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The Europeanisation of Norway's Security Identity

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[Abstract] In this working paper Pernille Rieker looks into the relationship between the European integration pro-cess and changes in Norway's national security identity. Has the domi-nant natio--nal discourse on security changed since the early 1990s? If so, how are these changes related to the recent acceleration of the European integration pro--cess? And to what extent are such European influences on national secur-ity identities related to formal membership in the EU? While there is reason to believe that a Europeanisation of national secur-ity policies has taken place, the question is whether we may speak of a pro-found change in identity, or merely an instrumental adaptation to external changes. Several researchers have studied the influence of this participation on national institutions and policies; less attention, however, has been given to the Europeanisation of Norway's security identity. This paper is an attempt to fill this gap.

The Europeanisation of Norway's Security Identity[1]

By Pernille Rieker

1.1 Introduction

This paper looks into the relationship between the European integration process and changes in Norway's national security identity.[2] Has the dominant national discourse on security changed since the early 1990s? If so, how are these changes related to the recent acceleration of the European integration process? And to what extent are such European influences on national security identities related to formal membership in the EU?

While there is reason to believe that a Europeanisation of national security policies has taken place, the question is whether we may speak of a profound change in identity, or merely an instrumental adaptation to external changes. Several researchers have studied the influence of this participation on national institutions and policies; less attention, however, has been given to the Europeanisation of Norway's security identity.

This paper, focusing on Norway, is a part of a larger research project that examines changes in security identities in Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden as related to European integration. Formally, Norway is not a member of the EU. On the other hand, it is a founding member of NATO and enjoys close relations with the European Union, through a wide range of special agreements, informal contacts and ad hoc constellations. Thus, Norway is a good case for examining the 'reach' of Europeanisation. The data presented here are based on information collected through interviews with officials in Norway's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its Ministry of Defence, in addition to officials in the Norwegian delegations to both NATO and the EU. The interviews were carried out between March 2001 and June 2001.

Although my focus is restricted to studying the impact of the EU, this does not mean that other factors – geopolitics, domestic policy processes, bureaucratic politics etc. – are unimportant. However, the intention here is to

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1   This paper was initially written for (and presented at) the fourth ECPR pan-European International Relations Conference held at the University of Kent in Canterbury 8–10 September 2001.
2   The dominant national security discourse will be used here as an indicator of this national identity. In order to identify such a discourse I examine the language used in official documents and speeches.

identify and interpret the impact of the European integration process – not to achieve an overall explanation for why Norway's security identity is as it is today.

I begin by presenting an alternative perspective on the concept of security and the EU as a security actor. I argue that the EU could be seen as constituting a tightly coupled security system potentially challenging and changing the security identities of nation-states. Second, I discuss the development of Norway's security identity in the post-Cold War era and examine how, and to what extent, the European Union has had an impact this identity. I conclude by identifying and analysing the character of the impact of the European integration process.

1.2 Security and integration

1.2.1 Towards an alternative way of studying security

The impact of the EU on national security identities will be dependent upon how security is defined, so an initial discussion of the concept of security seems mandated. Although few scholars today defend the narrow definition from the days of the Cold War, when security was seen exclusively in military terms, this does not mean that consensus exists on what a more broadly constructed conception entails. As Helga Haftendorn notes, there is 'no common understanding of what security is, how it can be conceptualised, and what its most relevant research questions are' (Haftendorn 1991: 15).

While some have argued that the concept of security should be expanded to include phenomena that in ordinary parlance are often seen as threats to acquired values – such as poverty, environmental hazards, pollution and economic recessions (Ullmann 1983; Westing 1986; Westing 1988; Mathews 1989) – others, like Stephen Walt, claim that a widened security concept 'would destroy its intellectual coherence, and make it more difficult to devise solutions…' (Walt 1991: 213). In *Security. A New Framework for Analysis* (1998)*,* Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde offer a compromise between these two positions. On the one hand, they take seriously the traditionalist complaint about intellectual incoherence by maintaining that an international security issue must be understood in the same way as the traditional military-political rendering of security. That is, security is about *survival* of a referent object (traditionally, but not necessarily, the state) in the face of existential threats. On the other hand, they disagree with the traditionalists that the only or the best way to deal with such incoherence is the retreat into a military core.

In their view, a more differentiated picture of the primary units of the international system can be obtained by using a neo-conventional security analysis that retains the traditional core of the concept of security (existential threats, survival), but is undogmatic as to both sectors (not only the military) and referent objects (not only the state). This approach allows us to widen and deepen the security agenda without destroying its intellectual coherence.

Further, according to Buzan et al., an issue becomes a security issue only when it is presented as a threat. 'Security' is thus seen as a self-referential practice, because it is in this practice that the issue becomes a security issue.

The special nature of security threats justifies the use of extraordinary measures to handle them (Buzan et al. 1998: 21). This means that something is designated as an international security issue because it can be argued that it is more important than other issues and should therefore have highest priority. When a (securitising) actor uses a rhetoric of existential threat, thereby taking an issue out of 'normal politics', we have what they call a case of 'securitisation'. According to the Copenhagen School[3], the process of securitisation is intersubjective and socially constructed: it is the actor who decides whether something is to be handled as an existential threat. However, a discourse that takes the form of presenting something as an existential threat to a referent object does not by itself create securitisation. This is what Buzan et al. term a 'securitising move'. An issue is securitised only when it is accepted as such by society. This process of securitisation is by some called a 'speech act' (Buzan et al. 1998: 24–26).

However, 'security' should not become elevated into a kind of Universal Good Thing. As Wæver (1995) has argued, this is a dangerously narrow view because the word 'security' might extend the call for state mobilisation to a broad range of issues. At best, security is a kind of stabilisation of conflictual or threatening relations, often through emergency mobilisation of the state. Although security in international relations may generally be preferable to insecurity, it might be better, as Wæver argues, to aim for 'desecuritisation' – shifting issues out of the emergency mode and into the normal bargaining processes of the political sphere.

While the Copenhagen School has made an important contribution to security studies and to the scholarly debate concerning the meaning of security, they are less clear about how to operationalise such new concepts as 'securitising move', 'securitisation' and 'desecuritisation'. The various indications they provide are open to different interpretations. One idea is that a discourse that takes the form of presenting something as an existential threat to a referent object does not by itself create securitisation. Rather, it is assumed that securitisation and desecuritising 'happen' in various stages, beginning with a *rhetorical phase*. In this initial phase the securitising actor merely makes a 'securitising move' – i.e. uses the rhetoric of existential threat (phase I). According to Buzan et al., an issue is not securitised until 'the audience accepts it as such' (Buzan et al. 1998: 25). One way of operationalising this shift is to claim that securitisation 'happens' when the securitising actor goes one step further and moves from general political deliberations or discourses to actual *decisionmaking*. When decisions are adopted along the same lines as expressed in the security discourse, without any strong popular resistance or protest, one may assume that public acceptance has been obtained (phase II). In order to desecuritise an issue, the securitising actor has to take measures to move the securitised issues out of the 'threat-defence sequence and into the ordinary public sphere' (Buzan et al. 1998: 29). According to the Copenhagen School, desecuritisation is the optimal long-range option, since it means not to have issues phrased as 'threats

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3   The Copenhagen school or the Copenhagen research group is a group of researcher (Ole Wæver, Barry Buzan and Jaap de Wilde) which argues that security is a particular type of politics applicable to a wide range of issues. Answering the traditionalists charge that this offer a constructivist operational method for distinguishing securitization from politization (Buzan et al. 1998).

against which we have countermeasures' (Buzan et al. 1998: 29). Even though it is a long-term option, one may claim that the desecuritising phase begins already when the countermeasures are implemented. This is why I have chosen to operationalise this phase as the *implementation phase* (phase III), although I realise that desecuritisation does not occur until the desired effects are obtained. Following the logic of the Copenhagen School we may understand this implementation phase rather as a desecuritising move.

