



PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
FINLAND



Government Report on Finnish Foreign and Security Policy

Prime Minister's Office Publications | **9/2016**

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1 INTRODUCTION

The Government submits its Foreign and Security Policy Report to Parliament. The Report lays the foundation for steering Finland's foreign and security policy. It analyses Finland's operating environment and the drivers of change, presenting the key priorities and goals of Finland's foreign and security policy. By implementing the goals the Government strengthens Finland's security and promotes Finland's prosperity in the rapidly changing and unpredictable international operating environment.

The Government report builds on earlier reporting. However, the scope of this Report differs from its predecessor (VNS 6/2012vp). The present report covers the whole of foreign and security policy. The Government will prepare a separate report on defence along the guidelines of this Report. The Government report on internal security (VNS 5/2016vp) was presented to Parliament on 19 May 2016. The Government report on Finland's development policy (VNS 1/2016vp) has also been presented to Parliament.

When preparing the reports on foreign and security policy, defence policy and internal security, the Government took into account Parliament's comments on the Government report on security and defence policy (EK 6/2013vp UaVM 1/2013vp) during the 2013 parliamentary session.

The scope of this Report extends beyond the present Government's term in office, reaching into the mid-2020s.

2 VISION FOR THE FUTURE: FINLAND 2025

Finland's foreign and security policy is predicated on the values and rights enshrined in the Constitution, and it promotes them. Shared values, democracy, accountable governance and well-functioning institutions lay the foundation for stability, internal security and wellbeing, supported by sustainable economic growth. A safe society based on trust is an important part of credible and successful foreign and security policy.

The Government Programme is based on Finland's long-term vision which states that "In 2025, Finland is an inventive, caring and safe country where we all can feel important. Our society is based on trust."

According to the vision "Finland is open and international, rich in languages and cultures. Finland's competitiveness is built on high expertise, sustainable development and open-minded innovations based on experimentation and digitalisation."

As a part of the European and Nordic communities Finland exerts goal-oriented influence in its operating environment. As an active, pragmatic and results-oriented Member State of the European Union, Finland participates in the safeguarding of peace, security, prosperity and the rule of law in Europe. Finland bears its global responsibility as an independent state, a member of international organisations and an actor in the international community.

Finland's security and prosperity require a secure and stable international operating environment in which the activities of states, businesses and people are governed by international law and subsequent commonly agreed rules, rights and obligations.

3 THE GOAL OF FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY

The goal of Finland's foreign and security policy is to strengthen Finland's international position, to secure its independence and territorial integrity, to improve the security and wellbeing of Finns and to ensure that the society functions efficiently. The primary aim of Finland's foreign and security policy is to avoid becoming a party to a military conflict.

Finland actively implements bilateral and multilateral foreign and security policy. In a world of global interdependencies Finland promotes international stability, peace, democracy, human rights, the rule of law and equality.

4 THE OPERATING ENVIRONMENT OF FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY

The operating environment of foreign and security policy, both in the immediate vicinity of Finland as well as globally, is in an intense state of flux. Nation states and other actors are increasingly interlinked and interdependent. Many drivers of change in our operating environment are opening opportunities for advancing our international objectives.

The recent changes in our operating environment have also created new threats and instability. From the European perspective the international security situation has deteriorated in recent years.

The number and range of significant international actors is growing continuously. There is a constant ebb and flow in their relative position. Respect for universal values is diminishing.

People are becoming more aware of problems that affect the whole world. New global commitments have been made to solve questions involving sustainable development and climate policy. However, in relation to the expectations the capabilities of international institutions are often more limited. There are pressures concerning compliance with the rules-based international order.

Changes in the foreign and security policy environment also strongly impact the way Finland develops internally. They bring new uncertainties to internal security, testing the overall resilience of society.

Rapid and unpredictable changes are the hallmark of Finland's transformed foreign and security policy environment.

Foreign and security policy goal-setting, decision-making and exerting influence depend on knowledge about the operating environment. It is important to continually gather and analyse information on the variables in the operating environment as well as the subsequent prospects and threats. There must be a readiness to adjust activities and, if necessary, the priorities of foreign and security policy based on new information and analysis. The most important external variables in Finland's foreign and security policy environment are global trends, political and security development in areas important to Finland, actors in foreign and security policy as well as international rules.

4.1 Global trends

In an interdependent world, global trends are an integral part of Finland's operating environment. While they entail risks and threats, being able to anticipate and utilise them and adapt to them can provide opportunities for Finland worldwide.

The threat of climate change is universally recognised and measures to limit global warming have been adopted. The Paris Agreement sets a long-term goal of keeping the increase in global average temperature to below 2°C. In addition to reducing emissions the goal is pursued by strengthening the parties' climate adaptation capacity and their ability to deal with the impacts of climate change. Yet another goal is to channel climate financing towards supporting low-carbon and climate resilient development. The transformation process from fossil fuels to renewables, expedited by the Paris Agreement, will significantly impact the balance of economic and political power in the world.

