RECONSTRUCTING FINNISH DEFENCE IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

Jyri Raitasalo

Reconstructing
Finnish Defence
in the Post-Cold War Era

Jyri Raitasalo

Contents

1.Introduction

> *"The termination of the Cold War and the altered picture of poten-*
> *tial crises pose new questions for the defence of Finland.* With the
> decline in the threat of a major war, its place has been taken
> by the existence of regional crises that are susceptible to esca-
> lation. With crises becoming more obviously internal matters
> for individual states or otherwise spatially restricted events, we
> are obliged to adjust the structure and deployment plans of our
> armed forces accordingly. *All in all, the image of future warfare*
> *has substantially altered."*
>> *Statement issued by the Parliamentary Defence Committee to*
>> *the Foreign Affairs Committee, 1997*

The international security environment has indeed greatly altered
since the end of the Cold War, and Western capabilities to repel a
large-scale offensive on the part of armoured and mechanized divi-
sions of Warsaw Pact troops under Soviet command have given way
to smaller military operations carried out progressively further from
home. It has now been recognized in both the United States and
Europe that the threat of a large-scale conventional attack is a thing
of the past.

> "Enemies in the past needed great armies and great industrial
> capabilities to endanger America. Now, shadowy networks of
> individuals can bring great chaos and suffering to our shores
> for less than it costs to purchase a single tank. … America is
> now threatened less by conquering states than we are by failing
> ones."[1]

> "… we no longer face the old threat of massive attack."[2]

> "Large-scale aggression against any Member State is now im-

---

This study was written when the author was serving as lecturer of strategy at
the Finnish National Defence University, Department of Strategic and Defence
Studies. Major (GS), Dr.Pol.Sc. Jyri Raitasalo is currently serving in Defence
Command Finland.

[1]   National Security Strategy of the United States of America (2002), pp. i, 1.
[2]   NATO (1991).

probable. Instead, Europe faces new threats which are more diverse, less visible and less predictable."[3]

"It was relatively simple during the Cold War to predict developments in armed forces, the forms that a war might take and the modes of warfare that might be employed. These were mainly dependent on the opposition between the major power blocs and the existence of similar development work in both the East and West. Recent turns in events have made such predictions more difficult, however, and the general nature of crises has become more complicated. With the cessation of the confrontation between the major military alliances, the danger of a full-scale war suddenly breaking out in Europe has diminished, and it has been replaced with regional crises that frequently involve the interests of the major powers and are highly susceptible to escalation."[4]

"….the threat of a conventional war has receded, particularly in Europe."[5]

The purpose of this research is to examine the challenges involved in the post-Cold War development of the Finnish defence system within the framework of the Western military viewpoint, given the changes that have taken place in the international security environment.[6] These changes have been of such a magnitude that they have inevitably altered the concepts harboured by the principal actors engaged in generating military power (still predominantly states) regarding the nature of a potential future war. As these concepts alter, pressures will build up for changes in the principles governing the use of armed forces, the nature of their missions and the equipment and forms of organization required. As the "reality" of war changes, armed forces will be required to be prepared to cope with new modes of warfare. The aim here is therefore to examine

[3]   A Secure Europe in a Better World – European Security Strategy (2003), p. 3.
[4]   Security trends in Europe and the defence of Finland, Government report to parliament 1/1997, 17.3.1997 (1997), p. 49 (in Finnish). All citations from works published in Finnish have been translated specifically for the purposes of this paper.
[5]   Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004. Government report 6/2004 (2004), p. 16.
[6]   This study covers the years between the end of the Cold War in 1990/1991 and 2007.

the effects of the altered international security environment of the post-Cold War era on the principles governing the development of the Finnish defence system.

War and preparations for the event of war will be examined here from the strategic perspective, the emphasis being on the politico-military implications of changes in warfare and the image of war. This means that the operational, tactical and technical aspects that are frequently to the fore in military research will be excluded from the scope of the discussion proper and will be mentioned only in cases where they are of political and strategic significance for the definition of war. One example of this might be the concept prevailing in the United States of a *Revolution in Military Affairs* brought about by advances in technology, leading to a possible change in the nature of warfare.[7] This paper does not, therefore, aim to present a new prediction of the potential military threats to Finland that might arise from the new image of war, nor to provide recommendations for the future development of the Finnish defence system or for the acquisition of particular weapons systems, for instance. Instead, the strategic perspective to be adopted with regard to the changing international security environment, and particularly with regard to new interpretations of the use of military force – the changing image of war – will imply here a division of the research task into three stages:

I)   Analysis of the changing international security environment from the perspective of the use of armed forces. This implies an analysis of the Western image of war in the post-Cold War era, for use as a frame of reference for discussing the corresponding image harboured in Finland.
II)   Analysis of the effects of trends in the international security environment on the Finnish image of war during the post-Cold War era.
III) Analysis of the changes in the Finnish defence system brought about by the altered image of war during the post-Cold War era.

