entry forces may avoid major conventional battles. Combined with real-time combat support (i.e. close air support, precision guided missiles and combat search and rescue), a lightly equipped force may achieve operative sustainability. Operative resilience may increase even more by pursuing a course of action that seeks to exploit the potential for making friends in the hostile theatre. Conducting operations in ways that seek to win the population's "hearts

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[1067] Barry R. Posen (2003): "Command of the Commons", *International Security*, 28 (1), pp. 5–46.
[1068] Ibid.

and minds" through confidence building measures, a lightly equipped force becomes more secure and sustainable than traditional heavy-armour combatants.

A military course of action that is properly adapted to the operational circumstances may as such provide more security than armour-heavy units and barbed wire.[1069] In that sense, skills in post-combat performance may be as important as combat agility when it comes to providing political achievements in various operational theatres.

Blending 'First In, First Out' With 'Follow-Up' Forces

As outlined in Part III, the Norwegian political landscape was particularly reluctant to an expeditionary concept that neither could sustain peacebuilding efforts abroad, nor maintain resilience at home. According to the Parliamentary Defence Committee, the adapting force had to be both modern *and* large, and should underscore NATO as well as UN related operations. This was of particular importance if Norway was to gain influence through her role as a credible actor in international peacebuilding and reconstruction. A conceptual design that embraces Norway's broader foreign policy agenda may as such be required.

A so-called 'follow-up' concept may therefore be necessary to complement a force structure suffering from limited operative resilience. Being engaged for years in the same theatre, such as in Afghanistan, a 'follow-up' force could serve as an instrument for a small state's long-term commitment to key allies. The force could also serve as a national reserve for political authorities if Norway would like to display resolve and leadership vis-à-vis important institutions like the EU or the UN. Deploying forces to areas such as the Darfur region in Sudan may be but one example.

Being strategically present in the initial stages of a crisis where Norway wants to engage, 'first in, first out' forces may provide a small state with a prominent seating in the conflict zone. As the political and military situation in the theatre gradually improves, a 'follow-up' force with longer preparation time and more logistics could be deployed. This force could gradually take over operative responsibilities as the 'first in, first out' forces gradually become strained. Alternatively, a 'follow-up' force could also reinforce the initial entry force if more robust units on the ground were required. As the first entry force is withdrawn, the 'follow-up' force can fill the vacuum and retain the central seating that initially was occupied.

[1069] Oral contribution by Brigader Robert Mood, Chief of the Norwegian TRADOC from June 2002 to March 2005, at a seminar on "Methods in Long-Term Defence Planning", arranged by the MoD at the Institute for Defence Studies, Oslo, June 18, 2004.

The pivotal units in the 'follow-up' force may be a lighter and more streamlined version of Brigade North. Being equipped with two different kinds of vehicles only, the CV 90 Armoured Personnel Carrier and the Mercedes Benz patrol vehicle, surplus equipment can be disposed of while still maintaining certain robustness. Retaining fewer combat figurations, the force is likely to benefit from a better economy. By selling or disposing of the Main Battle Tanks, the Self-propelled Howitzers, the M-113 Armoured Personnel Carriers, the pavers, the mechanical diggers and the transport vehicles attached to these platforms, scarce resources can be allocated to more troops or better logistical resilience. Consisting of three streamlined battalions, Brigade North is likely to increase its credibility by providing sustainable forces more quickly for a longer period of time under combat and post-combat conditions.

A 'follow-up' force of this size and configuration is not inexpensive; three robust battalions equipped with CV 90s is likely to drain scarce resources as compared to alternative units consisting of unarmed patrol vehicles only. However, by reducing the number of various kinds of vehicles and combat configurations, the logistical tail can be reduced to one lightly mechanised brigade only. This may serve as an alternative to the present situation where combat equipment for three fully armoured and mechanised brigades exists. Each brigade consists of approximately 10 different types of vehicles, and numerous other combat configurations. These brigade configurations need to be maintained, updated and logistically underpinned if they are to have military credibility. A clearer conceptualisation around the combination of 'first in, first out' forces and 'follow-up' forces, may serve as a more cost-effective alternative possessing more strategic clout.