Population growth, accelerating urbanisation, migration between and within states, poverty, youth unemployment, food security, scarce natural resources and the change in the nature of conflict are examples of interlinked issues. Epidemics and pandemics are also security threats. Authoritarian and semi-authoritarian governments and many fragile democracies around the world hamper the operation of democratic institutions and limit basic freedoms and human rights as well as the right of expression and social media. At the same time the lives of millions of people around the world have improved and poverty has been reduced owing to better educational opportunities, longer life expectancy and technological progress. This progress, however, has been inequitable.

The mounting polarisation of societies is a risk that keeps growing. This also increases the vulnerability of western democracies and undermines the foundation of international cooperation.

Globalisation and digitalisation are replacing traditional industrialisation as the central momentum for change in the global economy. New technologies are expected to become cheaper and increasingly accessible well into the future. This makes it possible to integrate these technologies in the production of goods and services, eroding the importance of geographic location.

Globalisation will continue through, among other things, automated production, robotics, 3-D printing, digitalisation, the Industrial Internet and artificial intelligence; together they form a trend which is often called the

'fourth industrial revolution'. In addition to industrial and service production these phenomena also have wide-ranging impact on societies in such areas as employment and taxation systems as well as on the international status of states and their mutual relations. Economic interdependency will further increase.

Rather than a cheap workforce and capital, it is predicted that ideas will be the drivers of success. The actors and societies that are able to generate innovations, new products, services and business models will benefit from digitalisation. In the new model for growth those who come up with the best ideas will also reap the main benefits; this has already occurred in the field of integrated digital platforms. Others must cope with a smaller share, which will test societies' capacity to adapt. In addition to the public authorities and businesses technological development also benefits other non-state actors. Questions associated with the cyber domain, digitalisation and cyber-security included, have become increasingly pivotal in foreign, security and defence policy.

Social media has rapidly become an inclusive and interactive instrument which is reaching all corners of the world as fast as technology permits. Among other things, social media is used to create cross-border communities, organise campaigns, monitor and influence electoral processes, arrange crowdfunding and challenge those in power. In social media individuals quickly rally around a single issue – for and against it. Social media will gain increasing prominence and this development will have entirely new kinds of impacts, both within and across national borders.

Many global trends accelerate, especially, migration around the world. Different combinations of increasing disparity in standards of living, unsatisfactory respect for human rights, deteriorating living conditions and conflicts combined with strong population growth, particularly in Africa, are the backdrop for the refugee problem as well as migration in a wider sense. Migration to Europe is on the rise. When uncontrolled, it also entails significant internal radicalisation-induced risks for the receiving countries, such as terrorism, xenophobic extremism and crime. This, too, is concrete proof of the indivisibility of internal and external security.

There is the danger of increasing inequality caused by social and technological reasons. It may contribute to social exclusion, the willingness to move abroad, radicalisation and problems in the functioning of political systems.

The elements that influence the dynamics of the world order include the resolve of the United States to maintain its primacy, Russia's ambition to regain a strategic balance with the United States as well as China's aim to achieve a political status which corresponds to its economic power in Asia and globally. The European Union strives to strengthen its global role. Emerging nations across the continents want to have the global status they consider justified.

The Nordic social model has international appeal, and it provides a sound foundation for the ever-strengthening Nordic cooperation in international politics.

Changes in the international security environment, the return of Russia to thinking in terms of power politics, including its internal development, the growth of its military potential and increasing military activity challenge the very foundations of the European security regime and create instability in Finland's operating environment.

4.2 The situation in Finland's vicinity

During the past decades the foundation of the security system in our neighbourhood has been cooperation that was based on the principles of shared security as well as arms reduction treaties and confidence-building measures. During the past ten years or so Russia, through its actions and interpretations, has challenged the essence of the security regime to an extent, and has destabilised it. The West and Russia have very different opinions on how to restore stability to the security regime.

The security of Europe and the Baltic Sea region has deteriorated. Russia annexed the Crimean Peninsula and created the crisis in eastern Ukraine. A vicious circle has evolved, resulting in increased tension and military activity in the Baltic Sea region. In recent years Russia has also increased its military footprint and activity in the Arctic, where the situation, so far, has remained relatively stable. Russia uses a wide range of military and non-military instruments in advancing its interests.

The security policy environment of Finland, a member of the western community, has transformed. A more tense security situation in Europe and the Baltic Sea region will directly impact Finland. The use or threat of military force against Finland cannot be excluded.

The Province of Åland Islands has a recognised status under international law. This does not prevent Finland from intensifying defence cooperation within the European Union, with international organisations and in the Nordic context.

Nordic cooperation is of central importance to Finland and its security. Finland and Sweden, sharing a value basis and the same security environment, are ever more cooperating in security policy. The security and prosperity of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are important to Finland.

The European Union is the central frame of reference of Finland's foreign and security policy, and an important security community. The European Union which emerged as this continent's internal peace movement supports a rules-based international order and global governance in its external action.

The European Union is a significant actor in the areas defined in its founding Treaties, such as the EU's Single Market, the free movement of people as well as the Economic and Monetary Union. It is very active in the fields of trade policy, foreign and security policy, the Common Security and Defence Policy and internal security, especially in combating terrorism and organised crime and in border security.

