

Norway's strategic challenges in a multipolar world

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Norwegian interests

- Almost 60 % of Norwegian exports gas and oil
- More than half the non-oil & gas exports rests on other maritime activities
- In total, more than 80% of Norwegian exports are generated by activities at sea.
- Norwegian commercial maritime activities are increasingly global in scope.
- Norway depends upon the Sea and therefore
- Norway has huge stakes in the world order!

World order

Multilateral

- Strong inclusive international institutions
- Competition based on rules and laws
- Win-win often possible
- Values and norms
- Divisible power according to functions, fields
- Importance of soft power
- Predictable, transparent

Multipolar

- Exclusive membership in Great Power concerts
- Rivalry – balance of power
- Zero-sum games
- Indivisible power
- Hard power, military very important
- Frequent arms races
- Contests of strength – war
- Unpredictable

Drivers

Cooperation

- **Economic interdependence**
- **Belief in win-win solutions**
- **Acceptance of the view that only common efforts may solve common problems**
- **Understanding of the potential devastating effects of modern war**

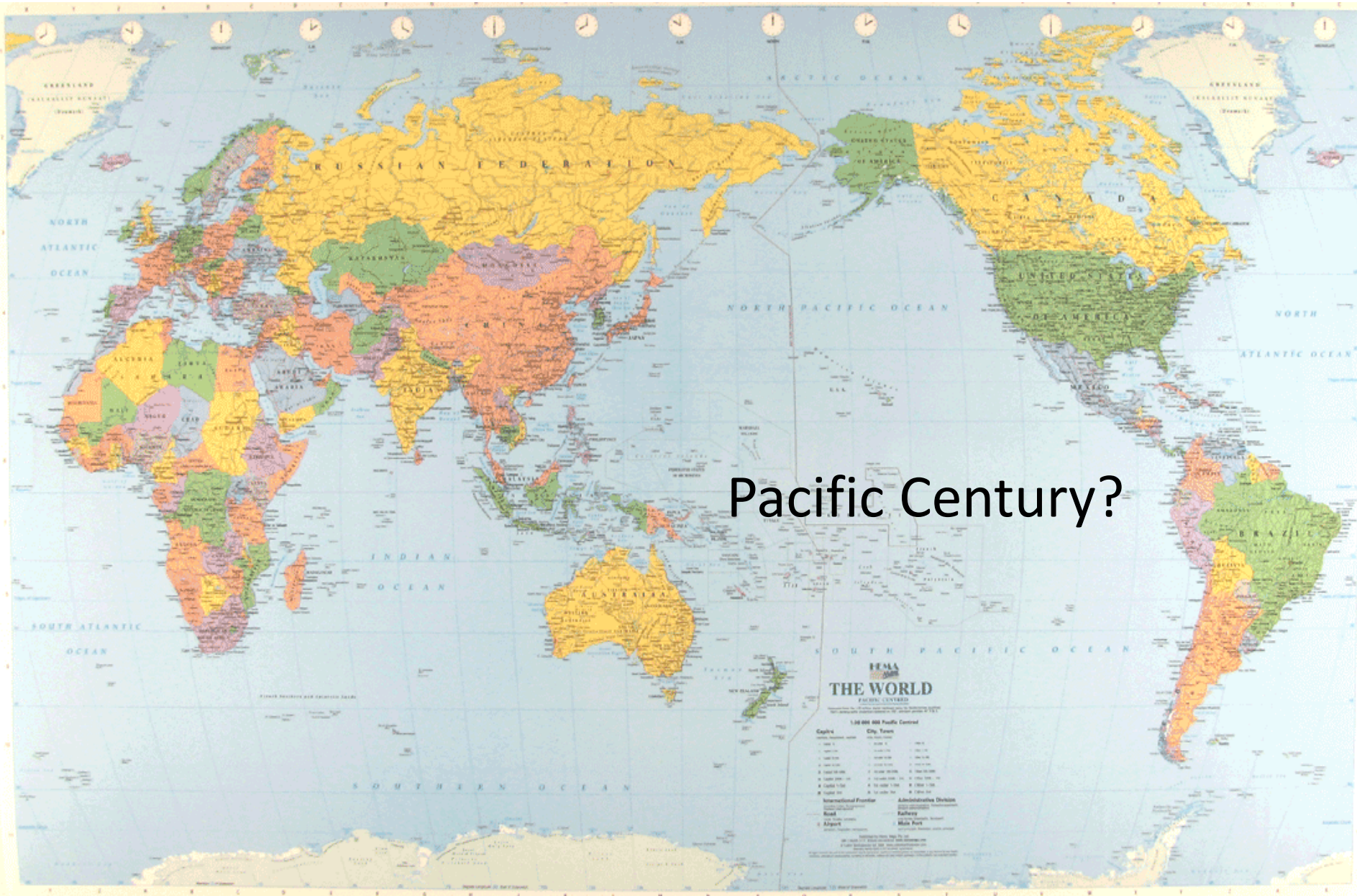
Confrontation

- **Domestic unrest and power struggles**
- **Thinking in zero-sum terms**
- **Nationalism**
- **Glorification of military might**
- **Territorial ambitions**
- **Resources**
- **Fear**

Fragmented, unstable multipolarity

- Many poles, or Great Powers.
- Loose and/or varying alliances
- Constant positioning – moves and countermoves – zero sum games
- Uncertainty created by rapid technological development.
- Threat assessment cannot be made based on intent and capability alone
- Situations will frequently arise where Powers may feel forced to act to prevent damage to their interests – or where they may see opportunities to promote their interests.