1.2.2 The EU as a tightly coupled security community and a desecuritising actor

A useful concept for understanding security dynamics of the EU is that of 'pluralistic security communities', first developed by Karl W. Deutch (1957). By shifting the focus of security studies away from states and towards transnational social, political, economic, ecological, and moral forces, this concept, coupled with a constructivist approach, offers a way to reorder our thinking about international security in the post-Cold War period (Adler 1997: 276). Once established, a community is based on an 'inside-out model', where states see their interests as best served by being inside the community (Adler and Barnett 1998: 119). Security is no longer defined exclusively as the protection of sovereign national borders from military threat. Security becomes something to be achieved through benefits accrued from participating in a 'mature security community'.

According to Adler and Barnett, a 'mature security community' develops through three phases. In the initial (*nascent*) phase, governments do not explicitly seek to create a security community: rather, they begin to consider how they might coordinate their relations in order to increase mutual security. The second (*ascendant*) phase is characterised by the establishment of new institutions and organisations, reflecting both a tighter military coordination and a decreased fear that the other members of the community represent a threat. In turn, these networks result in changes in the cognitive structures, increasing the level of mutual trust and leading to the emergence of collective identities. This process is defined by an intensive and extensive network pattern between states that is likely to be produced by, and be a product of, various international institutions and organisations. However, a core state, or a coalition of states, could remain important for stabilising and encouraging the further development of the security community. Finally comes the third (*mature*) phase. Now it becomes increasingly difficult for the members of this 'region' to think only in instrumental ways or to prepare for war among themselves (Adler and Barnett 1998:50–58). The emergence of such a community can be identified through various indicators that reflect a high degree of trust, a shared identity and a common vision of the future. Two more important factors are low or no probability that conflicts will lead to military encounters, and a marked differentiation between those within and those outside the security community.

Adler and Barnett also distinguish between two ideal types of pluralistic security communities: 'loosely coupled' and 'tightly coupled' ones (Adler and Barnett 1998: 56–57). While the loosely coupled security community shows the minimal definitional properties – a transnational region made up of sovereign states whose people maintain dependable expectations of peace-

ful change – the tightly coupled one is more demanding in two respects. First, it constructs collective security system arrangements. Second, it possesses a system of rule endowed with common supranational and transnational institutions. The degree of coupling can be seen as a continuum. Different communities can be located differently on this continuum, and might vary over time. According to this definition, the trans-Atlantic community (NATO) can be characterised as a loosely coupled security community, while the EU could be regarded as a tightly coupled one. Moreover, as the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) becomes an increasingly institutionalised part of the EU, the EU is developing into an increasingly more tightly coupled actor.

How does the EU, as a tightly coupled security community, produce security? Here it is useful to distinguish between external and internal threats. The overall *internal* security argument is often used by EU representatives and state officials alike as 'the peace argument' of integration. Thus, integration is perceived as the bulwark against a return to Europe's past – one characterised by of balance of power and by wars.

Integration is thereby made an aim in itself. The alternative is seen as a self-propelling process among the European nation-states, a process that would reopen the previous insecurity caused by balance of power, nationalism, and war (Wæver 1996). This is a fundamental security argument that defines the EU's existence. According to this argument, the European integration process has managed to desecuritise the relations between the nation-states of Europe. In a speech at Louvain University in February 1996, Helmut Kohl even argued that 'the policy of European integration is in reality a question of war and peace in the 21st century'.

In addition to this overall internal security argument, or desecuritisation, there are several other internal security arguments in favour of continued and further integration. These arguments are sector based; further integration is often used as an argument in order to desecuritise potential threats towards different kinds of referent objects inside the EU. For instance, further economic integration – notably the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) process – is taking place within the 'first pillar' of the European Union in order to avoid economic insecurity. The project has also been securitised by becoming linked to the very existence of the EU as such. It has been claimed that the whole integration process will be threatened if the EMU fails (Santer 1999). Also other threats linked to this pillar have been used as arguments for further integration: among them the fear of increased unemployment, social marginalisation and pollution. Further integration inside the 'third pillar' of the European Union concerning justice and home affairs has been cited as an argument for combating internal threats such as terrorism, organised crime, international crime, drug trafficking, illegal immigration and xenophobia.

External threats are potential threats that come from outside the community and might threaten the stability of the security community as a whole. Also here the EU has the role as a desecuritising actor. Indeed, the EU can be said to have at least two such external security functions (Wæver 1997: 20).

The first is to be a disciplining power on the EU's 'near abroad'.[4] This refers to the role of the EU in exercising (implicit) 'power' by being attractive to the former East Bloc countries, and perhaps to the close South as well. The Stability Pact for Europe (the Balladur Plan of 1993), together with the 1999 Stability Pact for the Western Balkans, are attempts to formalise this role. Especially the Western part of Eastern Europe has been strongly influenced, or disciplined, by being located close to the EU. This 'magnet' has had an impact on foreign as well as domestic developments in these countries: politicians, realising that they were monitored by the EU, have accepted the standards set by the EU in relation to for instance democracy, minorities, privatisations, and sub-regional relations. As these have had expectations about gradually moving closer to and eventually joining the EU, it made sense to act according to anticipated Western reactions.

The second external security function is to have a potential role as direct intervener in specific conflicts in the community's near abroad. In order to become a credible desecuritising actor, the EU has to be able to develop both a military and a civilian capability to intervene in conflicts that may destabilise the continent. Recent commitments by the EU members indicate that the EU will have such a capability in 2003.

In 1991 Jacques Delors gave a speech at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London in which he analysed how aspects of security figured in European political and economic integration. He emphasised the importance of the wider notion of security, maintaining that 'the defence issue is being raised in a very different context today from forty years ago, when the founding fathers believed that a European Defence Community could lead to a political Europe' (Delors 1991: 2). In this speech, Delors saw security as an all-embracing concept dependent on the ability to create an attractive, harmonious society. Such a view of security covers not only problems of defence, but also problems of society at large. Delors went on to evaluate the security dynamics of the integration process and distinguished between *internal* and *external* security dynamics. Besides the main objective of the integration process, which has been to avoid another European war, he defined the internal security dynamics of the integration process as including efforts to combat 'new' threats such as international crime, terrorism, drug trafficking and pollution, as well as handling social and economic problems such as economic recession, unemployment and social exclusion. External security mechanisms he defined as efforts by the European Community to avoid conflicts in the community's 'near abroad', which might threaten the stability of the continent as a whole. In addition to the EU's external relations at large, these efforts include the enlargement process and developments towards the creation of a non-military and a military crisis management capability (Delors 1991).