The European Union faces external pressure such as migration, which tests the strength of the Schengen Agreement, as well as terrorist strikes and internal centrifugal forces arising from the Member States' internal development. Despite many internal challenges in the European Union the Member States have conducted a coherent foreign and security policy and through it have managed to respond to different security challenges. It has become necessary and possible to implement the mutual assistance clause included in the Treaty of Lisbon.

In its agenda, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, NATO, now places priority on deterrence and collective defence. In response to the deteriorated security situation NATO aims to stabilise the Baltic Sea region through its measures while continuing to prepare for a possible outbreak of a military crisis. Russia, in turn, claims that it is NATO's action which sustains the tensions. NATO has placed more emphasis on strengthening the defence capability of the Baltic States and the other eastern NATO nations and supporting their defence. This also impacts the evolution of Finland's and Sweden's NATO partnerships.

The presence and action of NATO brings security to the region. As a result of the changing environment cooperation in transatlantic and NATO contexts as

well as Nordic consultation and, in particular, cooperation between Finland and Sweden are intensifying.

Social instability in Europe's neighbourhood and conflicts in North Africa, the Middle East and Eastern Europe have altered the security of our continent where Finland, too, as a part of the European Union advances its interests and international goals. The phenomena affecting the security situation in Europe also include organised crime, facilitation of illegal entry, cyber-crime, information operations and terrorism. There are features associated with the deterioration of European security which can be described as hybrid activities. Hybrid influencing is generally understood to mean deliberate action where a state or a non-state actor can simultaneously utilise different kinds of military means or, for example, economic or technology-based instruments of pressure as well as information operations and social media. The goal is to have an impact on the Achilles' heel of the targeted state and to achieve one's own objectives. Finland, too, is a target of means which are included in hybrid influencing.

4.3 States and other international actors

States, and the economic, political or security coalitions they form, are still the most important global actors. The strongest and most influential among state actors as well as our geographically closest neighbours are among the most important state actors for Finland. The use of force or an increased risk thereof, a fragile or failed government, widespread violations of human and basic rights or large disasters accentuate the importance of even more distant regions or states to Finland.

In addition to the United States, China and Russia as well as the European Union are competing for global power and status, while many other countries are trying to achieve regional dominance.

Every state's foreign and security policy strategies and goals are based on its internal situation, self-image and analysis of the surrounding world as well as threats and prospects that arise from it. The state's political system influences the manner by which it sculpts its internal goals and its economic, cultural and other resources into foreign policy goals.

Russia's leadership aim to strengthen a superpower status for their country. On the whole they perceive international relations a geopolitical zero-sum game. Their view is that the West has largely ignored Russia's considerations and

security interests, and that it has opposed Russia by challenging it through many actions. Russia has mostly abandoned the cooperation-based security thinking. Rather, it now challenges the European security system. Russia has publicly promoted its goal of a sphere-of-influence-based security regime and demonstrated the will and capacity to employ military force in prosecuting its objectives. Russia's leadership try to avert internal disorder, and have been unable to reform the economy, which, in the short term, will suffer from energy price fluctuations and, in the long term, from different structural problems.

Finland, for the sake of its security, must carefully monitor the military capabilities and aspirations of the actors that impact our immediate surroundings, in particular.

The picture of war has become more complex. In order to achieve political objectives, political, economic and military pressure, forms of information and cyber warfare, combinations of all of the above and other forms of hybrid influencing, among other things, are used in a coordinated fashion on top of the constantly developing military means. Influencing can rapidly begin already in normal conditions. The goal is to instigate pressure, damage, uncertainty and instability on the target. The line between internal and external security becomes blurred and the early-warning period becomes shorter.

Nuclear weapons and their role in the use of force have returned to the security policy agenda. Yet another threat is the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction as well as associated hazardous materials and know-how. New weapon technologies, especially missile defence systems and conventional precision-guided weapons, and their significance receive increasing attention in international relations.

A growing number of non-state actors have emerged alongside states. The goals and *modi operandi* of some non-state actors pose a threat to international security or the security of individual countries and their inhabitants, Finland included. While terrorist organisations and networks are adept in changing form and in taking advantage of other cross-border crime, they are also able to utilise new technology such as IT networks and materials used in weapons of mass destruction. Extremist ideologies such as violent extremism are often their lifeblood. They breed in conditions plagued by social exclusion, unemployment and negligible prospects for the future, a fragile or failed government, the absence of a security structure which respects basic freedoms and human rights as well as violence and inequality. The history and practices of the ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant) founded in Syria and Iraq are characteristic examples of this.

Some of the non-state actors can also be strong partners to governments. Many a theme that makes its way to the intergovernmental agenda originates within the sphere of non-state institutions or non-governmental organisations. NGOs, foundations and business organisations are already active in development cooperation and humanitarian action or in promoting sustainable development and human rights, and are increasingly active in other foreign and security policy. It is vital to intensify cooperation with them.

4.4 Rules-based international cooperation

The set of norms and institutions created by the United Nations following the 2nd World War continue to lay a strong foundation for managing the use of force and its instruments, human rights and international cooperation. They are needed to advance democracy, the rule of law, economic and social development, and to reduce environmental risks.