Pacific Century?



Global power dynamics

- One global system
- Many regional systems
- I.e. global powers are more than regional powers, but not necessarily more powerful in the regions of the latter.
- Global powers imply sea power, or an ability to project scalable military might across the high seas.
- Global powers are able to strongly influence the rules of the world order.
- The world order depends upon Sea Power!

Global worries

- War between states, and between Great Powers, is more likely.
- Simultaneously, “chaos conflicts” will continue, especially in the Middle East.
- NATO’s military capabilities reduced.
- Alliance solidarity questionable
- The West appears weak, divided and confused.
- Western values and interests threatened.

Norwegian worries

- The armed forces are not calibrated for readiness or sudden crisis at home.
- The armed forces has low endurance for sustained operations.
- Large and rapid allied reinforcements not likely.
- Svalbard (Fisheries Protection Zone) is an obvious vulnerability
- Norwegian views on FPZ not shared by allies



Norwegian needs

- An ability to raise and continuously maintain a credible threshold against sabre rattling, gunboat diplomacy and military pressure against Norway.
- An ability to generate sustainable fighting power rapidly at home.
- An ability to receive and use such allied reinforcements that may arrive in an early phase.
- An ability to contribute substantially and efficiently in support of the international system.

Sketch of a strategy

- Very capable submarines – with at least one at sea at any time and several ready to go very quickly. VITAL INGREDIENT!
- Active reserves – a modernized total defence system
- Much more firepower and the ability to perform multidimensional sea denial operations.
- Continued ability to support the alliance and the world order on both low end and high end missions.