The distinction between internal and external security has also been emphasised by the current president of the European Commission, Romano Prodi:

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4   This kind of power is equivalent to what Iver B. Neumann and Michael C. Williams refer to as 'symbolic power': the power which legitimates certains conceptions of identity and what is understood as appropriate action by the actors concerned (Williams and Neumann 2000: 6).

Europe needs security. External security must be achieved by reducing unrest and tension on our borders. Internal security must be achieved by combating crime, including organised crime. Crime needs to be tackled at its source, which often lies in institutional disorder, poor education, social injustice and the soulnessness of inner cities and suburbs. Security should also mean a safe environment and safe consumer products, in particular safe food *(Prodi 2000)*.

Today's EU stands as the most important desecuritising actor in a European security context where non-military threats have become increasingly important. The advantage of this system compared to other and looser security communities, such as the OSCE and NATO, is that it is the result of a high level of political integration and pooled sovereignty. The high level of political integration together with the comprehensive character of the integration process raises the EU's capability to handle both internal and external security challenges.

The distinction between internal and external mechanism is useful for analytical reasons, but this difference is not always clear in practice. This point is well illustrated in the 2000 report of the Commission/High representative, *Improving the Coherence and Effectiveness of the European Union Action in the Field of Conflict Prevention,* submitted to the European Council in Nice. It emphasises the need to 'to develop targeted common approaches to countries and regions at risk of conflict taking account of CFSP, development, trade and justice and home affairs issues' (Commission/High-Representative 2000). This was also further emphasised at the meeting of the European Council in Gothenburg in June 2000, with the adoption of 'A European Programme for the Prevention of Violent Conflicts'. The mechanisms referred to as internal security mechanisms in this paper also may be used for external security purposes. The added value of the EU as a security actor lies precisely in its capacity to coordinate different security mechanisms more easily than other more specialised international organisations such as NATO. The comprehensive character of the integration process and its high level of political integration facilitate this task. Even though the EU has not yet managed to desecuritise all sectors, it has started to implement measures aiming at desecuritisation – it has taken a *desecuritising move* in many sectors.

While a pluralistic security community does not erode the legitimacy of the state or replace the state, the more tightly coupled it is, the more will the role or identity of the state be transformed. The following section will examine the case of Norway since the end of the Cold War, asking whether this tightly coupled security community functioning as a desecuritising actor has had any effect on Norway's security identity.

1.3 Norway's security identity

1.3.1 From Atlanticism to Europeanism?

a) 1949–1992: Continued emphasis on territorial defence and NATO
During the first half of the 1990s Norway's security identity was highly traditional. While most other European states had moved beyond the Cold War and adopted a security thinking better suited to the new security context, Norwegian policymakers and security analysts continued to define security in traditional terms, emphasising territory as the major referent object and collective defence through NATO as the main security policy means.

While territorial defence has been the main focus of Norwegian security policy ever since independence in 1905 (Ulriksen 2001), the perceived need for participating in a military alliance has been more contested. Today, NATO membership is an important part of the Norwegian security identity, but this choice was not self-evident in 1949. Joining a military alliance like NATO represented a dramatic change for a country with little experience in foreign policy and with a preference for neutrality and isolationism.[5] It was the painful experience of Nazi occupation during the Second World War combined with a new concern with the USSR's expansionist policies and methods that eliminated neutrality as a viable security policy orientation for Norway. When attempts to create a Nordic defence cooperation failed in 1948/49, membership in the Atlantic Alliance gradually emerged as the best policy option in the post-war security context.

Over the next 40 years Norway was to become a devoted trans-Atlantic ally, due not least to its strategic geopolitical position. During the Cold War, Norway in fact attracted attention and diplomatic interest out of proportion to its size – military, economic or in terms of population. According to the Norwegian historian, Rolf Tamnes, Norway was the NATO country that received most support from the USA and its allies in proportion to its population. Tamnes describes Norway's relationship with the USA as so close as to represent "an alliance within the alliance" (Tamnes 1997: 61). If Norway's decision to join NATO was as an instrumental adaptation to external changes, more than 40 years in NATO transformed the Norwegian security identity into true 'Atlanticism'.

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5   In 1905 Norway gained its independence after nearly four centuries under the dominance of first Denmark (1536–1814) and then Sweden (1814–1905). The first Norwegian foreign minister, Jørgen Løvland (1905–1908), emphasised two ambitions for the foreign and security policy of the new nation: (1) to defend Norway's economic interests and (2) to keep the country out of war between the European powers. An active trade policy was to protect the country;s economic interests while non-alignment in peace and neutrality in war was the main strategy for protection against international conflicts. At the same time defence of international norms and the respect for international law was seen as important in order to guarantee the interests of a small state like Norway. Actually, foreign and security policy was not a major concern for Norway at that time. There was general agreement that conflicts and wars were the result of a hidden greatpower game and that small states were better off isolating themselves from such antics. The Norwegian Foreign Minister's negative conception of the other European states is evident in the following statement: "the aim is to keep us outside participation in those combinations of alliances and alliances that might drag us into wars together with some of the European warrior states" (Neumann and Ulriksen 1997).

Norway's special position within NATO was seriously challenged with the end of the Cold War – which may explains why Norway has been so ambivalent to this historically important transition. On the one hand, the end of the Cold War was something Norway had long waited and worked for, through UN and CSCE. On the other hand, Norwegians politicians feared that this change would lessen international interest in the Nordic region. While the breakdown of the Soviet Union, which reduced military concerns and automatically increased the influence of the European integration process, was seen as a positive development by most other European states, the Norwegian political leadership was sceptical. It feared that a more independent European security policy would reduce the US interest in Europe, leaving Norway more vulnerable to possible pressure from Russia. This worry was expressed in the report from the 1990 report of the Norwegian Defence Commission:

> Europe must under no circumstances send signals that might reduce NATO's role or weaken the basis for the US engagement in the Alliance (NOU 1992, my translation).

Norway was one of the last countries to accept NATO's new strategic concept of 1991. This is a further indication that Norway was having difficulties in moving beyond the Cold War (Sjursen 1999).