In recent years, as the disagreements buoyed by power politics and ultra-nationalistic views have become increasingly vocal, international rules-based cooperation has faced growing pressures. At the same time many new challenges associated with non-state actors and advances in technology demand strengthening the rules for cooperation and systems, and the development of new implementation mechanisms.

The global risks for peace and security, economically, socially and environmentally sustainable development as well as risks in the fields of democracy and human rights keep growing. Alongside states other actors also participate in risk management. The private sector is increasingly committed to the principles of corporate social responsibility, for example.

The UN Security Council has been active in questions associated with terrorism as well as conflicts in Africa, in particular. Nevertheless, when it comes to conflicts where its permanent members are either directly involved or have vested interests, such as the conflicts in Ukraine or the Middle East, the Council remains powerless. The UN Human Rights Council has dealt with these conflicts within its mandate. With the exception of the Arms Trade Treaty, multilateral arms control has progressed better outside the UN than within it.

On the other hand the UN has been able to develop a set of norms by adopting the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development in 2015. As part of the Agenda the UN was also able to agree on development financing. Also the Paris Agreement at the climate conference in 2015 is a remarkable achievement.

Human rights agreements, both in terms of scope and regional coverage, continue to be more and more comprehensive.

In international trade, there have been efforts to complement multilateral solutions to liberate markets, among other things, through extensive regional and bilateral agreements. The wide-ranging regional arrangements have also been justified through geopolitics. The international monetary system, with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank as its core, managed to remain viable even in the aftermath of the global financial crisis of 2008. Nonetheless, the need for stronger global cooperation as well as more robust supervision and crisis management has been recognised.

The primary security structures in Europe include the European Union as a comprehensive security policy actor; NATO, which sees to the collective defence of its member states; and the OSCE, a cooperative security organisation. The Council of Europe has a role within Europe's shared value base.

5 PRIORITIES AND GOALS

In its foreign and security policy Finland makes choices on the basis of its national interests which promote its security and prosperity. Foreign and security policy is predominant in strengthening the international status of Finland, guaranteeing its independence and territorial integrity, and in improving the security of Finns. For its part, a sound economy increases security. This is also the foundation upon which the wellbeing of Finland and Finns is laid. In order to sustain this, Finland also needs the capacity for internal reform as well as trust in its shared values, democracy and collective institutions.

Active participation in international cooperation advances Finland's interests and is a part of Finland's global burden-sharing. Finland is a country which does not belong to any military alliance. Finland actively and extensively intensifies its international networking. Finland maintains the option to seek membership in a military alliance.

A world which is based on cooperation, respect for international law and the UN Charter is important to Finland's goals for foreign and security policy and prosperity. There are many issues where cooperation faces roadblocks. Yet, there are areas of cooperation that are unhindered by tension, for example, in issues associated with the Baltic Sea and the Arctic region.

When it comes to the present state and the potential of Finland's foreign and security policy environment, Finland does not have the option or desire to isolate itself. As a Member State of the European Union Finland could not remain an outsider should threats to security emerge in its vicinity or elsewhere in Europe.

Finland actively improves the stability of security in its vicinity. Since a potential conflict would directly impact Finland's security, such a possibility must be prepared for. Finland pursues an active policy of stability to prevent military threats. In order to implement the policy Finland endeavours to prevent violations of democracy and rules-based order as well as military threats through foreign and security policy and wide-ranging cooperation. To prevent armed attacks, Finland maintains a national defence capacity tailored to its security environment and continues defence cooperation with others. Finland also maintains a credible national border security system. Preparedness for the demands posed by the security environment and strengthening security in Finland's immediate vicinity requires intensified cooperation and actively

influencing various actors. Close cooperation in normal times makes it possible to continue it in emergency conditions as well.

Bilateral and multilateral defence cooperation is an important part of maintaining, developing and using Finland's defence capacity, and deterrence. Also the capability to receive military assistance is an important part of defence development. The measures needed for receiving assistance will be extensively considered in developing the government's preparedness. Correspondingly, Finland will improve its ability to provide military or other international assistance.

International training and exercises serve the development of international crisis management and Finland's national defence. Finland selects the exercises it chooses to participate in from its own perspectives and interests.

Finland is not immune to the global transformation. Finland can influence global trends by intensifying multilateral and bilateral cooperation with other actors. By anticipating the winds of change and by efficiently and flexibly tapping into its own strengths Finland can prosper and strengthen its status. Finland can be a trailblazer and it must be able to respond to even surprising developments in its operating environment.

The goal of Finland's foreign policy is to strengthen Finland's international status. This requires sufficient resources. Finland's own network of missions is an irreplaceable source of information and a means of influence which adds to Finland's security and wellbeing. Therefore, the network of missions will not be curtailed. For their part, strategic membership goals in different organisations and high-level recruitments support this goal.

In order to advance Finland's foreign and security policy goals decisions must constantly be taken. Taking into account its own strengths Finland must be able to anticipate the demands posed by the transformation of the operating environment and meet the requirements. In order to realise the strategic goals in an environment in flux, coordination in other policy sectors associated with foreign and security policy such as internal security and energy policy, is also needed.