With regard to national crisis management, such a concept may also play a meaningful role on own territory. Being subjected to threat perceptions characterised by smaller but more surprising strikes in any part of Norway,[1070] the conceptual dualism above is likely to respond faster, act more decisively and with more sustainability as compared to the existing force. The combination of (a) lightly equipped forces that can respond on short notice with PGM, and (b) robust forces for sustained engagements, is more relevant than an armour-heavy brigade with a six-month preparation time. One critical factor to this statement builds on the fact that only the Special Forces can respond sufficiently swiftly to any national crisis; their operative resilience is nevertheless low.[1071] A second critical factor builds on the fact that the existing land component cannot engage without risking decisive blows towards their own units.

[1070] St.prp. nr. 42 (2003–2004), p. 21.
[1071] Oral brief by Hanevik.

Being short on volume, such a strategy is likely to entail great risks when the Army's few remaining manoeuvre elements are to be deployed for a combat performance.

The combination of 'first in, first out' forces with 'follow-up' forces cannot be regarded as isolated elements. On the contrary, their reinforcing effect on each other may bridge the tension that this chapter has displayed: the tension between an increasingly small and agile force versus the requirement for larger and more sustainable contributions to peacebuilding efforts. Combining the two concepts, a small state's military force may play an important role in the effort to sustain her political room for manoeuvre vis-à-vis larger allies.

Conclusion

Together with chapter 10, this chapter explored how a small state with limited resources could bridge the dilemmas between allied influence, parliamentary support and foreign policy consistency. It was claimed that a refocused defence effort towards a combination of 'first in, first out' and 'follow up' forces could be an affordable alternative. The concept portrays an operational flexibility that seeks to accomplish a wide range of combat and post-combat performances. As for the combat dimension, war-fighting efforts are pursued without risky engagements in decisive battles. As for the post-combat dimension, the same force is to exploit its stability potential by winning the local population's "hearts and minds". In sum, the approach towards conflicts in the entire range builds upon a narrower portfolio of vehicles and combat configurations; this is regarded as expedient in order to free economic resources for new investments in strategic lift capacity and PGM.

By focusing on political effect rather than combat agility, a small state's adapting force could establish a flexible pool of units that served as building blocks. Depending on the conflict's nature, i.e. a humanitarian disaster or a decisive battle, the concept can deploy military packages adequately designed for the specific mission. Rejecting the mutual exclusiveness of a combat or a post-combat profile, Part IV has sought to reconcile the two. The concept may as such underscore both self-interests and ideals. As we noticed in Part II, these were underlying conflict dimensions that often tended to arise in the political landscape when key values related to UN mandates or international rule by law were challenged.

Politically, the concept may therefore be a feasible approach because the force structure grasps more explicitly the essence of the various interests prevailing within the Norwegian political landscape. The concept's combatant profile signifies Norwegian credibility in terms of sustained allied solidarity to NATO. Deploying combat ready forces to a hostile territory when allies need it most is likely to generate gratitude, reciprocity and recognition. A rapid

deployment of agile force may as such facilitate access and influence on vital allied decision-making processes. Being part of a long-term policy, this approach may preclude a small state's apprehension for political marginalisation. A 'first in, first out' concept increases a small state's visibility, and enables Norway to portray specific concerns that are more central to her than to other allies.

Simultaneously, the concept does not exclude Norwegian ideals related to peacebuilding efforts and post-combat performances. Being designed and trained for stability operations, operative flexibility may convert an otherwise combatant profile quickly into a "softer" appearance. Conveying confidence-building measures into the theatre may be of particular relevance as many intra-state conflicts take place in a volatile situation characterised by a transition from war to peace. A concept that embraces operative flexibility may as such underscore Norway's broader commitment to international peace and stability. Displaying resolve and dedication to humanitarian crisis, a small state may become more influential on the international arena when relevant capabilities are displayed on short notice. This is particularly so when it comes to underscoring peacebuilding efforts.