The historical changes were not totally ignored by the Norwegian leadership, however. In a White Paper from 1993 (Forsvarsdepartement 1993) the Ministry of Defence argued that the conditions governing Norwegian security had changed. and that Nordic security had to be viewed in a wider European perspective. While this resulted in the establishment of the 'Telemark Battalion' for NATO's newly established immediate reaction forces (IRF)[6], it did not change the main thrust of Norwegian security thinking. National defence against a potential military invasion continued to be given priority. As Iver Neumann and Ståle Ulriksen have claimed, this White Book was largely based on the same national security thinking as that of the Cold War period (Neumann and Ulriksen 1997). Despite some paragraphs referring the new security context and the importance of non-military challenges (Forsvarsdepartement 1993: 32), the emphasis remained on the need for a credible national defence. Russia was not seen as a direct threat at that time, but considerable stress was placed on the instability in Russia and the possibility of the return of an authoritarian Russian regime (Forsvarsdepartement 1993: 51).

This continued traditional security policy explains why there was scant enthusiasm in Norway for the new NATO, with the establishment of its Combined Joint Task Forces (CJTF) and Partnership for Peace (PfP) (Archer 1996).[7] While these changes made it possible for NATO to function as a collective security organisation with a more flexible military structure better adapted to handle what most members perceived as the new challenges, the

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6 At the NATO summit in Rome in 1991 the NATO countries adopted a new strategic concept which included a new structure of forces. It was decided to create multinational forces for rapid reaction, the so-called 'Reaction Forces'.

7 These decisions were taken at the NATO summit in Brussels in January 1994.

Norwegian military and government still maintained that NATO's chief task should continue to be collective defence.

Even though there was some understanding of the changed security context, security policy remained traditional in Norway long after the other European countries had abandoned this mode of perceiving security and threats in Europe (Wæver and Wiberg 1992: 33). Because of this perception of its geopolitical 'reality', neither the political leadership or the Establishment questioned what Norway's security policy should be; what should be defended, and against what threat. How 'Norway' should be interpreted was not questioned: the referent object would remain the land-based geographical unit (Neumann and Ulriksen 1997). According to the Norwegian defence tradition, the main task of defence is to mobilise and lead the people in defence of the national territory. This has, as Ståle Ulriksen (2001) notes, created a rather limited conception of what security policy is all about. It also helps to explain the traditional definition of security policy still found in Norway. As in 1905, there still is little understanding about using the military as a *political* instrument. The chief task of the national military remains territorial defence. As Ulriksen points out, this tradition prevents Norwegian policymakers from understanding the complexities of today's security context (Ulriksen 2001: 60).

b) 1992–1994: A compromise between 'Atlanticism' and 'Europeanism'
Even though the Norwegian security identity continued to be dominated by territorial defence, some important non-military or 'soft' security initiatives were either initiated or at least strongly supported by the Norwegian government in the early 1990s. The first initiative came in March 1992 when the Danish and German Foreign Ministers invited the Foreign Ministers of Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Russia, Sweden and a representative of the European Commission to meet in Copenhagen. The aim was to strengthen cooperation among the Baltic Sea States and to decide on the establishment of a Council of the Baltic Sea States (CBSS). The Ministers found that the recent dramatic changes in Europe heralded a new era of European relations, where the confrontation and division of the past had been replaced by partnership and cooperation. An enhanced and strengthened Baltic Sea cooperation was seen as a natural and logical consequence of these events. The Ministers agreed that the Council of the Baltic Sea States should serve as an overall regional forum focusing on intensified cooperation and coordination among the Baltic Sea States. The aim of such cooperation should be to achieve a genuinely democratic development in the Baltic Sea region, as well as greater unity between the member countries, and also to secure a favourable economic development.

While participating in this framework was seen as important to Norway, developing a similar framework for cooperation in the Barents region was seen as even more important. The Norwegian Foreign Minister, Thorvald Stoltenberg, therefore presented the Barents Region Initiative, calling for cooperation between north-western Russia and the Nordic states north of the Arctic Circle. The initiative presupposed a lasting community of interest between East and West and emphasised civilian more than military pro-

blems.[8] The Kirkenes Declaration, which established the Barents Council in January 1993, followed the same logic as the Council of the Baltic Sea States, with representatives from all the Nordic countries, Russia and the European Commission.[9]

While the national security thinking remained dominated by NATO and territorial defence, the Norwegian power elite found a compromise with the Barents cooperation initiative of 1992, which leaned to the 'European' side. NATO was still perceived as the most important security actor, but Norwegian policymakers also recognised the need for other initiatives and saw the potential of the EU in this respect. Johan Jørgen Holst, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, described the Barents Region as a Euro-Arctic Nordic-Russian 'meeting place', requiring attention from the EU and aiming to 'normalise and stabilise' relationships between East and West, as contribution to 'a new European security structure' (Tunander 1996: 55). Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland also emphasised the importance of the European dimension in this cooperation initiative:

> We need a stronger European basis when developing the cooperation eastwards
> (Quoted in Tamnes 1997: 240)

However, despite increased recognition of the importance of the EU, there was still a tendency to interpret these initiatives as being general *foreign policy* rather than part of *national security policy*. Another indication of such a compromise was the explicit support for Norwegian EU membership given by 'Atlanticists' such as General Fredrik Bull Hansen and Professor Olav Riste, who emphasised the important security role of the Union (Tunander 1996: 55). This Europeanisation must be understood as a reaction to the recently signed Maastricht Treaty, which transformed the European Community into a European Union that aimed a common security and defence policy.

This new European dimension in Norwegian foreign policy marked the beginning of a closer relationship between Norway and the EU. This started in 1992 with the signing of the European Economic Agreement (EEA), the Norwegian application for EU membership, together with associated membership in the WEU and explicit support for the integration aims laid down in the Maastricht Treaty.[10] Initially, this did not mean any radical change in Norway's overall security identity, which remained dominated by territorial defence, NATO and the Atlantic dimension. While the need for military strength through NATO in northern Europe continued to be emphasised, the

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8   The Barents Initiative includes the following fields of cooperation: economy, trade, science and technology, tourism, the environment, infrastructure, educational and cultural exchange as well as the improvement of the situation of the indigenous peoples in the North. At the second meeting of the Barents Council in 1994, health issues were included as a specific area of cooperation. Finally, the Council decided at its sixth meeting in 1999 to include youth policy as one of its development areas.

9   Apart from its seven members (Finland, Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, the Russian Federation and the Commission of the European Union) it also includes nine observers: the United Kingdom, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Poland, the USA, Canada, Japan and Italy.

10 The Norwegian application was submitted in November 1992 after a hefty debate within the ruling Labour Party under the leadership of Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland. The EEA agreement was adopted in October that year.

orthodox 'Atlanticism' was gradually losing support; the EU was perceived as a complement to NATO on the soft security side:

> Security and stability is not only a military challenge. Political and economical means are increasingly important. It is the EU that possesses the broadest range of such means […]. NATO membership and cooperation between North America and Europe are still essential for the security of Norway (Utenriks-departementet 1993–94: 14, my translation).