Finland's foreign and security policy goal-setting is a response to degrading cooperation-based security in Europe and the development towards a balance-of-power regime, the deteriorating security situation in the Baltic Sea region and Russia's unpredictable internal and foreign policy development as well as the threats and possibilities included in global trends.

Finland will make its security policy choices, including decisions regarding membership in organisations and alliances, and cooperation between them or individual states, independently and from its own perspectives and interests.

These three questions determine the way in which Finland strengthens its own security:

- How to influence the development of the unpredictable operating environment?
- How to intensify cooperation in foreign and security policy?
- How to prepare to respond to global risks and, on the other hand, how to prepare to take advantage of the opportunities generated by the trends?

The Government has outlined the following focus areas for Finland's foreign and security policy into the mid-2020s.

5.1 Strengthening the European Union as a security community

The European Union is Finland's value community. Finland aims at bolstering the EU as a security community that cultivates cooperation among its Member States. Strengthening the Common Foreign and Security Policy increases security and stability in Europe and the influence of the Union. Finland is an active, pragmatic and solution-oriented Member State.

Finland advances the EU's capability to transform itself and meet both internal and external needs. In the coming years the Union must solve several fundamental issues. Among other things, these issues are associated with migration to Europe, the coherence of the Union in the deepening maelstrom of colliding geopolitical interests, slow economic growth and the stability of the Eurozone. They are both associated with each other and also connected to the increasingly interlinked external and internal security that is affected by unemployment and social exclusion. The impacts of the UK's EU referendum will require a longer-term evaluation.

Finland emphasises the need to find a common position on the crises at hand because strengthening Europe's relatively weakened status demands strong capacity and coherence from the EU as well as the trust of its citizens. Finland respects the common regulations and expects the other Member States to do likewise.

Finland promotes the development of defence cooperation within the EU so that the Union and its Member States can be better prepared to meet the security requirements of the future and to improve their crisis resilience. The Union has a role in defending the citizens of its Member States and its territory. It carries out this role by supporting the Member States' defence development and by complying with the founding Treaties.

Maintaining and developing capabilities demands a sufficient technological and industrial base as well as arrangements for security of supply. The European military security of supply arrangements will be deepened with the aim of facilitating rapid and efficient defence materiel delivery procedures among the Member States in all circumstances. Finland's interests must be taken into account in the development of the European Defence Market.

Hybrid influencing has increased the need to act by taking into account both internal and external security requirements. The means of hybrid influencing between states have increased and in the early phase they are difficult to recognise. Sufficient capabilities are needed for correctly-timed recognition of hybrid influencing as well as guaranteeing the state's decision-making and the protection of territorial sovereignty.

EU's solidarity clause (Article 222, TEU) and the mutual assistance clause (Article 42.7, TEU) strengthen the Union as a security community and increase solidarity among the Member States. Implementing the solidarity clause at the EU level improves the coherent employment of all of the Union's instruments in trying to respond quickly to a Member State's need for help, be the event a terrorist attack or a natural or man-made disaster. If requested, in such circumstances the other Member States shall give it aid and assistance by all the means in their power, military resources included. Finland believes that the mutual assistance clause holds strong security policy significance, both in principle as well as in practice. The clause calls for the Member States to be prepared to provide concrete assistance to each other, and it supports their action in preventing threats. The mutual assistance clause is equally binding on all Member States. Finland will establish the required preparedness for implementing the obligations of both clauses, and for providing and receiving international assistance.

The European Union must continue to further develop its common preparedness and arrangements for closer defence cooperation. The foundation for this includes the arrangements created for the implementation of the Common Security and Defence Policy as well as the capacity of the Union to comprehensively combine different policy sectors and instruments.

It is important to develop the EU's defence cooperation in concert with NATO, which also serves Finland's interests.

Finland fully participates in the development of the CSDP in crisis management as well. Progressively more emphasis is placed on conflict prevention and pre-emptive action. The coherence of the EU's external policies is improved by, among other things, taking into account the connection of the CFSP to the requirements for sustainable development and the implementation of the 2030 Agenda. The internal and external action of the EU must better complement each other. Finland promotes the realisation of the EU's climate and Energy Union targets.

5.2 Deepening cooperation with Sweden and the other Nordic countries

Sweden enjoys a special status in Finland's bilateral cooperation. The cooperation builds on a long historical bond, shared values, multidimensional contemporary ties and the widely integrated economies. Foreign and security policy cooperation with Sweden is wide-ranging and it is promoted on the basis of shared interests without any limitations. Nonetheless, the bilateral cooperation does not replace or exclude either party's other cooperation activities. For the most part Finland and Sweden evaluate their respective security environments from similar points of departure. On this basis, deepening foreign and security policy and defence cooperation with Sweden serves Finland's interests.