---

[7]   See, for example, Raitasalo (2005a); Raitasalo (2005b).

Perspective on war

This paper will adopt a constructivist approach to war, through the medium of its image. The image of war can be regarded as an analytical tool for identifying shared understandings of war within the international system. In the context of the present work *the image of war refers to a relatively uniform set of shared understandings connected with the deployment of armed forces that are grounded in an interpretation of the nature of the international security system that is based on a common world view*.[8] This image of war is constantly being reconstructed through international interplay between the main actors responsible for developing, maintaining and deploying armed forces.

During the 1990s the Western image of war 'outgrew' the paradigm that had governed it during the Cold War era.[9] As the old military threat receded, this image went through a process of redefinition that is in effect still taking place in the form of a constant interaction between practical measures (actual wars and military operations) and discourses (interpretations of the practical measures). Thus the image of war inherited from the post-Cold War era has been shaped by the way in which military force has been employed – or the way in which demands have been expressed for it to be employed – in the post-Cold War world. Examined from a constructivist perspective, no change in the nature or image of war can be discerned if one is to view the use of armed forces from a value-free – i.e. objective – viewpoint, for this is a question of interpreting the events. The interpretation of a military operation as an invasion or a humanitarian intervention, for instance, will significantly affect its normative 'nature'. Thus interpretations of the use of armed forces are a potential resource for the actors engaged in their use,[10] and their behaviour in accordance with all the regulations governing the use of armed forces can reduce international objections to their use. The war that began in Iraq in 2003 provides one example in this sense, since the United States and its allies attempted to disseminate the interpretation of a war aimed at eliminating terrorism and the threat posed by a combination of weapons of mass destruction with

---

[8] This definition of the image of war parallels that of a scientific paradigm, cf. Kuhn (1994). On the paradigm of war, see Raitasalo (2002); Raitasalo & Sipilä (2004a); Raitasalo & Sipilä (2004b); Raitasalo (2005a).

[9] Raitasalo & Sipilä (2004a).

[10] The use of armed forces is understood here in a broad sense to include their development, maintenance and actual deployment in military operations.

a rogue state in the grip of a powerful dictator in order to justify the deployment of their armed forces and ensure the widest possible political, military and economic support from the international community. Actors may thus be assumed to attempt to bring about common interpretations (common understandings of a war or deployment of forces) based on their own points of departure. On the other hand, common interpretations that emerge gradually in the course of continuous, extensive interaction are not merely the outcomes of the conscious intentions of certain actors. Interpretations of practical actions that arise through daily interaction over a matter of years or decades emerge of their own accord, as if taken for granted, to form common interpretations that take on a 'natural' or 'suprahistorical' status.

In this sense <u>international politics</u> can be looked on as a <u>struggle between competing interpretations</u> of practical actions,[11] although this does not mean that a conflict situation need exist between the actors concerned; it is simply that interpretations of concrete actions are seldom, if ever, entirely incontestable. It should also be noted that even those concepts that have become established features of international politics can vary in meaning as parts of this struggle that is waged in words as well as deeds. There are few perfectly clear rules or regulations governing the use of armed forces that apply in all situations.[12] Interpretations of practical actions (the use of armed forces) can also be constructed out of conflicting evidence and frequently from different points of view which may prove impossible to reconcile entirely. Questions of the legitimacy of armed interventions, for instance, can become embroiled nowadays in conflicts between the sovereignty of states (which condemns such interventions) and the pursuance of human rights (which may render them acceptable in certain circumstances), and both factors have to be taken into account when actors and the international community define their stance towards individual concrete instances of the use of armed force.