This approach may be more in accordance with the broader Norwegian portfolio in international politics. Comprising anything from peacebuilding within a UN context to credible deterrent commitments in NATO, the mix of a 'first in, first out' concept and 'follow on forces' may achieve political objectives more affordably. Even though the range of tasks increases, resources are more focused. A more homogeneous composition of smaller, cheaper and lighter platforms may provide more sustainability as compared to a broad array of different platforms and systems existing within the military system.[1072]

[1072] Lars J. Sølvberg (2005): "En ny Hær", *Norges Forsvar*, no. 1, p. 48.

Part V: Conclusion

Chapter 12. Influence and Marginalisation

In this thesis, the following exercise has been accomplished: Different mechanisms of US influence on Norwegian security and defence policy have been explained (Part I); its effect on a dependent ally has been interpreted (Part II); domestic implications of the outcome have been evaluated (Part III). In the effort to solve dilemmas that affect the Norwegian room for manoeuvre, Part IV suggested a conceptual alternative that aimed to bridge allied expectations and domestic demands.

The thesis has now reached a stage from where the different parts can be tied together. The objective is to deduce general knowledge from our single case study. By connecting the theoretical and empirical analysis to a broader universe, this final chapter aims to "... explain as much as possible with as little as possible".[1073] Having consciously maximised analytical leverage by including numerous observable implications in the thesis, analytical simplification can precede under one condition: "All knowledge and all inference – in quantitative and in qualitative research – is uncertain".[1074]

This chapter aims to explain how Norway in particular, and smaller states in general, seek to extend their room for manoeuvre in the field of security and defence co-operation. Being organised into two sections, the first part deals explicitly with Norway. Here, findings deduced from the empirical analysis are summarised and clarified. The second part deals more specifically with smaller states; extrapolating from the Norwegian case, the thesis is brought to a close by some general assumptions related to a broader universe of small states.

Norway's Effort to Attain Security: Four Empirical Assumptions

To begin with, the thesis aimed to provide more knowledge on the question "what can the Norwegian policy towards US initiatives in NATO tell us about small states' quest for security of today"? Based on the conclusive remarks in the previous parts, this passage proposes four empirical assumptions specifically related to the case of Norway.

[1073] King et al. (1994): *Designing Social Inquiry...*, p. 29.
[1074] Ibid, p. 31.

Achieving Attention

The first assumption claims that Norway has striven increasingly hard to prevent marginalisation in the post-Cold War environment. Being a political and military Lilliputian, on the outskirts of Europe, outside the EU, and dependent on others' benevolence, attention has become increasingly hard to achieve. National perspectives are not easily recognised unless incentives for others to follow suit are accepted. The extent to which Norwegian security concerns are dealt with depends upon other allies' willingness to regard them as urgent. This fact became more conceivable during the 1990s as the Cold War ended, the United States refocused her attention towards other regions, and the EU became more assertive on the international arena. With the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the quest for allied attention accentuated; Norway became increasingly tied to NATO's "beauty contest" in competition with numerous new allies that wanted to forge closer ties with the world's sole superpower. Being regarded as one of the most loyal advocates for transformation, however, became more ambiguous as the United States felt less tied by European expectations on how to act in the war against terrorism. The extent to which Norway was listened to was based upon the other partners' request for reciprocity: "what's in it for me?"

Displaying Credibility

The structural changes above, and their implication for Norwegian attention, bring us to the second assumption: Norwegian security and defence policy had to display credibility in the DCI programme if transatlantic relations were to be sustained. Accepting the fact that changes in NATO and in the transatlantic relationship would proceed with or without Norwegian participation, a proactive and constructive approach towards the American DCI injunctions was regarded as the only realistic policy. Reluctance and hesitancy towards the DCI and the succeeding PCC commitments would accelerate the potential marginalisation of Norway. By displaying resolve and dedication to US initiatives aiming to modernise NATO, Norway wanted to strengthen her political credibility vis-à-vis a key ally. This credibility was first of all displayed in the way Norway deployed relevant niche capabilities to allied partners. Timely and relevant deployments abroad became a visible expression of a small state that took her collective commitments seriously.