Defence cooperation with Sweden aims at strengthening the security of the Baltic Sea region as well as the defence capacities of Finland and Sweden. Joint action also raises the threshold against incidents and attacks. It contributes to more robust security in the region. Defence cooperation will be developed to cover operational planning for all situations. Examples of this may include the defence of territorial integrity or exercising the inherent right of collective self-defence pursuant to Article 51 of the UN Charter. It is also important to prepare for the joint use of civilian and military resources.

Cooperation under the auspices of NORDEFECO (Nordic Defence Cooperation) will be intensified. In 2017 Finland will assume the presidency of NORDEFECO and it will advance the further intensification of Nordic cooperation as well as measures promoting regional security.

Nordic foreign and security policy cooperation is of key importance to Finland. By acting in unison the Nordic countries can strengthen security in their

neighbourhood, and increase their influence in international questions. Likewise, by acting in unison they, among other things, intensify their relationship with the United States.

5.3 Deepening cooperation with the United States

The United States is an important partner for Finland. It plays a key role in global questions and in regional issues that are vital to Finland, as well as bilaterally. Finland will intensify its cooperation with the United States in international questions associated with security and defence, migration, topics associated with the climate, energy and the Arctic as well as economic growth and global development. Increasing trade and investments serve Finland's interests.

The commitment of the United States to NATO and its military presence in Europe continue to be essential to Finland's security. Cooperating with the United States, both bilaterally and within the framework of NATO, is needed for Finland's national defence. Finland will intensify its security policy and defence cooperation with the United States: the goal is to strengthen the national defence capacity by especially developing interoperability, materiel cooperation as well as training and exercise cooperation.

5.4 The importance of relations with Russia

In its relations with Russia Finland promotes cooperation and maintains a dialogue on the international situation and issues associated with the Baltic Sea region and bilateral topics. The EU's common positions on Russia form the basis for Finland's action. Improved cooperation between the EU and Russia would strengthen the security and economy of all of Europe; Russia's isolation does not serve anyone's interests. The precondition for such improvement is, however, that Russia comply with international law and its other international obligations. The implementation of the Minsk Agreement is vital for better EU-Russia relations.

Russia is Finland's neighbour, and its democratic development and stability are important. Finland aims to maintain stable and well-functioning relations with Russia. In addition to economic cooperation, collaboration in Arctic and climate questions, for example, remains important. Finland's energy cooperation with Russia is broad and must be interconnected with the development of the EU's Energy Union. Regional and cross-border cooperation with Russia in northern

Europe continues at the practical level, which is in the interests of Finland. It is important to support the civil society and direct contact between citizens. In the changed environment Finland must be able to carefully evaluate Russia's development. This calls for more versatile and in-depth knowledge of Russia.

5.5 Bilateral relations in foreign and security policy

Finland continues to develop its relations with its partners as part of the EU and bilaterally. Participation in international cooperation in this form supports the achievement of Finland's foreign and security policy objectives. From the standpoint of Finland's prosperity it is important to strengthen all-round economic and trade relations by, among other things, securing international prospects for Finnish companies. These also matter in terms of security policy.

Finland further develops its bilateral economic and political relations with China and promotes increasing Sino-EU cooperation in the EU. Finland intensifies its relations with China, especially, in fields that interest Finland and are essential to the development of China such as environmental technology and renewable energy as well as topics associated with good governance and rule of law.

It continues to be important to Finland to intensify its relations with Japan. Finland sees remarkable growth potential in its interaction with India and other emerging countries. In these relationships political contacts can support the development of economic relations.

The European neighbourhood, such as the Middle East and Africa, is increasingly important for Finland, both in terms of foreign and security policy as well as the economy. Intensifying bilateral relations with the countries in these regions strengthens Finland's international position, supports the countries' development and, for its part, also creates preconditions for strengthening trade relations.

5.6 Developing the relationship with NATO

NATO is the key actor in advancing transatlantic and European security and stability. Finland's partnership with NATO is wide-ranging and enhanced. It is important to Finland that NATO continue its Open Doors Policy, i.e. that NATO membership remains open to all those European states that have the capacity and qualifications to advance the goals of the North Atlantic Treaty.

NATO's Enhanced Opportunity Programme (EOP) is a useful instrument for Finland in maintaining and developing its NATO partnership. It is important for Finland to develop regular political dialogue and practical cooperation in the coming years. The latter includes, among other things, pre-approval as a partner to crisis management operations, participation in the initial phases of NATO's operational, training and exercise planning and cyber-defence cooperation.

The continual development of military cooperation with NATO is one of the key elements through which Finland maintains and develops its national defence and the capabilities for defending its territory. Finland continues to extensively participate in NATO exercises and training activities. The participation of partner countries in NATO exercises takes place under the auspices of partnership policy.

As Finland-NATO cooperation is being deepened it must be kept in mind that partnership cooperation neither includes any Article 5 based security guarantees nor obligations. Nevertheless, interoperability achieved through cooperation, for its part, ensures the elimination of any practical impediments to a possible membership in a military alliance. While carefully monitoring the developments in its security environment, Finland maintains the option to seek NATO membership.