It will be assumed here that interpretations of the use of armed forces – images of war – can be understood as being constructed in a 'space' delimited by the discourses of war, where these discourses are

---

[11]   Cf. Harle & Moisio (2003), pp. 11-12.
[12]   One fairly unambiguous rule of this kind is the right to defend oneself in the event of an armed attack, although even this has been subject to re-interpretation in the light of the 9/11 events.

continually emerging narratives of factors connected with the use of armed forces – e.g. military threats or arguments legitimizing the use of force. In the words of Kari Laitinen, discourses "can also be understood as strategies that shape and construct reality, confirm prevailing truths or equally well deconstruct what already exists."[13]

The termination of the Cold War can be regarded as forming a recent *conceptual watershed*[14] or *creative moment*[15] in international politics, at which established meanings and interpretations were apt to be questioned and re-evaluated. It thus served to challenge the Western image of war, which had become ossified over a period of several decades, as the military threats of the Cold War era began to be dispelled in the course of the 1990s, together with the principles and methods governing the use of armed forces, at least in the advanced industrialized countries. Instead of full-scale warfare, these Western principles came to be characterized by the prospects of small-scale, multifocal interventions and crisis management operations conducted outside the country's own area and that of its allies. This also meant changes in the meanings of concepts that had existed in Cold War times (e.g. a radical change in the concept of crisis management in the course of the decade) and the adoption of new concepts in connection with military activities. Where war and peacekeeping operations were the principal concepts used in connection with the deployment of forces in the Cold War era, the accent now shifted to humanitarian interventions, crisis management operations, peace operations, small-scale military operations, military operations other than war (MOOTW) and 'campaigns' as the new vocabulary for interpreting the use of armed forces. When discussing the concepts and the changes that took place in their meanings it should be noted that concepts are always bound to discourses that arise from and are modified by practical actions and utterances – i.e. broader linguistic and pragmatic structures – which in turn make it possible to perceive the world in a conceptual manner.

---

[13] Laitinen (2005), p. 72 (in Finnish); see also Hast (2006), p. 13 (in Finnish): "Discourses differ from one another in the picture that they paint of reality."

[14] See Moisio (2003b), p. 105. It is typical of conceptual watersheds that controversies arise over the meanings of political concepts.

[15] See Lehti (2003), p. 117 (in Finnish). [According to Erik Ringmar,] a creative moment can be viewed as "a time when the concept of what is an appropriate manner of perceiving the world remains entirely open,… when new identities are establishing themselves and new social practices are being initiated."

One significant fact as far as our decision to resort to discourses for our analysis of the Western image of war is concerned is that there are only certain ways in which the discourses that define war can emerge: they are inevitably connected with the practices involved in the use of armed forces – providing politico-strategic interpretations of these. The 'raw materials' may be historical experiences of the deployment of armed forces and conclusions reached on the evidence of previous wars, and these constitute the tools for arriving at interpretations. In addition, the prevailing level of technology and the distribution of material resources in the military sense among the participants in the international system form the boundary conditions within the framework of which it is possible to reach such interpretations. The 'possibilities' for the discourses to define a war are thus strictly finite: i.e. the pre-existing shared understandings of the nature of war, together with material factors, will limit the linguistic and discursive possibilities for reconstructing the meaning of war. It is indeed often the case that the reproduction of an earlier image of war is more probable than its transformation.[16] An image of war can therefore be assumed to be fairly 'sticky' or conservative in nature.

Established war discourses are a part of the social structure of the international system. They are "socio-cultural resources that people make use of in order to give significance to the world and to their actions." Thus these discourses differ from political rhetoric, e.g. the verbal utterances of a person belonging to the political elite, as represented by a security policy statement by a leading politician, for instance. Political rhetoric needs to be anchored in the prevailing discourses – at least if it is intended to be effective and credible. On the other hand, it is possible through political rhetoric and practical action to bring about changes in the prevailing discourses. Thus discourses are part of the structure of our culture – vehicles for potentiating thought, speech and action – although at the same time they can themselves be subject to change as a consequence of linguistic and practical activity.[17] The war discourses that are most essential for constructing our image of war in the context of this work thus *limit the actors' possibilities for rhetorical argumentation and practical action*. When George W. Bush, for example, employed political rhetoric to argue in favour of the unilateral preventive use of force on the occasion of the publication of his national security

---

[16] See Neumann (2002), Wendt (1999).
[17] Moisio (2003b), pp. 93-103.

strategy in 2002, he and his administration were in effect taking part in shaping the discourse of the 'war on terrorism'. It is important to remember, however, that this discourse was not created *in vacuo*, but was influenced by the already established discourse connected with terrorism, which defined it as a species of crime[18] and not of warfare, and that connected with the sovereignty of states, which prohibited unsolicited interventions.