However, the interval between the signing of the treaty of accession in June 1994 and the EU membership referendum held on 28 November 1994 led to a major change of attitude among members of the Norwegian foreign policy elite. This period is crucial to understanding the foreign policy cooperation within the EU, as Norway participated fully in the various working groups established under the CFSP. In this interim period Norway was also connec-ted to the COREU network, a restricted data forum for exchange of informa-tion on foreign and security policy issues. Even though the negative result of the 1994 Norwegian referendum brought an abrupt end to this learning pro-cess, it led to an increased understanding of the EU as being a political pro-ject as well, one that played an increasingly important role in the field of security policy (Sjursen 1999). As we shall see, this compromise between 'Atlanticism' and 'Europeanism' that Norway reached in the early 1990s opened the way for an even closer relationship with the EU in the second half of decade.

c) 1995–2001: Moving closer to the EU
Since the EEA agreement already regulated Norway's relationship to the EU's first pillar, this period led to a strengthening of its relationship to the second and the third pillars. First, a *political dialogue* in relation to the EU's CFSP was established. Although cooperation in the sphere of foreign policy in the EU had been initiated in the 1970 with the establishment of the Euro-pean Political Cooperation (EPC) little interest had been shown from the Norwegian side. At that time Norway conducted its foreign and security policies through NATO, and any other (competing) multilateral fora, which did not include the United States, were regarded with suspicion (Knutsen 2000). The new dialogue of the 1990s has given Norway a possibility to join the EU's foreign and security policy statements and common positions. The number of such joint statements has increased. This is partly a result of Nor-way being invited more often by the EU to join in, but also as a result of an unofficial Norwegian policy to follow EU statements as far as possible. Nor-way has also been invited to participate in several working groups under CFSP – currently those working with security, the peace process in the Middle East, Western Balkans, Russia/CIS, OSCE, disarmament, weapon export and non-proliferation. The Norwegian government has also managed to obtain meetings twice a year at the political level concerning the CFSP, but their importance has proven rather limited. These meetings normally take place during the second day of sessions of the European Council, which means that the EU countries are seldom represented by members of their governments. Secondly, Norway has also worked at establishing a closer

link to the EU's third pillar concerning Justice and Home affairs. These efforts resulted in an agreement between the EU and Norway/Iceland in 1996, aimed at regulating the two countries' participation in the Schengen arrangements, which included police cooperation and common border control.

With the EEA agreement, the political dialogue and the Schengen Agreement, Norway had now managed to establish a close link to several major areas of the integration process. Some have characterised this situation as a kind of 'Class B' membership in the European Union. (Claes and Trangøy 1999) – extended participation, but without the possibility of influencing decisions taken at the EU level.

The Amsterdam Treaty of 1997, which led to an acceleration of the integration process in the two intergovernmental EU pillars, made the situation even more problematic. Concerning the second pillar, the decisions taken in Amsterdam opened the way towards integration of the WEU into the EU. That could mean that Norway's special member status in the WEU would be lost. This status had enabled Norwegian officials and the political leadership to participate at all levels, without the right to vote as the sole limitation. The expressed ambition of the Norwegian government was therefore to obtain a similar status in the future EU arrangements. This need became even more important after the French–British summit in St. Malô in December 1998, when France and Britain, for the first time in the history of European integration, agreed upon the need for an independent European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). This initiative was followed up by the EU countries throughout 1999. Even though Norway's initial ambition had been to convince the EU members to transfer Norway's special WEU member status, this was soon seen as unrealistic.[11] Comparing Norway's initial ambitions with the outcome of the Helsinki European Council in December 1999 when the ESDP was formally launched clearly shows the Norway's overly ambitious diplomatic efforts had failed. The European Council suggested the establishment of 'appropriate arrangements' for the participation of non-EU allies, under condition that the decision-making autonomy of the EU was retained.[12] While the longer-term importance of these meetings is difficult to foresee, the few sessions that already have taken place have been rather disappointing. Instead of being invited to participate in the debate on how to conduct European security policy, third countries have been allocated a

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11 In October 1999 the Norwegian government issued a memo in connection with the EU's preparation for the European Council in Helsinki. The PM expressed Norway's support for the development of an ESDP, but also proposed to the EU how the 6 non-EU allies could be involved in the decision-making structures. This proposal involved day-to-day consultations in the proposed Political and Security Committee and in subsidiary working groups. The non-EU allies would have the right to speak and make motions and have access to all relevant documents and information. This format would also be the basis for regular consultations in the proposed Military Committee.
(http://www.atlanterhavskomiteen.no/publikasjoner/andre/dokumenter/memo.htm)

12 Later (at the European Council in Feira and Nice) this rather vague suggestion was made more concrete, opening the way for meetings between the EU and all the candidate-countries together with Iceland and Norway (the so-called 15+15), but also some special meetings between the EU and the non-EU allies (the so-called 15+6). Participation will be different in the operational phase, where the contributing non-members will be invited to participate in an ad hoc committee of contributors. In such a phase, the 'appropriate arrangements' will imply day-to-day consultations and discussions on how to conduct the operation.

basically passive role in which they are merely informed of the status of the EU's work in this area.

Concerning the third pillar, the Amsterdam Treaty also introduced some important changes with consequences for Norway. The EU countries decided to integrate the Schengen cooperation into the first pillar, which meant it would be handled within the EU institutions and no longer as intergovernmental cooperation. The agreement of 1996 was therefore no longer valid, so Norway and Iceland had to negotiate a new agreement in order to ensure themselves at least some influence in the decision making process. The new agreement, signed in May 1999, resulted in the establishment of a common forum between the EU and the two non-members, where Schengen questions would be discussed. As part of this arrangement Norway also joined the European passport-free zone together with the other Nordic states in March 2001.

To summarise, even though Norway is still a non-member to the EU, the Norwegian government has made numerous efforts to establish a close relationship with the EU in all major areas of the integration process. This indicates a move towards greater Europeanism in Norway's foreign policy. In the next section we examine how this closer relationship has affected Norway's post-Cold War security identity.

1.3.2 A Europeanisation of national security identity

In the relationship between the integration process and Norwegian security identity, it is the ESDP process that has received greatest attention. As a reaction to this process, which started with the St. Malô summit in December 1998, the Norwegian security discourse came to place more emphasis on Europeanism and international crisis management. Although this marks an important change in Norway's traditional security approach, it only implies another way of interpreting the main tasks of the defence forces. A more radical transformation would involve a totally new understanding and definition of security. Such a change would mean securitisation and desecuritisation in areas not traditionally seen as security aspects. Some moves in that direction can be identified at the EU level, as speeches by Jacques Delors and Romani Prodi indicate. This section deals with both types of security.

a) Towards 'Europeanism' and international crisis management
The first important change came in 1999, with Norway's explicit support for the ESDP process and recognition of the need for transforming the national defence forces. This change was a reaction to a process which started with the Amsterdam Treaty in June 1997, but its importance was not recognised until after the St. Malô summit in December 1998. The fact that the Norwegian government at that time was a coalition of parties all opposing EU membership makes the influence of this process on Norwegian security thinking and policy even more notable (Knutsen 2000: 26).