According to the assessment of the effects of possible NATO membership, commissioned by the Government, NATO is a stabilising influence in the Baltic Sea region. Therefore, it is only logical that the assessment emphasised that Finland and Sweden share the same security environment with NATO. The security policy choices of Finland and Sweden are closely connected. According to the assessment NATO membership would fundamentally impact the security policy situation in the Baltic Sea region. A membership application would be a fundamental and far-reaching decision in Finland's foreign and security policy, and would, therefore, require wide-ranging debate and careful consideration.

5.7 Focus attention on the future of the Arctic region

Finland is an important actor in the Arctic region. Finland, bilaterally and multilaterally, promotes stability and security in the Arctic region. Finland aims at achieving wide-ranging cooperation in the Arctic Council and the Barents Euro-Arctic Council, which builds on shared norms. The commitments to sustainable development will be taken into consideration in the utilisation of the economic growth potential in the Arctic region. Finland contributes to the

strengthening of the European Union's Arctic policy. Finland promotes the EU's infrastructure projects aimed at utilising Arctic prospects and allocating R&D funds to Arctic topics. Finland develops its cooperation on Arctic issues both bilaterally with its key partners and in the Arctic Council. Finland maintains and advances the participation of indigenous peoples in Arctic cooperation. Promoting the rights of indigenous people is a core element in Finland's Arctic and human rights policy.

During its 2017–19 presidency of the Arctic Council Finland will emphasise the importance of implementing the Paris Agreement on climate change and the goals of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development in Arctic cooperation. Finland will strengthen Arctic cooperation and its continuity during its presidency, also at the highest political level.

5.8 Sustainable development as a goal for foreign and security policy

When responding to the threats caused by global trends or when utilising the prospects of them, Finland draws on tried and tested, solution-oriented models and develops them. They are based on Finnish know-how, Finnish values and cooperation. Finland also engages in closer cooperation with civil society and the private sector.

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, adopted by the member states of the UN, establishes an international set of goals for dealing with many global threats and challenges. The 2030 Agenda applies to all states. Finland's policy will be in line with the Agenda. The most important sustainable development goals from the perspective of Finland's foreign and security policy are: gender equality and empowering women and girls; reduction of inequality; fighting against climate change and its impacts; promoting peaceful societies; guaranteeing legal services for everyone; and accountable institutions.

While participating in solving international problems Finland simultaneously strengthens its foreign policy and economic status, and its international influence. Safe living conditions, human rights and the possibility for people to make a difference in their affairs, sufficient livelihoods and safe living environments are important global objectives for Finland. Finland promotes these aims nationally and as a member of the UN and the EU along the lines of the focus areas and *modi operandi* presented in the Government Report on Development Policy, among other things. Development policy is an important element of Finland's foreign and security policy.

5.9 Emphasising the relationship between external and internal security

In its international cooperation, and for its internal security as well, Finland prepares to counter the international activities of many non-state actors, and their consequences. Among these actors there are many terrorist organisations and networks and their violent acts cannot be excluded from Finland either. Finland strengthens the counter-terrorist capacity of local actors, as in training participation in the coalition to counter the ISIL.

Cooperation within the framework of the EU and bilaterally will be strengthened to counter terrorism and prevent violent extremism and radicalisation, to respond to hybrid influencing, and to prevent criminal activity associated with the arrangement of illegal immigration.

In line with comprehensive security thinking Finland strengthens its capacity to identify wide-ranging hybrid influencing against society, the capabilities to counter it and to improve cyber security. As part of the EU's efforts to counter hybrid threats Finland studies the possibilities to establish a centre of excellence which focuses on hybrid threats. The centre would support the EU and its Member States and strengthen EU-NATO cooperation in countering said threats.

The capabilities required by cyber security will be strengthened, among others, in the European Union, with NATO, and bilaterally. In its international cooperation Finland aims at seizing some of the lucrative prospects offered by the cyber domain and digitalisation.

5.10 Make the measures more effective on the root causes of migration and fragile states

Especially in the Middle East, Afghanistan and Africa, Finland influences the root causes that force people to migrate. Finland participates in seeking political solutions and in military and civilian crisis management activities in the countries of origin and transit of migration.

Finland can influence the root causes of migration by strengthening human rights, good governance and the rule of law by combating human trafficking and trade in human beings, and through trade policy and climate policy. Finland allocates its support specifically to the refugees' and asylum seekers' countries of origin in order to strengthen peace and security and to improve

human rights and sources of livelihood. This support will be provided through humanitarian assistance and development cooperation. Finland strengthens the capacity of international organisations that are important actors in issues associated with migration.

Finland emphasises the comprehensiveness of foreign and security policy and development policy in fragile states which are often the countries of origin as regards migration. In order to recognise and tackle the risks associated with fragile states early on, Finland must sustain local familiarity, both through the network of its foreign missions and by networking with other actors. Finland underscores the prevention of economic, social and security threats as well as peacebuilding and statebuilding.

5.11 Equality and human rights as a point of departure

In its foreign and security policy Finland extensively promotes the realisation of women's and girls' rights, and women's equal political and economic participation. This is included in Finland's action aimed at achieving the human rights aspect, equity and equality, and at strengthening the rule of law in foreign and security policy. Finland also offers its human rights and rule-of-law expertise in international crisis management. Finland intensifies its efforts to counter violence against women.

