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### CHANGES IN THE SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY OF FINLAND IN THE 21ST. CENTURY

The security and defense policy of Finland has undergone significant changes after end of the Cold War. These changes have had a significant impact on the country's development. In this paper I highlighted some areas and many important aspects of this impact. Besides being subjective, these issues concern the Finnish public as well as the policy maker.

#### FINLAND AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

During the Cold War Finland represented a consistent policy of neutrality. The country gradually built up to international relations through which it managed to maintain its security and the political and economic freedom of movement. During this period Finland used the political aim of neutrality to strengthen its international position. To achieve this Finland cooperated with regional and global international organization by which they could gain experience. Its representatives they have been actively designing and updating these organizations and they effectively represent the interests of the country. The core of this policy is neutrality and independent military defence.

This policy has led to Finland's European Union's membership in 1995, which is reflected in the interpretation of a new policy of neutrality. The restatement of neutrality means that Finland had declared a "non-military alliance" status within the European Union (EU). The new interpretation is in line with the country's security needs, and did not prevent the country from having to participate in developing the ESDP<sup>2</sup>. The Finish Security and Defence Policy tools also adapted to the new approach. These included the fact that Finland wanted to keep a stable position in the EU's decision-making. Finland's pragmatic security policy has also implies that EU-NATO relationship should be taken into account. On the level of political rhetoric it can be said that the country's continued a two-step policy in the sense that they have always insisted on the need to strengthen the EU's military capacity, but also had a very important role in the transatlantic security structures. On the level of political action, however, the situation is slightly different because Finland's interest was to further develop the European Security and Defence. Of course the country's aim was to strengthen the influence of the non-NATO members of the EU. Taking into account that Finland is firmly committed to the EU integration it could be expected that they will choose the European orientation rather than Atlantic one.

Finland and Sweden reacted together the St. Malo Initiative<sup>3</sup>. The common position of the wording of their Ministers of Foreign Affairs was published in two large circulation national newspapers. The aim of article publication was to convince the voters of the EU's crisis management capacity strengthening. The initiative has shown that the parallel structures in NATO and the close relationship would be crucial. The conclusions have clearly spoken to the international public opinion.

The changes in the initiative and pointed out, that Member States must take a more active role. In 1999 during the Finnish EU presidency<sup>4</sup> there has been occurred that new member state could dictate the pace in the deepening of European security policy. During Finnish Presidency the development of the EU crisis management capabilities and new military structures, coincided with the Finland's national targets. The Finnish Presidency has therefore gained experience in peacekeeping and supported and encouraged the creation of EU crisis management institutions. The aim was to provide skills and capabilities to be used independently of cooperation with NATO rather than reincarnating WEU institutions in EU environment.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Finland's Security and Defence Policy Strategy 1995: http://www.defmin.fi/files/246/2513 2143 selonteko95 1 .pdf 2009-08-05 23:09

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ESDP: European Security and Defence Policy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> St. Malo Initiative: http://www.atlanticcommunity.org/Saint-Malo%20Declaration%20Text.html 2011-10-31 16:27

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Finnish EU presidency: <a href="http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/hel1\_en.htm">http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/hel1\_en.htm</a>: 2011-10-31 16:31

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The St Malo Initiative changed the position of the Finnish Security Policy for European Security and Defence Policy. The Finnish political debate reflected the view that the EU has an increasingly important role in military security and defence matters. The 2001 issue Finnish White Paper<sup>5</sup> states that the country's security goals and interests can be realised within the framework of the cooperation. with the European Union. Finland participates in the formulation of EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy and parallely further develops its the national security policy. The country must be able to strengthen its international influence and its own security.