It should be noted that the continuing construction of the Western image of war has been a layered process, and also an ambiguous one, i.e. it has not been possible for individual factors or actors to dominate it, since an image of war is an intersubjective social fact rather than a subjective one. This intersubjectivity means that certain understandings of the nature, aims and methods of warfare are shaped in a fairly uniform manner over an extensive set of actors.[19] In research focusing om the *system level* in international politics and strategy such a set of actors may consist of states and other agents capable of generating armed forces – e.g. private mercenary militias and various sub-state armed groups led by warlords. Crucial groups for any examination of the intersubjective image of war *at the state level* will be the political leadership, the military leadership, the media and public opinion.[20]

The intersubjective nature of the image of war implies that no one actor in any situation can put forward a generally and unanimously accepted interpretation of the use of armed forces, and that the image itself cannot be regarded as a clearly defined, uncontroversial entity. Since the image of war is determined by innumerable discourses connected with the use of armed forces, and since it arises out of common interpretations arrived at within a broad-based community, it follows that this image will inevitably be subject to differences in interpretation to some extent. Indeed the degree of internal coherence (uncontroversiality) of the image will dictate how much room for manoeuvre political actors have when arriving

---

[18] See, for example, Charter of Paris for a New Europe (1990), p. 8.

[19] It may be said, for instance, that an extensive body of actors generating armed forces possess a uniform impression of war as a reality. Thus it may be described as an intersubjectively perceived fact, which is capable of altering in nature over time. These actors – in the last resort people – create the meaning of war in their political actions and engage in preparations for warfare and the use of armed force in accordance with this intersubjectively perceived fact.

[20] See Wendt (1999), p. 75: "[i]ndividuals do not constitute social kinds, collectives do."; see also Raitasalo (2005a), pp. 70-71, Searle (1995).

at their own interpretations as to the concrete factors associated with the use of armed force. A low degree of internal coherence, denoting inconsistencies between the relevant discourses, will leave the political decision-makers with more room for interpretation, whereas conversely, a coherent image of the nature of a possible war will be formed in the presence of mutually complementary and confirmatory discourses, the combined effect of which will be to reduce the room for interpretation in matters of the use of armed force. In this sense the image of a possible military confrontation internalized by the great powers of the Cold War period can be estimated to have been fairly coherent relative to that entertained by the great powers of the present time (for a more detailed argument, see chapter 2).

Discourses can be regarded as functional structures of various kinds which guide the construction of an image of war and within the framework of which actors are able to guide its construction through their words and deeds,[21] and can serve as 'vessels' for the dissemination of a private understanding or interpretation so as to become a common understanding. Thus discourses can either reproduce interpretations of the use of armed forces that are in accordance with a previous image of war – i.e. confirm interpretations that prevailed earlier – or transform the image by altering one or more of those interpretations. The discourses themselves are either reproduced or altered through the agency of practical activities and the argumentation – political rhetoric – associated with them.

---

[21] 'Guiding' means in this connection the exercising of influence on interpretations of the use of armed force, and not the possibility for determining or defining the intersubjectively constructed image of war. It should be noted, however, that a significant proportion of the practical actions and political rhetoric that will affect the discourses will not represent intentional efforts at influencing the generally accepted interpretations but will be simply the actors' reactions to everyday political issues. Thus these reactions will also affect the generally accepted interpretations.

The Finnish defence system and the change in the image of war

Concepts regarding the development of the Finnish defence system are understood in the present paper as forming one part of a broader conceptual entity, the image of a potential war in Finnish eyes, referred to for the sake of brevity as "the Finnish image of war". The concept that one has of (a potential) war will influence to an essential degree the way in which one prepares for and equips oneself for such a war.[22] The repelling of a large-scale offensive, the mounting of a peace enforcement mission and defence in the context of asymmetrical warfare all entail different sets of principles governing the development of a defence system.[23]

The Finnish image of war, the set of concepts prevailing in Finland regarding the use to be made of the armed forces,[24] has not arisen or been shaped through exclusively internal political processes within Finland itself,[25] but rather a significant role has been played by developments in the international security environment. Factors such as general progress in technology, actual recent wars and the lessons learned from them and international military collaboration have been involved in shaping the Finnish image of war.

The point of departure for this work is that the Finnish image of war has been defined as one part of the Western image of war, but taking national distinctive features into account. It is essential, for instance, to take the geographical and historical factors associated with Russia into consideration when analysing the differences between the Finnish and general Western images of war. After all, Russia is even today a great power in a military sense and one with which Finland has an extensive common boundary, and in addition,

---

[22] Cf. Luoma-aho (2003), p. 58 (in Finnish): "How people speak about things directly affects what they think about them and how they act in relation to them."