Finland supports a strong international and regional human rights monitoring system and measures against impunity when humanitarian law and human rights violations are committed during war and conflict. In crisis prevention Finland focuses attention on the realisation of the rights of those that often become the victims of violence such as minorities and other particularly vulnerable groups of people. Finland also supports the intensification of efforts to protect civilians and to realise humanitarian law. Finland endorses the maintenance and development of international law and norms to meet the requirements of global trends.

5.12 More effectiveness in conflict management

Finland continues its active participation in international crisis management. It is a part of Finland's foreign and security policy influencing and international cooperation. By participating in military crisis management Finland simultaneously improves the Defence Forces' capabilities and capacities. Civilian crisis management is also an important focus area because crisis

management participation focuses on supporting local capacity, rule of law and good governance. Training activities and support that focus on security sector reform are highlighted when the aim is to improve the effectiveness of crisis management operations and achieve sustainable results.

Changing circumstances and international needs mean that Finland, too, must regularly evaluate the effectiveness and extent of its participation, operation by operation. In international cooperation Finland aims at strengthening the goals of comprehensive crisis management. Security risks are increasingly more often encountered and will be taken into consideration in participation. Likewise, the increasing multifariousness of crisis management will be taken into account. In addition to the more traditional operations, even very limited and short-term missions will be implemented or those executed by country groupings—an example of such being the maritime operations carried out in the Mediterranean to destroy Syria's chemical stockpiles. Moreover, operations entailing both military and civilian crisis management will be seen.

The European Union implements different, even new, kinds of crisis management operations which may be small in scope but focused in terms of impact. It is important for Finland to participate in the EU's missions.

Finland advocates the increasing participation of women in establishing peace and security. More attention will be paid to the implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in crisis management as well.

5.13 Mediation as an increasingly important focus area

When it comes to conflict prevention and resolution, the significance of diplomacy as well as national and interfaith dialogue processes, alongside mediation, grows. Mediation and dialogue processes encompass a progressively important focus area in Finland's foreign and security policy. Mediation and dialogue pave the way for longer-term peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction; the ultimate objectives being a lasting peace, rule of law and stable societal development.

Finland develops and strengthens its national mediation and dialogue capacity. The objective is that the mediation capacity support the achievement of Finland's foreign policy goals. Finland actively participates in dialogue and mediation processes.

Finland continues strengthening the mediation capacity of international actors – first and foremost within the UN and the EU. Sufficient prerequisites will be guaranteed for Finland’s increasingly effective and prompt support to or participation in mediation, and the facilitation thereof, and in national dialogue processes as well as in providing advice and support to the rule of law through development cooperation appropriations.

When it comes to the proper utilisation of mediation Finland’s own expertise and local knowledge is important in detecting weak signals and in identifying local actors. Close networking with the actors of civil society supports the flexibility which is required by mediation.

5.14 Strengthening rules-based action

Finland fosters the core values of the UN Charter and the principles of intergovernmental interaction. Together with different countries and country groupings Finland works to enhance the effectiveness and influence of international organisations.

Being a country that relies on foreign trade Finland finds it important to strengthen the multilateral trade regime. Strengthening and developing the rules-based system also supports Finland’s development policy goals to integrate the developing countries into the international trade and value chains. This development must take into account the manner in which trade is developing. Finland supports a successful outcome in the negotiations for fair, equal and sustainable trade and an investment agreement between the EU and the United States, i.e. the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP).

Finland wants to improve the capacity of international organisations to also tackle new global challenges, such as cyber issues. Finland underscores the importance of arms control in strengthening predictability and stability. Finland taps into its time-honoured expertise in projects associated with arms control and disarmament, and in new challenges. Through policy and export control Finland promotes the prevention of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction as well as associated hazardous materials and know-how, and the illicit arms trade. Finland supports the status of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in nuclear disarmament. Finland strengthens the monitoring of fissile material and nuclear safety, and monitors the effect of the development of weapon technology vis-à-vis national and international security.

5.15 Strengthening crisis resilience

Finland develops its national crisis resilience across the board. Preparations and contingency plans are made for situations which threaten or harm security or wellbeing so as to anticipate or prevent such situations in advance. Attention will be focused on adapting to, or recovering from, a range of disruptions and disturbances.

Improving the national crisis resilience covers a wide variety of activities ranging from maintaining the defence capacity and internal security to countering information operations as well as from fighting pandemics to surviving man-made and natural disasters. Developing cooperation between the different sectors and actors of society is an integral element in strengthening crisis resilience and preparedness against disruptions. This preparedness will be implemented in concert through the principle of comprehensive security. The relevance of preparedness legislation, a prerequisite for strengthening crisis resilience, will be reviewed. The Security Strategy for Society will be updated to meet the changing security environment. The relevance of the forms and structures of cooperation among the authorities will be certified. Foreign and security policy supports the strengthening of national crisis resilience.



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4041 0017
Printed matter

ISBN Print 978-952-287-270-8
ISBN PDF 978-952-287-271-5
ISSN Print 0782-6028
ISSN PDF 1799-7828