#### FINLAND AND NATO

Significant changes have taken place in the relationship of Finland and the outside world after the end of Cold War. The Security and Defence Policy Papers<sup>6</sup> issued in the early 1990's states that the national consciousness was based on the continuous adaption of the country's foreign and security relations, and not on the fast break with tradition. The new White Paper was prepared during the second cycle of Matti Vanhanen's prime ministership and it was published in January 2009<sup>7</sup>. This document prepared various reports and analyses is a starting point for Security and Defence Policy Strategy and it determine the possibilities of developing Finnish Defence Force and functions on the long term. This analysis is an integral part of NATO's membership position. In Finland NATO-related issues on the agenda are in the centre of attention, because the the Finnish public has represented extremely negative attitude in this respect for many years.

The Finnish Defence Force's participation gives special emphasis to the NATO-related analysis in international crisis management operations. For Finland although it is not a NATO member, it is extremely important to co-operate alliance. Finland wishes to improve and extend the Transatlantic defence and security cooperation through this organization. Finland believes that the NATO is essential for the view of the transatlantic military security and defence cooperation. Finland's possible NATO membership should be judged in the context of the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy development. Finland's possibility significantly narrowed in developing closer ties in the EU-NATO cooperation because in MAY of 2007 a NATO member states refused to share all NATO documents with not-NATO members.

The NATO member states have a very important role to play in the EU's Common Security Policy. The 7<sup>th</sup> section of article 27 of Treaty of Lisbon<sup>8</sup> states that member states should be give help to each other if any of them is attacked in its own territory. The same article clearly defines the obligations of NATO member states and states that the wording does not conflict with each other's obligation. The European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy discussed a number of tasks in parallel with NATO.

A number of topics have been put in the NATO agenda, which the EU's decisions can be made.

For Finland a possible NATO membership may create new closer bilateral relations with member states. Currently, Finland is not able to assert its own ideas on certain issues because NATO and EU member countries cooperate with each other rather than with a non NATO EU country. The NATO membership for Finland may create a concrete cooperation with the USA in areas such as technology development.

Another Finnish aspect for possible NATO membership may be that the country has substantial contribution to NATO activities while it cannot participate in decision – making. The foreign judgement of Finland, however, is likely to change with NATO membership as a majority EU member states are also NATO members the potential NATO membership

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Finland's Security and Defence Policy Strategy 2001: <a href="http://www.defmin.fi/files/1149/InEnglish.pdf">http://www.defmin.fi/files/1149/InEnglish.pdf</a> 2008-11-30 18:23

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Finland's Security and Defence Policy 1995: <a href="http://www.defmin.fi/files/246/2513">http://www.defmin.fi/files/246/2513</a> 2143 selonteko95 1 .pdf 2009-08-05 23:09

Finland's Security and Defence Policy Strategy 2009: <a href="http://www.vnk.fi/julkaisukansio/2009/j11-turvallisuus-j12-sakerhets-j13-finnish/pdf/en.pdf">http://www.vnk.fi/julkaisukansio/2009/j11-turvallisuus-j12-sakerhets-j13-finnish/pdf/en.pdf</a> 2009 07 02 13:27

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Treaty of Lisbon: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/JOHtml.do?uri=OJ:C:2007:306:SOM:EN:HTML 2011-10-28 16:44

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impacts the countries international position positively because the Alliance is a political and military organization, which is based on the culture of the western democracies. In some countries the accession requires relevant consensus in the economic, political and military decision.

#### FINLAND'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century the international system and international policies went through many important changes. The Soviet-American confrontation had an influence over the majority of world. The reason of the Cold War was "The Blocking". After the Cold War the number of conflicts and did not decrease but increased significantly.

In the autumn of 1956 the Sues crisis<sup>9</sup> posed challenges to Finland's new security and defence policy, because the crisis and Hungarian events increased the international tension and the country had no experience with international organizations. In additional the newly elected president began his first term in office. In this situation the Security Council decided sent a peacekeeping mission to the crisis zone. Finland as a member of UN<sup>10</sup> also had to make decision if they wanted to participate in the mission as a new member. In this situation Finland decided to participate. The participation in the international conflict management opened a whole chapter in the Finnish Security and Defence Policy. The UN-led peacekeeping operations were added to the Finnish Security and Defence Policy's documents, because the participation in the mission strengthened Finland's international position.