The February 1988 White Book on defence shows that the government was at first rather reluctant to this process (Forsvarsdepartement 1998). Even though the White Paper states that active international involvement, substantive contributions to NATO's mutual defence arrangements and participation in peace operations even outside NATO's borders, should form an important

part of Norwegian security and defence policy, suspicion towards a development of an exclusive European security arrangement is clear and no important initiatives for changing Norway's defence forces are proposed. What is emphasised instead are the negative aspects of giving the EU a defence role, including negative views on a possible EU-WEU merger. The White Book stresses the adverse consequences of the EU developing into a 'defence alliance', maintaining that such a development could harm the forthcoming EU enlargement because an EU role in the sphere of security and defence could alienate Russia and cause strains in the EU–Russian relationship (Knutsen 2000: 22). For a long time, Norway denied the importance of CFSP (See for example Bondevik 1998), and until the St. Malô declaration the Norwegian government considered Britain's traditional reluctant position to security cooperation in the EU as a guarantee for a continued Atlantic solution.

In 1999 came a major change in how the Norwegian leadership perceived the emerging ESDP, which also led to increased awareness of urgent need to transform the military forces. In January 1999, only a month after the French British summit in St. Malô, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Knut Vollebæk, addressed the Norwegian parliament with a 'Statement on the Government's European policy, with emphasis on relations with the EU'. Vollebæk stated that the

> …experience gained from the peace process in the Middle East, the implementation and the follow-up of the Dayton Agreement in Bosnia and the efforts to reach cease-fire and a peaceful solution in Kosovo have strengthened the position of those who feel that the EU should not only make an economic contribution but also play a more prominent role […] if the EU should become the framework of political decisions on European security and crisis management to a greater extent than at present, the natural result would be for Norway and the EU to deepen their existing cooperation within the framework of the current arrangement for political dialogue (Vollebæk 2000).

He also emphasised that it was important for Norway to participate in ESDP so as to avoid losing influence in NATO:

> The continuation of full Norwegian participation in European security policy cooperation is also important, especially for our position in NATO. […] Norway's rights as an ally, and as an associated member of WEU, should be maintained in any future solutions that may change the cooperation between the EU, the WEU and NATO (Vollebæk 2000).

Norway's prime concern was not the development of an EU dimension in the sphere of security and defence per se, but rather the fear of being excluded from the process, the fear that Norway's new status would be inferior to its current position as an associated member of the WEU. In other words, the significant change in Norway's attitude towards the security and defence dimension in the EU was rooted in a fear of being marginalised.

An increased European focus was also evident in the reorganisation of the defence forces. The Norwegian government submitted a report to the Parliament in June 1999, stressing the need to reform Norway's defence

forces, so as to improve the national capability to take part in peace support operations led by NATO or the EU (Forsvarsdepartementet 1998). This report must be understood as a major step towards Norwegian adaptation to the new security context and especially as a reaction to the recently launched process in the EU. In it, the government recommends the establishment of an Armed Forces Task Force for international operations, to consist of units from all branches of the armed forces and include more than 3500 personnel. It is to be capable of fulfilling both NATO Article 5 as well as non-Article 5 missions and tasks, as well as being answerable to the WEU. It will also be assigned to future European force structures. (Knutsen 2000: 24)

This development indicates that while Norway's security thinking may still be dominated by a focus on territorial defence, and firmly rooted upon conscription, there is now greater emphasis on the capacity to participate in crisis management operations abroad.

This modest move from territorial defence to international crisis management has also led to an increased awareness of the need for a more radical adaptation of Norway's security thinking in general. Thus, in July 1999 the Norwegian government decided to establish a Defence Policy Commission, mandated to:

> …review Norwegian defence policy, its scope and objectives. Our current defence is based on general conscription, allied coordination and international cooperation, and civil society is heavily involved in national defence as a whole. The Commission us charged with assessing how these instruments can be applied and adapted to meet the challenges of the future. (Quoted in Knutsen 2000: 30)

The conclusions of the Defence Commission, presented in late June 2000, indicated that the Norwegian armed forces were in deep crisis:

> The idea of nationally balanced forces exists only in rhetoric. The adjustments made during the 1990s have to a considerable extent failed, despite good intentions and high ambitions. The infrastructure and organisation of the forces are too large. (…) A continued turn away from the singular focus on traditional invasion defence towards a broader and more balanced structuring of the forces is needed. The future forces must be flexible, i.e. able to meet the challenges that may arise in the short and medium term, and able to adapt to a fundamentally different situation in the longer term (Quoted in Knutsen 2000: 47).

On the basis of these conclusions as well as a report from the Chief of Defence (Forsvaret 2000), the government submitted a report to the Parliament in February 2001 (Forsvarsdepartementet 2001), proposing radical changes in the defence forces. The most important change is an increase in the special troops trained for international crisis management, but there are also some changes in analysing the security environment.

It is the acceleration of the process towards an independent European crisis management capability that has made it important for Norway to adapt its security policy. While there was a bad link between the description of the new security context and the Norwegian security policy in the early 1990s,

the government has now managed to present a more overall and coordinated picture (Forsvarsdepartementet 2001).

However, reactions to this report reflect a continued traditional approach, as well as a existing gap between the Norwegian Establishment and the Norwegian people. When the Defence Minister Bjørn Tore Godal declared in an interview with Norway's main newspaper, *Aftenposten,* that Russia no longer represents a threat to Norway, he was widely criticised for this statement *(Aftenposten,* 11 February 2001). Reactions to the speech held by NATO's Secretary General, Lord Robertson, in Oslo in February 2001 also reveal the disparities between Norway's security thinking and the dominant line in NATO *(Aftenposten,* 3 February 2001). While the Norwegian Establishment may recognise the changed security context and the need for greater Europeanism and international crisis management, the Norwegian public still wants to retain territorial defence and NATO as the main ingredients of national security identity. The conclusions of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Defence concerning the governmental proposal show that Norwegians are not yet ready for overly radical changes. It is especially the conservative parties that insist on the traditional understanding of security (Forsvarskomiteen 2001).

Despite this continued traditionalism, the ESDP process has initiated a development in Norway – towards greater acceptance of the EU as an important security actor and towards a stronger focus on international crisis management. The political leadership has begun to review the traditional understanding of national security *(securitising move)* and has also taken some decisions in this direction *(securitisation).*

b) Towards a comprehensive national security thinking
Norway's security policy continues to be defined basically in military terms. While other referent objects than the national territory are now recognised and other challenges are formulated in security terms (securitisation), the focus remains on military means in order to meet these new challenges.

Since the early 1990s the EU has been focusing more on a broader understanding of security and on promoting this as the added value of the EU as a security actor. This added value lies in the EU's being able to coordinate different security mechanisms (internal and external) more easily than other, more specialised international organisations (Delors 1991; Prodi 2000). This section asks whether we can identify a similar development towards a comprehensive security thinking on the national level in Norway, and whether the EU has had any influence on this process.