Influence from Within

The quest for allied recognition brings us to the third assumption: by advocating the American DCI requirements in NATO, Norway got into positions from where she could accomplish a

lot more than being on the outside. In other words, by vigorously transforming along allied injunctions, Norwegian defence officials got access to key allies' decision-making processes. From this position, a small state's concerns and perspectives could be voiced and listened to among those who set the tone internationally. Norwegian prospects for marginalisation were thereby precluded by defence officials who could broaden, deepen and cultivate the network of allied decision-makers that worked at the political and strategic level in NATO and in their respective governments. Norwegian views gained more clout in the competition with numerous other partners that strove for the same leverage. By gaining attention and displaying credibility in the DCI and PCC processes, Norway became more influential in defining NATO's future role: Norway had become a country that punched above its weight.[1075]

Competing Ideals and Interests

Being inclined to undertake a more active role on transformation, the fourth assumption claims Norwegian security and defence policy to be increasingly torn between competing ideals and interests. As the transatlantic integration is deepened, Norway may be more exposed to "cross pressure" between allied and domestic expectations. The combination of (a) indeterrable threats from international terrorism, (b) the possession of relevant capabilities that allies want to use, (c) a consistent policy related to international legality and legitimacy, and (d) the expectation of a continued presence in the High North, summon delicate balances. Whereas the MoD would like to display allied solidarity in situations critical to key allies, public sentiments may be more inclined to call for explicit UN mandates. Whereas the United States would like to see close allies forging a smaller and more integrated force, Norway may be more inclined to sustain a larger and more sovereign force in the High North.

Transforming along political requirements that seem increasingly hard to reconcile, a concept of 'first in, first out' and 'follow-up' forces may be more relevant to balance rivalling interests and ideals. Mixing the two forces, the concept may prove to be a viable alternative to address ambiguous circumstances, where the Lilliputian needs to balance allied expectations and domestic demands.

[1075] Burns interviewed by Hansen, *NRK 1*, January 29, 2004; oral brief by Admiral Edmund P. Giambastiani, NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Transformation, on "Challenges of NATO's Transformation", seminar arranged by the Norwegian Atlantic Committee at Oslo Militære Samfund, Oslo, March 4, 2005.

Summing Up

The following mechanisms may explain the essence of Norway's security and defence policy between 1998 and 2004: A quest for allied attention through constructive participation in as many as possible of the United States' transformation initiatives directed towards Europe; portraying Norway as a credible ally that takes her transatlantic commitments seriously; striving for recognition by actively participating in allied reforms rather than displaying reluctance; and lastly, to balancing ideals and interests as much as possible to smooth out potential friction between allied expectations and domestic demands.

Small States' Effort to Attain Security: Three Theoretical Assumptions

What may the empirical assumptions above tell us about smaller states at large? To what extent are the Norwegian characteristics applicable to a broader theoretical universe? As any state's characteristics can be claimed to be unique, deducing general assumptions from one entity to a larger universe of small states may lead to erroneous inferences. After all, Norway finds herself in a special position as compared to other small states. The combination of (a) being outside the EU, (b) on the rim of the Russian Federation, and (c) managing enormous oil, gas and fishery resources, partly in a large and potentially disputed area, makes few other small states comparable. Neither Denmark or Iceland, nor Belgium, Austria or the Netherlands has the same combination of challenges. When the Norwegian characteristics are to be deduced into more general assumptions, mechanisms possessing a broader validity to international politics need to be used. As portrayed throughout this thesis, small states' underlying fear of being politically and militarily marginalised may serve as a viable starting point.

Active Entrepreneurship

The first assumption suggests that small states in the post-Cold War environment are inclined to undertake a more active entrepreneurial role vis-à-vis larger allies or larger institutions. Operating within a state-system characterised by the absence of bipolar restraints and by mutual dependency, small states acknowledge that creative initiatives forged through proactive policies are the best remedy to preclude their own marginalisation. As global processes of change are regarded as irreversible trends, small states are likely to take a deterministic approach: structural processes of changes in international relations are likely to proceed with or without small states on board.