[23] These three examples of different types of warfare are based on the official concepts espoused in Finland regarding the potential tasks facing the Defence Forces today and in the foreseeable future. See Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004 – Government report to Parliament 6/2004 (2004), pp. 102-105; Report of the working group for revision of the law of peacekeeping missions (2005), pp. 8, 18-19, 25-26.

[24] These include in particular concepts regarding military threats, the legitimate goals and methods of warfare and the elements of military force.

[25] The analysis of the image of war presented here is based on the 'war paradigm' frame of reference. See Raitasalo & Sipilä (2004a), Raitasalo & Sipilä (2004b).

the Finns still recall the events of the wars with the Soviet Union in 1939–1945 and the Soviet political and military pressure exerted on Finland during the Cold War. In fact the threat posed by Russia did not completely disappear with the termination of the Cold War in the late 1980s and early 1990s, although the security situation in Finland has clearly changed relatively to that of the post-World War II decades.

> "Russia is attempting to regain as much as possible of its leading role, resembling the influence that the Soviet Union had in Eurasia."[26]

> "Thus developments in Russia are a great opportunity for Finland but they also involve risks and problems."[27]

> "… We have to follow Russia very carefully, but … nothing is happening so fast that the people need to be seriously worried."[28]

> "Russia will remain the most important military power in Finland's neighbouring areas. Its military is in transition but a capability for traditional use of force in the region will be retained."[29]

> "Although we may not regard Russia as a threat in the political sense, Finland has to develop its defences to allow for all eventualities, include a possible change in the political situation in Russia."[30]

> "The threats to Finland are determined by the country's geopolitical position… The only realistic direction from which a threat could arise is the east, that is from Russia."[31]

---

[26] Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004 – Government report to parliament 6/2004 (2004), p. 35.
[27] Ibid., p. 67.
[28] Kaskeala (2006a) (in Finnish).
[29] Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004. Government report 6/2004 (2004), p.70.
[30] Statement by Paavo Lipponen in 2004 (in Finnish). See Nokkala (2005a).
[31] Kanninen (1994), p. 107 (in Finnish).

"… given our geographical location, the three main security challenges for Finland today are Russia, Russia and Russia."[32]

Finland's historical experiences of the use of armed force in connection with Russia – a form of Finnish historical war discourse – are based on its position as a small state located in the sphere of influence of a major power and integrated into that major power for a substantial part of the duration of its national historical memory, i.e. the years 1809–1917. The struggle for independence, the Winter War and Continuation War fought against the Soviet Union, the immediate post-war period spent under the Allied Control Commission, the 'years of danger' under Soviet political pressure and the years of 'Finlandization' – in short, the whole period from the gaining of independence up to the end of the Cold War – has provided Finland with a wealth of historical experience of subordination to a major military power. In addition, it can very well be claimed that as a legacy from the Second World War the Finns still cherish the idea that they strove unaided to survive both the horrors of that war and the Cold War 'approaches' of the Soviet empire. This view of a capacity to act independently is naturally only partly correct, for Finland benefited from close cooperation with Germany during the Second World War and her fortunes as an immediate neighbour of the Soviet Union during the Cold War were influenced by the fluctuating political relations between the major world powers. Nevertheless the formation of the Finnish image of war nowadays can be estimated to incorporate, alongside the general Western understanding of the use of armed force, a certain 'survival narrative' that has been transformed into a defence policy doctrine of 'neutrality' (predecessor of the current doctrine of 'non-alliance') and a belief in the country's ability to act independently and credibly in defence of its own territory.

Finland is developing its defence system and defence forces in accordance with the prevailing image of war and on the basis of the scenarios regarding a future war that can be derived from this image. *The Finnish image of war thus determines what defence arrangements will be needed and what duties the armed forces must be capable of performing*. It should be noted, however, that in terms of the constructivist theory of international politics the defence decisions taken in Finland will affect the whole Western picture of a potential

---

[32]   Häkämies (2007).

war, although admittedly the impact of a small country such as this on the process of defining war among the Western nations is bound to be fairly minor. Finland nevertheless does influence the Western image of war, albeit to a very limited extent, e.g. by developing its Defence Forces and taking part in international operations. One example of its influence is its joint initiative regarding the transferring of the duties assigned under the Petersberg Accord to the European Union – despite the fact that this initiative was aimed at delimiting and restricting the development of the EU's military activities and capabilities.