There still is a difference between how the new security context is defined, and what are considered the most important security policy means. In the official discourse new threats are frequently described as being challenges like international crime, pollution, terrorism, or the vulnerability of modern society's dependence on information technology *(securitising move).* However, the security policy decisions *(securitisation)* that are adopted and the implementation *(desecuritising move)* of these reflect a rather traditional type of security thinking. In a 1998 speech, Norwegian Foreign Minister Knut Vollebæk stated:

> Security policy has become a more complex matter. This means that the Foreign Minister's overall responsibility for security policy is getting more challenging. The distinction between domestic and foreign policy is totally different today (…) and this is affecting how one defines security. For instance, parts of our environmental policy are now defined as a security aspect.

But even though he recognises the complexity of the security context, he still emphasises NATO and collective defence as the most important security means.

> Even though Europe has changed, it is the cooperation in NATO that remains the main basis for our and Europe's security (...) The capability and will to collective defence remain the most important elements of the NATO cooperation (Vollebæk 1998).

Thus, even though such 'soft' security initiatives as the Barents cooperation, the EU and NATO enlargement processes, and the stability pact for the Balkans are perceived as important for regional stability, priority is still given to 'hard' security, to NATO, collective defence and some elements of international crisis management.

While the main change in the Norwegian security thinking has been limited to the role of the defence forces, we can note a slight tendency towards increased emphasis on the need for a more comprehensive approach to security that includes both civilian and military means. The EU has paid considerable attention to the need for better coordination between civil and military crisis management and for comprehensive conflict prevention, and the Norwegian political leadership has been supportive. However, even though these developments are lauded in speeches by the Norwegian political leadership (securitising move) there is little to indicate a transformation of national security policy to improve coordination between civilian and military component of international crisis management. While Norway has long experience of participating in international police operations through UN, WEU and OSCE,[13] these have traditionally been administered independently and have therefore not entered into the overall security thinking. In a recent speech concerning a wider security concept, the Norwegian Foreign Minister Torbjørn Jagland claimed that:

> Complex conflicts are difficult to solve. An overall approach and extended cooperation between different actors are needed. The contribution may vary between military units, assistance in order to build up national police forces and functioning legal systems to humanitarian aid or more traditional and long-term economic aid (Jagland 2001, my translation).

While the need for a coordinated approach is recognised also in the latest defence proposition issued by the government (Forsvarsdepartementet 2001: 36) (securitising move), there is no mention of specific proposals for facilitating such coordination in the future (securitisation). On the other hand, Norway's participation in the Stability Pact for the Western Balkans and the

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13 Norway participated in 24 international police operations between 1989 and 2000.

fact that Norwegian officials are heading the working group with responsibility for internal security might draw greater attention to this aspect.

Despite few concrete changes towards a more comprehensive security thinking, we can at least identify some processes that indicate a perceived need to evaluate the current security context. One example is the decision taken by Norwegian government in September 1999, to establish an independent commission to evaluate the current Norwegian security environment. The so-called 'Vulnerability Commission' delivered its report on 14 August 2000 (NOU 2000) at the same time as the Defence Commission (NOU 2000) and the Chief of Defence (Forsvaret 2000) presented their reports on the transformation of the Norwegian defence forces. The Vulnerability Commission's report identified a long list of current challenges to national security (terrorism, cyber warfare, pollution, diseases etc.), and made a proposal that indicated the need for the establishment of a Ministry responsible for coordinating the different national security policy means.

Initially, it had been intended that these three reports together should provide a comprehensive basis for the government's work on the forthcoming proposition on the transformation of the Norwegian security policy in general and the transformation of the defence forces in particular (Singsås 2000). However, while the two other reports were referred to this proposition, the report of the Vulnerability Commission was totally ignored (Forsvarsdepartementet 2001). The fact that these aspects were overlooked indicates the difficulties of integrating non-military challenges into the overall national security thinking. While there is general agreement on the need to focus on a broader range of threats[14] (securitising move), there are great difficulties in accepting radical changes in order to meet these new challenges (securitising).

While many of these new threats are challenges that the EU has been taking seriously, there is scant mention of the EU in this respect. When the EU is mentioned it is rather in relation to the ESDP process and the EU's relationship to NATO – indicating that any EU influence on this part of Norway's national security thinking is less important than its influence on the transformation of the defence forces. However, the fact that Norway signed a new Schengen Agreement in 1999 led to recognition of many potential 'new' threats. These were discussed by the Vulnerability Commission, which was established only a few months after the signing of this agreement. While few of the Commission's conclusions have led to tangible results, the Ministry's proposition on the transformation of the defence forces made some changes with reference to the Schengen Agreement. These include an increase in the tasks and responsibilities of the

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14 In a speech held by the State Secretary in the Ministry of Defence, Øyvind Singsås, (junior Minister or something, and in what Ministry?)in April 2000 many new challenges were referred to without excluding the traditional territorial threat. In fact he distinguished between four different groups of risks. The first was the traditional territorial threat, which in his eyes cannot be totally excluded even though there is no such threat against any of the NATO countries for the moment. The second group of risks was regional instability in NATOs near abroad, which could threaten the stability to one or more of the allies. The third group of risks is the proliferation weapons of mass destruction. Finally he refers to terrorism and international crime as important security challenges. Related to this he also emphasises the need for cooperation with the police forces for handling these kind of challenges (Singsås 2000).

Coast Guard and the forces supervising Norway's border with Russia (Forsvarsdepartementet 2001: 33).

To summarise, we may note some movement towards a broader security approach, but the main focus of Norway's security thinking remains on the military aspects. Even though the comprehensive security thinking of the EU has had some influence, the Europeanisation of national security is most clearly seen in relation to the ESDP process. Here the discourse has been closely linked to developments in the EU, and it has been matched with decisionmaking activities. In the other areas of security, the linkage to the EU is less evident. Although the discourse has shifted slightly, it has not attracted much attention, nor has it been accompanied by decisions.

1.4 Instrumental adaptation or identity change?

We have seen that the EU has had an important impact on the development of Norway's security identity since the end of the Cold War. The character and the strength of this Europeanisation have changed over time according to different dimensions of security. I will conclude by discussing whether this Europeanisation of the Norwegian security discourse represents a radical change in national security identity, or is simply a perceived instrumental and necessary adaptation to external changes.

A profound change in identity often takes place over time and exhibits various phases, and it could be related to short-term instrumental adaptations. This is why I have chosen to understand these changes as part of a *socialisation process.* Since national security discourse is closely linked to national identity, changes tend to be slow. According to Risse and Sikkink (1999) such a socialisation process has five phases.

The starting point is a situation where the traditional discourse is still dominant. The political leaders employ the traditional security rhetoric even though the international context has changed. As we have seen, a traditional security discourse continued longer in Norway than in many other European states. This discourse was characterised by a continued emphasis on territorial defence and collective defence through NATO, combined with continued scepticism towards the European integration process.