All Finnish security and defence policy documents deal with the new types of conflicts, which involve the use of military force. The documents establish that these crises and conflicts are happening because of religious, historical grievances, for possession of natural resources and abuse of human rights and democracy. The Security and Defence Policy Strategy issued 2001 states that they should apply the experience acquired in the Cold War and 1990's and that Finland would continue to be involved in crisis management operation. Finland increases its defence abilities with the help of the experience acquired in peacekeeping which they want to exploit in further international operations. Of course Finland complies, with its commitments taken in the UN, EU<sup>11</sup>, OSCE<sup>12</sup> and they take part in NATO's PfP<sup>13</sup>. For Finland the crisis management operations simply mean military and civilian functions. The country relies on its national resources in the international operations. Finland may take part in the OSCE, EU, UN and NATO operations which are formed on UN or OSCE mandate and the provisions of which are not contrary to the provisions Peace Operations in Support of the Act14 which came into force in 2000. On the basis of the provision of the Act not more than 2000 peacekeepers can be stationed abroad. There are currently approximately 1600 personnel in various missions. In the future it is also a very important task to participate in operations led or supported by the UN. Finland in the future wishes to participate in the NATOled military crisis management operations and seek closer cooperation with NATO with particular regard to the operations during planning to which troops would be offered. Finland did not resign from the possibility of the participation in the mission led by the OSCE and the UN and with EU and NATO agreements new opportunities are created for the Finnish peacekeeping.

Finland's participation in the peacekeeping operations is subject to the Finnish Security and Defence Policy Strategy and provisions of law of Peacekeeping. 3<sup>th</sup> Chapter preamble of the Act determines military and civilian rules and principles of the participation in the international crisis management.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> OSCE: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe <a href="https://www.osce.org">www.osce.org</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Sues Crisis: UNIF I.: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co\_mission/unefi.htm 2008-10-26 17:18

<sup>10</sup> UN: United Nations www.un.org

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> EU: European Union

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> NATO PfP: NATO Partnership for Peace programme: <a href="http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics-50349.htm">http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics-50349.htm</a>

Peacekeeping Act: <a href="http://www.defmin.fi/index.phtml?l=en&s=186">http://www.defmin.fi/index.phtml?l=en&s=186</a> 2008-09-12 20:52
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Finland is actively involved in crisis management and peacekeeping operations and meets its international obligations in the European Union, United Nations and OSCE and NATO Partnership of Peace program. The country will endeavour to improve continuously its peacekeeping capabilities by its experience gained in various international organizations. The international experience can be used in the development of the national defence force and in the maintenance administration of the ordered contingency in the disaster situation. The majority resources which are currently available for the country and which participate in the international operations belong to the national defence within the force. The Peacekeeping Act enacted in 2001 provides an opportunity for members of the Finnish Defence Force to involve in humanitarian and peacekeeping operations on basis of the UN or OSCE mandate. On the base of the provisions of the Act the government presents a proposal to the parliament and the president decides to participate or withdraw the quota. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defence are responsible for supervision and direction of the peacekeeping operation with in the political will while the Finnish Defence Force responsible for the practical implementation.

The funding of Finland's participation in the peacekeeping operation is distributed between Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defence. In general the common practice of budgetary planning is that the salaries of the personal involved in peacekeeping operation and fee of Finland's UN membership are covered by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, while costs of the materials or participation and military observers are covered by Department of Defence.

Finland has maintained a rapid reaction force for peacekeeping operations which consist of a two-infantry battalion, a technical battalion, a transport and CIMIC squadrons. The Finnish Navy also take part in the rapid reaction force with two vessels but currently the Finnish Air Force is not part of the unit established for peacekeeping.