One major aim of this work is to answer the question of *how the Finnish image of war has altered during the post-Cold War era and how this change has affected the principles governing the development of the country's defence system*. The process of seeking answers to these far-reaching questions will be supported by the posing of three more detailed subordinate questions for investigation. The overall aim is to achieve an analytical evaluation of the development of the Finnish defence system. This will be done in Chapters 2–4. The more detailed questions which this work will attempt to answer are the following:

1. How has the Western image of war changed since the end of the Cold War?
2. How has the Finnish image of war changed since the end of the Cold War?
3. How has the change in the Finnish image of war affected the development of the country's defence system during the post-Cold War era?

An answer to the first question will be sought in Chapter 2, where the Western image of a potential war will be analysed by looking into the shared understandings regarding such a war that prevail in US, NATO and EU circles. An answer to the second question will then be sought in Chapter 3 by analysing the change that has taken place in the Finnish image of war, adopting the view that Finland is a part of the Western security community and shares its values. Finally, Chapter 4 will contain an evaluation of the influence of the interpretations reached regarding the changing security environment on development of the Finnish defence system. A brief summary of the findings will be presented in Chapter 5.

2. Post-Cold War changes in the Western image of war

During the Cold War period it was the *Pax Americana* that determined views on global security, in that the military might and economic buoyancy of the United States enabled the more advanced industrialized countries to prosper in spite of the threatening security situation. It was thanks to the strength of the United States that the ominous activities of the Soviet Union in the international arena did not transform the Cold War into an open 'hot' war involving at least the two major military alliances. Elsewhere, of course, this was a period of recurrent wars, with Western powers a party to many of these, e.g. the Korean War, Vietnam and the Falklands (Malvinas) War.

From a purely military point of view, the *Pax Americana* was based on the development of nuclear weapons and the existence of conventional forces deployed in order to be capable of containing a possible offensive mounted by the Soviet Union or the Warsaw Pact. As the outcome of a war conducted with nuclear weapons would have been catastrophic for all parties, the avoidance of war became the guiding principle of the day and deterrence occupied a prominent role as one of the aims of security policy in both the East and the West, alongside victory in the event of war. Even a minor armed conflict between the major powers or their allies could have escalated into a global nuclear war.

In spite of the focus on deterrence, a fairly consistent concept emerged in the West during the Cold War as to the nature of the war for which the allied forces should be prepared. Perhaps as a legacy from the Second World War, it was a large-scale attack by mechanized conventional troops that formed the principal threat at that time, alongside a nuclear strike, that is.[33] The Cold War, with its arms escalation and domino theory, in any case called for large armed forces to be kept on constant alert, and also required them to be deployable in regions outside the principal arena of the Cold War, Europe – as exemplified by the wars in Korea and Vietnam. The latter, of course, also served to demonstrate the problems attached to

---

[33] This is referred to in constructivist theory as the shadow of history – the way in which the past can provide a frame of reference for action in the present.

warfare with conventional mechanized divisions against an enemy equipped for guerrilla tactics.[34] In spite of this, however, the Western image of war in the Cold War period was dominated by the threat posed by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries as a whole and the prospect of the decisive battles being large-scale encounters between armed forces in Europe.[35]

It was a political and military viewpoint that emphasized the 'use' of nuclear weapons and mechanized conventional forces in the 'war of attrition' mould inherited from the two world wars that established itself at the core of the Western image of war during the Cold War period, an image that arose out of at least the following discourses[36]:

1. *The discourse of an ideological opposition and struggle between the democratic West and the communist East.* This ideological struggle was expected to flare up into an open war at any moment, and the discourse held that Western societies should be constantly at the ready for a conventional and nuclear war against the countries of the Eastern bloc led by the Soviet Union.

2. *The discourse of nuclear weapons as a means of preventing the outbreak of a full-scale war and restraining any overheating of the Cold War.* The discourse that emphasized the value of nuclear weapons and a nuclear strategy had been built up around the concept of deterrence. In fact, numerous views were put forward

---

[34] The Vietnam War was especially trying for the United States, as it ended in this superpower being defeated by the forces of an underdeveloped country. Overwhelming technological superiority and armed forces that met up to the demands of the 'leading' image of war at the time were unable to hold their own against an enemy that employed an asymmetrical strategy. The small amount of benefit that the United States gained from the Vietnam War was due to the fact that its entry into the war had demonstrated the country's determination and credibility in the struggle against the spread of communism, in that it had sent its troops to the other side of the globe to prevent communism from engulfing South Vietnam. On the other hand, eventual defeat in the war undoubtedly undermined the country's overall credibility.