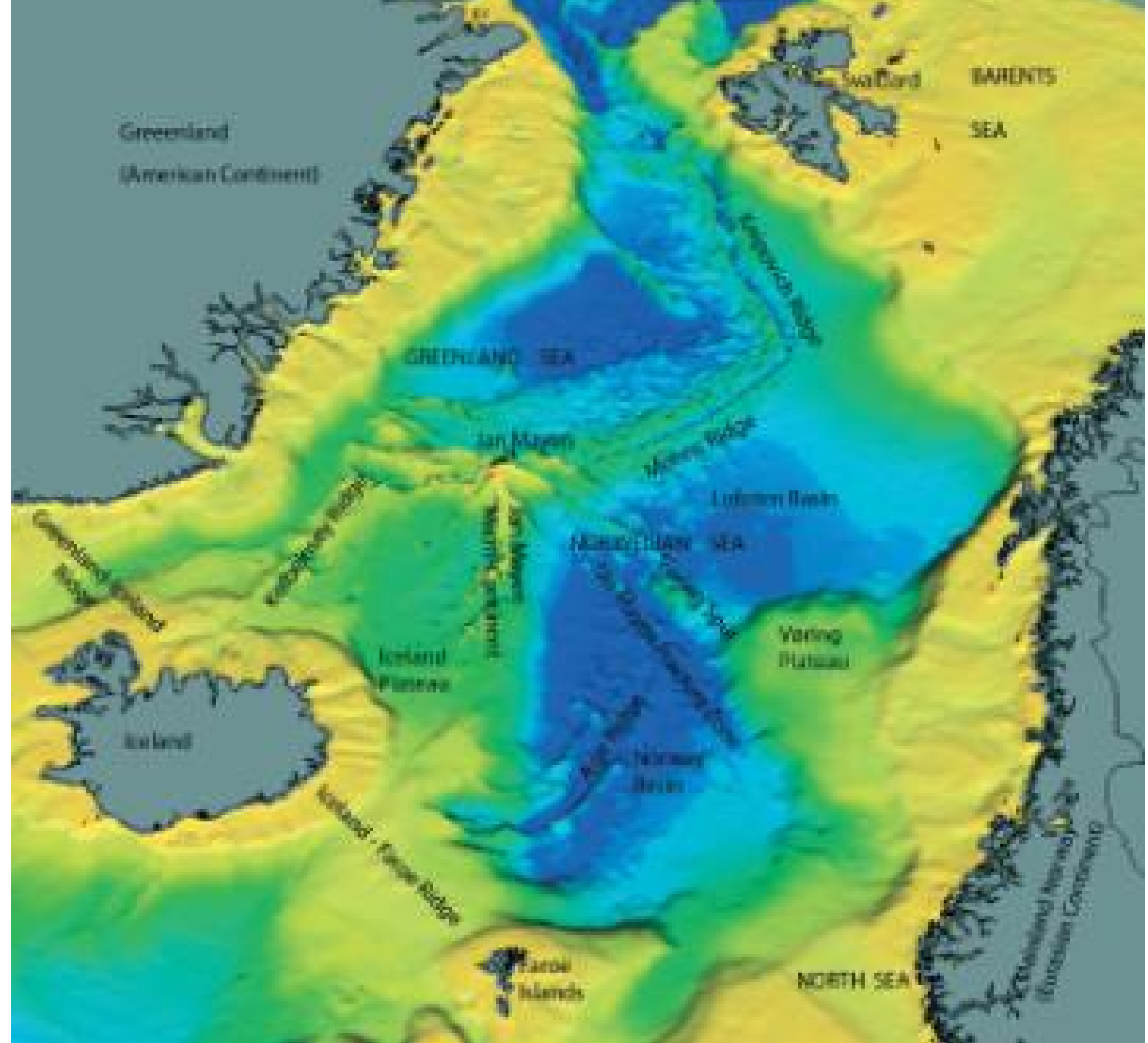


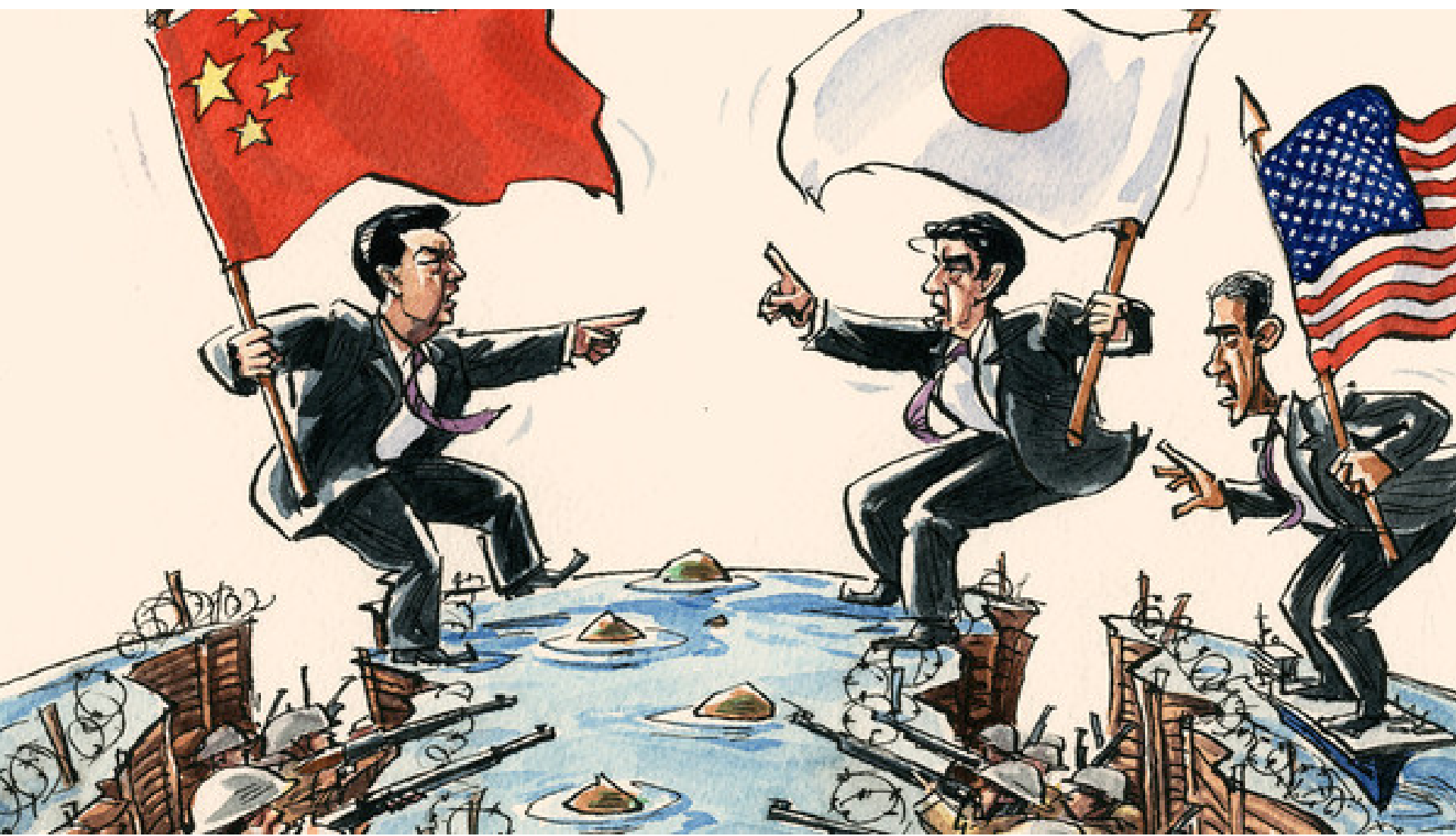
SUPPORTING SLIDES













- Deterrence
- Reassurance
- Cooperation

U.S. military commands

The Defense Department is establishing a new regional command for Africa.

• Northern Command

(NORTHCOM)

Headquarters:
Peterson AFB,
Colo.

Part of Northern,
Pacific Commands

Alaska

Peterson
AFB

Honolulu

MacDill AFB
Miami

Stuttgart-
Vaihingen,
Germany

• European Command

(EUCOM) Headquarters:
Stuttgart-Vaihingen,
Germany

• Pacific Command

(PACOM)
Headquarters:
Honolulu

• Southern
Command
(SOUTHCOM)
Headquarters:
Miami

• Africa
Command
(AFRICOM)
Interim headquarters:
Stuttgart, Germany

• Central
Command (CENTCOM)
Headquarters: MacDill AFB,
Fla.

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