Finland has been participating in the international peacekeeping operations since 1956. In the current operation about 35.000 troops have served abroad.<sup>16</sup> The country tried to gain international experiences during the formation and development of the classic peacekeeping operations period. Finland participated in four UN-led peacekeeping operations<sup>17</sup> during that time. It participated in lot of peacekeeping missions<sup>18</sup> from 1988 to present day.

The current missions are presented sketch map<sup>19</sup>:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Markku Nikila: Summary of Finland's role in international peacekeeping <a href="http://www.un.int/finland/peace.html#summary">http://www.un.int/finland/peace.html#summary</a> 2008-09-26 15:04

<sup>15:04

17:</sup>Four UN-led peacekeeping operation: 1)UNIF I.: <a href="http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co\_mission/unefi.htm">http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co\_mission/unefi.htm</a> 2008-10-26 17:18; 2) UNIPOM: <a href="http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co\_mission/unipom.htm">http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co\_mission/unipom.htm</a> 2008-10-26 17:28;

<sup>3)</sup> UNIF II: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co\_mission/unefii.htm 2008-10-26 17:49

<sup>4)</sup> UNOGIL: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co\_mission/unogil.htm 2008-10-26 19:00;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> ONUMOZ: <a href="http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co\_mission/onumoz.htm">http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co\_mission/onumoz.htm</a> 2008-10-26 18:50;

<sup>2)</sup> UNOSOM I: <a href="http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co\_mission/unosomi.htm">http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co\_mission/unosomi.htm</a> 2008-10-26 18:53;

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Resource: http://formin.finland.fi/public/download.aspx?ID=38854&GUID={93480D5E-EE22-4E3D-BEE5-FF15B0C38C4E} 2011-11-01; 11:17

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Finland participates in NATO-led military crisis operations in Afghanistan and Western Balkan.

#### FINLAND'S COOPERATION WITH NORDIC STATES

All of the Finnish security and defence political documents deal the cooperation of the Scandinavian states. The document<sup>20</sup> published in 2004 states that the primary aim is preserving security and stability in the countries of the region. Furthermore it states that Sweden is a priority partner for Finland within the group of the Nordic states. The report also draws attention to the prospects of developing new stable cooperation with Estonia Latvia and Lithuania.

The document<sup>21</sup> issued in 2009 stresses for priority the cooperation of the Scandinavian states. Finland wishes to deep preserve cooperation among states of the Nordic region. It makes every effort to further regional cooperation in the environmental, economic, public health, transport, and cultural developments. The document says that Finland support Nordic Dimension's policy of the European Union. Finland supports stability and development of the regional cooperation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Finland's Security and Defence Policy Strategy 2004: <a href="http://www.defmin.fi/files/311/2574">http://www.defmin.fi/files/311/2574</a> 2160 English White paper 2004 1 .pdf 2010-06-01 15:54

<sup>2010-06-01 15:54

&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Finland's Security and Defence Policy Strategy 2009: <a href="http://www.vnk.fi/julkaisukansio/2009/j11-turvallisuus-j12-sakerhets-j13-finnish/pdf/en.pdf">http://www.vnk.fi/julkaisukansio/2009/j11-turvallisuus-j12-sakerhets-j13-finnish/pdf/en.pdf</a>
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EU wishes to emphasize the Baltic Sea Strategy in the future. For Finland the regional cooperation of the Nordic States is very important. The gateway of North Sea and related task are that important for the country but cooperation in Baltic and Barents seas and Gulf of Finland have primary importance. The basis of the thinking of way of security and defence policy of Scandinavian states is formed by Baltic and Barents Sea, satellite detection, integrated Nordic information exchange and coordination and sea rescues and environmental action. When the ice thaws and gas and oil exploitation opens the Arctic became import region from the point of view economy and safety. European Union has not had Arctic Strategy and that was the reason while Finnish Security and Defence Policy have not paid attention to this region.

In this essay I selected and examined important parts of Finnish Security and Defence Policy. The document deals with a number of topics, which are also relevant, but the areas I highlighted in my study constitute the core of Finnish Security and Defence Policy.

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