In the second phase, a new political discourse begins to be heard, with some groups at the domestic level adopting this discourse and trying to convince the authorities. Even though the initial reaction by the political leaders is a defence of the traditional policy, this defence may be seen as indicating that a process of socialisation is already under way – otherwise there would be no need to defend the traditional policy. We can identify the beginnings of a debate concerning the Norwegian security identity as early as in 1992; this came as a reaction to the Maastricht Treaty and the creation of a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Despite increased recognition of the potential of the EU on the soft security side – especially with the Baltic Sea and Barents cooperation initiatives, where the EU was expected to play an important role – the official national security discourse was still dominated by a traditional approach to security. However, these initiatives together with the EEA agreement and the Norwegian application for EU membership indicate a certain Europeanisation of the Norwegian foreign

policy – or at least that the orthodox Atlanticism of the Cold War period was beginning to lose support. While Norway's security policy remained dominated by a rather traditional approach, the door is gradually opened to admit for a closer relationship between Norway and the EU after the November 1994 referendum. A debate concerning the role of the defence forces started after the NATO summit in Brussels in January 1994, where NATO made decisions concerning CJTF and PfP (NATO's new tasks) and recognised the importance of the Maastricht Treaty and the development of a European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI). While official Norwegian policy continued to give priority to collective defence, some started to emphasise the need for a change towards Europeanism and international crisis management (Neumann and Ulriksen 1997).

In the third phase of the socialisation process, the domestic political leaders realise that adopting a new way of thinking and changing their policy is important if they are to obtain influence, and to ensure (traditional) national interests in a changed international context. Actors now adapt incrementally to norms in response to external and internal pressures, initially for purely instrumental reasons. Slowly but surely, governments become entrapped in their own rhetoric and statements. In relation to the Norwegian security identity, we can identify such a process with the ESDP process. In the beginning the Norwegian political leadership was reluctant; then, after the St. Malô summit in December 1998, the Norwegian government started to fear that Norway would become marginalised in the new European security context. The Norwegian reactions to this process indicate what was initially an instrumental adaptation, followed by tendencies of a more profound change, or at least recognition of the need for such a change. One expression of this is the June 1999 decision on the establishment of a defence policy commission mandated to review Norwegian defence policy, its scope and objectives. Far more difficult is finding examples of a similar process in relation to the development towards a more comprehensive security thinking. However, the new Schengen Agreement of 1999 may have had some influence. This agreement made many of the 'new' challenges more real, as it meant a common border control with the EU. The most important national initiative for evaluating such challenges was the decision to establish the Vulnerability Commission in September 1999. And then, the Commission's conclusions, presented in August 2000, were set aside, and not even mentioned in the latest report on the transformation of the Norwegian security and defence policy – clearly indicating the difficulties of integrating these aspects into the larger security discourse.

In the fourth phase, governments are convinced/persuaded that norm compliance is the 'right thing', and not only an instrumental adaptation to a changed international context. National governments might then change their rhetoric, gradually accepting the validity of community norms and beginning to engage in an argumentative process with their opponents, at home and abroad. While adaptation refers to an instrumental adjustment to international norms irrespective of discursive practices, socialisation through discourse emphasises processes of communication, argumentation, and persuasion. There are few signs that Norwegian policymakers have reached such a stage in the socialisation process, but we can sense an increased understand-

ing of the EU. Until 2000, Norwegian relations with the EU were handled under the Division for Trade in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, whereas NATO matters and relations with the USA or the former Soviet Union were dealt with in is Division for Security Policy. Then., with the new Labour government in 2000, a Department for Political cooperation with the EU was established This indicates that the importance of the EU as a political actor (and not only an economic power) had been recognised in Norwegian foreign policy. The recent White Book on Norway's relations with Europe/EU also marks a shift in this direction, by mentioning to the latest developments in the integration process and emphasising the need for renewed debate on Norway's relations to the EU (Utenriksdepartementet 2000). According to the government, recent developments within the EU) make the existing cooperation agreements insufficient for Norway. Although these ministerial changes indicate increased recognition of the EU as a political actor, they have its limitations, since the military dimension of the EU – the ESDP – is the purview of the Division for Security Policy, where NATO still is seen as the dominant actor. This continued emphasis on the trans-Atlantic link can be explained by Norway's reluctance to accept that the EU is developing towards an important independent actor also in military terms.

While we can recognise the first three or four phases in the development of Norwegian security thinking, there are no signs of it moving further. According to Risse and Sikkink, the fifth and final phase of the socialisation process comes when the international norms become institutionalised in the domestic discourse This phase is characterised by learning and not only adaptation to external changes. The more the political elites accept the validity of norms and the more they engage in a dialogue about norm implementation, the more likely are they to institutionalise these norms in domestic practices. There is nothing to indicate that the Norwegian security discourse has reached this stage yet. This will probably not happen until Norway is a full paricipant in the structures of the European Union.

This analysis has shown that it is feasible to speak of the Europeanisation of Norwegian security thinking. As yet, however, this Europeanisation has stayed on the instrumental level – Norway has not arrived at the stage in the socialisation process where its national security identity is truly challenged. Profound changes require a certain level of participation, but Norway's participation in EU institutions is limited, and there is little room for discussions and debate. The various agreements that Norway has reached with the EU imply a certain level of participation, but this does not mean that Norwegian officials and policymakers are participating directly in the discussions/debates through which EU's security policy is defined. On the other hand, the increased recognition of the EU as a political actor might be a result of the many informal and bilateral contacts that Norway has managed to establish during the past decade.

In summary, we can illustrate the development of Norway's security identity by distinguishing between two dimensions of security and three phases, as shown in the chart below.

Europeanisation of Norway's security identity

	1990–1992	*1992–1995*	*199 –*
	Phase I: Traditional discourse	Phase II: A new dis - course combined with a defence of the traditional approach	Phase III and IV: Instrumental adaptation and elements of identity change
Main task of the military forces:	Territorial defence (NATO)	Territorial defence (NATO)	Territorial defence (NATO) and Inter- national crisis manage- ment (EU and NATO)
A broader secur- ity approach:		'Soft' security initiative (EU)	Towards a comprehen- sive national security thinking? (EU)

We must conclude that the EU influences the national security identity but that it is limited in the case of Norway due to the level and the character of Norwegian participation. Norway has developed close relations with the EU in many areas, but the importance of this participation must not be exagge- rated. Norway's security identity is indeed influenced – but less through argumentation and persuasion than by instrumental adaptation. This adapta- tion is felt necessary especially in relation to the ESDP process, where Norway as a non-member is forced to adapt in order to avoid becoming marginalised. Although adaptation is dominant, we may identify some aspects of identity change, especially concerning to the increased recognition of the EU as an important political actor and the beginning of a broader understanding of security. This indicates a slight change in identity: from emphasising Atlanticism and territorial defence, Norway now tends towards greater Europeanism and comprehensive security approach.

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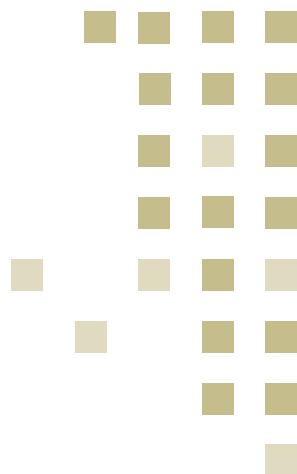
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