[35] See, for example, Annual Report to the President and Congress by Secretary of Defense Les Aspin (1994), p. 5; Garden and Ramsbotham (2004), p. 10; Defense Department Special Briefing on Announcement of New Locations for the Active Duty Army's Modular Brigade Combat Teams (2005).

[36] See van Creveld (1991); Raitasalo and Sipilä (2004a); Raitasalo (2006a). On nuclear weapons during the Cold War period, see Pyykönen (1998), pp. 40-42.

within the framework of this discourse as to the best means of developing a credible deterrent to influence the other side in a possible confrontation between the superpowers, e.g. the mounting of a massive counter-attack in the event of the deterrent being ineffective, or a flexible reaction that would allow for conventional warfare and a limited nuclear exchange between the superpowers. It should be noted that the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI, also known as 'Star Wars') that was being developed by the USA in the 1980s in fact rendered the whole nuclear deterrent discourse that had been under development since the 1940s questionable, since the basic idea was to destroy the other side's nuclear warheads in flight and thereby create a platform for winning the war in a situation which had earlier been described quite simply as 'mutually assured destruction' (MAD).

3.   *The discourse of battles between extensive conventional mechanized forces* as the most significant expression of the nature of war and as a basis for developing armed forces.

In addition to these typical Cold War discourses, there were also some discourses regarding the nature of war which had become established over a longer time-span but similarly influenced the image of war in the Cold War period[37]:

4.   *The discourse of inter-state war*. One effect of this discourse was to marginalize non-state actors. The anti-colonialist wars and civil wars (often referred to as "low-intensity conflicts") that occurred during the Cold War period served partly to discredit this state-centred war discourse.

5.   *The discourse of a formal theatre of war* – as opposed to a war fought in the midst of civil society – in which the outcome is decided by means of a symmetrical battle between hierarchically organized troops. It should be noted that the limitation to a given theatre of war had been questioned prior to the Cold War, e.g. in connection with the strategic bombing raids of the Second World War, which destroyed whole towns or cities.

---

[37]   See Franzén (2002); van Creveld (1991); Raitasalo and Sipilä (2004a); Raitasalo (2005a).

Changes in the Western image of war after the end of the Cold War

The end of the Cold War and the onset of globalization

The termination of the Cold War posed challenges for the Western image of war which had become established over a period of several decades (or alternatively, it can be argued that it had matured over a period of centuries). It was realized relatively quickly in the early 1990s that the logic behind the workings of the international system was changing, although admittedly without any predictable direction, and the event did indeed constitute a conceptual watershed of a kind, providing the opportunity for changing the international rules of the game and the international security environment. This opportunity was connected with a change in the established interpretations brought about by the practical deeds and political rhetoric of various actors and with the rise of new shared understandings, but as a widely accepted social fact, the end of the Cold War did not as such offer any changing interpretations of the logic behind the workings of the emerging international system or any new rules of the game. Instead, the new logic and rules had to be created out of the concepts and thought patterns that were already in use. Thus the post-Cold War era grew up out of the mentality and material reality of the Cold War itself, as it were. The OSCE Charter signed in Paris in 1990 reflected this termination of the Cold War and expressed the need for a broad-based re-evaluation of the relations between states:

> "The era of confrontation and division of Europe has ended. We declare that henceforth our relations will be founded on respect and co-operation. Europe is liberating itself from the legacy of the past. ... The changing political and military environment in Europe opens new possibilities for common efforts in the field of military security."[38]

The understanding of war simply as a series of large-scale mechanized encounters and the concentration on strategic nuclear armament no longer seemed rational once the Cold War was over, as the ideological confrontation between East and West had disap-

---

[38]   Charter of Paris for a New Europe (1990), pp. 3, 8.

peared, and once this state of affairs had gained widespread international acceptance as a 'fact of life' in the early 1990s, the Cold War image of war was also challenged. This meant that the principles for the use of armed force had to be re-defined on both sides of the East-West dividing line as the traditional threats abated and new dangers emerged.

The Western image of war in the post-Cold War era nevertheless continued to be founded on the same concepts of war as previously – the Pax Americana understood in a broad sense. On the other hand, academic and political discussion concerning 'globalization' gained momentum around the same time as the Cold War came to an end, partly on account of the fact that the abolition of the political dichotomy and the progress made in technology led to a rapid removal of the barriers to the mobility of information flows, goods, capital and people that had prevailed earlier. In addition, the discussion that had arisen in the 1970s and 1980s concerning international interdependence merged into this broader theme of globalization, within which different actors were inclined to assess the pros and cons of the global system from their own viewpoints.[39] This discussion is still going on at the present time, as globalization can be regarded as a field in which neither the direction nor the rate of the process can be predicted in advance, but rather evaluations of its advantages and disadvantages arise through interactions between actors such as states, transnational companies and international organizations (IGOs, NGOs etc.) and its development and manifestations are shaped by national and international political decisions and agreements.