The best thing to do is consequently to play along as actively and constructively as possible. Only that way can small states prevail in concert with larger allies, or inside larger institutions dominated by larger states. This assumption seems to be consistent with the mechanism elaborated on in our institutional model. In the third step of the model, we used Arnold Wolfers' argument, claiming that those who had a large interest in preserving institutional co-operation were more likely to go beyond egoistic and myopic selfishness. In the model's fourth step, Robert Keohane brought this mechanism further by claiming that co-operating states tended to develop a sense of moral obligation towards each other. We may assume this mechanism to catalyse small states' active entrepreneurship vis-à-vis larger allies or institutions. However, as we argued in chapter 6, it may still be questioned to what extent a small state's benevolence is based upon real friendship or just national selfishness. As we pointed out in our realist model in chapter 3, a small state's constructive participation may just as much be regarded as a policy of invitation; a policy for promoting national interests in a world dominated by larger allies.

Fluctuating Cohesiveness

The second assumption builds on the first one. It suggests that small states' creative entrepreneurship will increase the trend towards less formality inside institutional arrangements. In the effort to keep key partners within institutional restraints, small states are likely to advocate reforms that accommodate key allies' concerns. Facing a more subtle and compound threat environment, such as international terrorists with access to weapons of mass destruction, small states are likely to advocate less rigidity in institutional decision-making processes. Releasing a deadlock on this issue, by holding tight to collective unanimity, small states recognise that such a policy will be counter-productive if the objective is to tie larger states to committing postures. Accepting this logic, those who feel most exposed to marginalisation are those who most likely will advocate more flexible arrangements.

This assumption is moreover in accordance with Wolfers' argument in chapter 3, claiming that co-operation may lead to "self-abnegation". Being linked to a more vital issue, which is to maintain key partners inside institutional arrangements, co-operating states are likely to abstain from certain national objectives. This aspect of issue-linking underscores Keohane's assumptions used in our institutional model. However, this assumption may also be explained as a mechanism of dependency, as suggested by Stephen M. Walt's realist perspective. As explained on page 69, being a dependent ally, the client is likely to accommodate a patron's injunctions. A dependent state may even forge policies that increase the patron's benevolence and recognition towards the Lilliputian. A policy of invitation, as a

means to gain attention, recognition and benevolence may as such explain small states' efforts to soften up institutional restraints.

Increased Networking

This brings us over to the third assumption. Small states are increasingly exploiting alliances as a catalyst for various bilateral arrangements. Accepting that the post-Cold War environment reduces collective cohesiveness, small states regard alliances more as an umbrella. Inside this arena, partners with coinciding challenges and apprehensions are identified and cultivated; sensitivity to own challenges and preferences are paid attention to by an assortment of like-minded states that recognise the same challenges. Behind the varnish of a broader, more formal and collective framework, small states continuously search for potential partners that are comparable in size and attitude. Various overlapping networks of partners evolve on the basis of what serves its interests best, a back-up plan to build upon if formal mechanisms within the security arrangement should erode or collapse. Under the auspices of formal arrangements, a two-tier security-net evolves: on the one hand, small states benefit from co-operation with like-minded states; on the other hand, the same networks facilitate cost-efficient means used to preclude marginalisation in concert with larger allies.

This assumption crosses to some extent Walt's assumptions used in our realist model to explain why recipients of military assistance flocked around the donor. Even though this may still be the case, in the sense that donors merge their defence efforts to accommodate a donor, the assumption may have ambiguous connotations. When the patron suffers from lack of international legitimacy, small states are more likely to follow Kennet Waltz' argument of balancing a dominant actor. Balance, however, is not related to so-called hard power rivalry, but with regard to soft power legitimacy, such as ensuring international legality and legitimacy in the use of force.

Summing Up

The following mechanisms may explain the essence of how small states forge their security policy vis-à-vis key allies: Those who are most likely to become marginalised are also the most creative partners in terms of adapting formal arrangements to new circumstances.

Small states are consequently more inclined to accelerate trends towards less formal cohesiveness because they recognise that drastic measures are required to keep key allies inside formal arenas. Advocating more flexibility at the cost of formal arrangements, alliances are gradually becoming umbrellas for informal bilateral networking. States that have

coinciding interests within a broader allied framework join together for two reasons: a national back-up plan in case of an alliance's collapse, and for the cost-efficient provision of burdensharing means vis-à-vis a larger ally.

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