As the notion of the termination of the Cold War established itself in the early 1990s, the stability and predictability of the international system came to occupy a prominent position in Western security assessments, while the discussions of globalization laid new emphasis on interdependence, in view of the vulnerability of the international system and the new threats that it faced. As the prospects of a traditional large-scale war between the major powers rapidly re-

---

[39] Interdependence has been looked on as both a positive and a negative factor in the context of globalization. One positive aspect noted as far as the use of armed forces is concerned is the resulting need to maintain the stability of the international system, which can be expected to reduce the incidence of military crises, while a negative aspect might be the decline in the self-sufficiency of individual actors, for example, and their consequent increased reliance on other actors, e.g. under wartime conditions.

ceded the *security threats facing the globalizing world emerged as being more indeterminate and indirect in nature*. Thus the security strategy for the European Union, approved in 2003, speaks in concrete terms of a tension between the threats posed by the globalization process and the military threats inherited from the Cold War period.

> "In an era of globalisation, distant threats may be as much a concern as those that are near at hand. … Meanwhile, global communication increases awareness in Europe of regional conflicts or humanitarian tragedies anywhere in the world. Our traditional concept of self-defence – up to and including the Cold War – was based on the threat of invasion. With the new threats, the first line of defence will often be abroad. The new threats are dynamic. … we should be ready to act before a crisis occurs. … In contrast to the massive visible threat in the Cold War, none of the new threats is purely military; nor can any be tackled by purely military means."[40]

A revolution in military affairs

The Gulf War of 1991, waged at precisely the same time as the Cold War was coming to an end, served in a sense as a 'model' for the coming era, a campaign from which lessons could be drawn for future wars. For the United States in particular, one lesson to be learned was the vital importance of maintaining a technological advantage over the enemy, and this 'revolution in military affairs' (RMA) had become a leading theme in US strategy by the mid-1990s. The revolution was viewed as a process that was fundamentally re-shaping the character of war and *providing the US armed forces with the visionary task of developing their capabilities in a new direction at a time when the traditional threats had abated* and no new powerful threat or distinct combination of threats had emerged in their stead. Thus the development of information technology to the point of achieving a revolution in military affairs and maintaining an advantage in this field over all potential adversaries became the focus of US defence policy from the mid-1990s onwards.[41]

---

[40] A Secure Europe in a Better World – European Security Strategy (2003), pp. 6-7.

[41] On the significance of the Revolution in Military Affairs discourse for the development of the US armed forces in the post-Cold War era, see Raitasalo (2005a).

In addition to the Gulf War, military experiences in Bosnia (1995), Iraq (Operation *Desert Fox*, 1998) and Kosovo (1999) lent support to the notion of the power of high technology for revolutionizing warfare. The emphasis on aerial combat, precision strikes and satellite navigation, the heightened importance of command and control (C2) systems and the development of Network-Centric Warfare (NCW) were some of the manifestations of the changes in the nature of war brought about by this revolution – at least in the framework of US strategic deliberations. Other topics that were also at the core of this discourse were increased professionality in the armed forces (enhanced quality) and capabilities for expeditionary warfare beyond the boundaries of one's own territory.[42]

The revolution in military affairs gained the status of an official tool for the development of the US armed forces in the latter half of the 1990s,[43] and as a factor directing practical decisions in this field it became associated with the 'transformation' of the armed forces, a concept introduced at the very end of the decade and employed in particular during George W. Bush's first term of office as a cover term for the development of the armed forces towards meeting the new security challenges of the post-Cold War era. When the 'transformation' was raised to the status of one of the key factors in US defence policy, the revolution in military affairs came to be regarded as the means for achieving such a transformation. New 'revolutionary' high-tech weaponry and command systems were thought of as increasing the efficiency of military operations of a new type. This quotation from the 1999 US National Security Strategy reflects well the importance attached to the transformation of the armed forces and the revolution in military affairs, and also the logical relationship between the two:

---

[42] The revolution in military affairs discourse gained in currency as fresh experiences in action demonstrated the usefulness of advanced technology, and as the discourse heightened, so more resources came to be devoted to implementing this revolution through changes in organization, working methods, operational principles and available equipment (incl. command and weapons systems). The revolution in military affairs assumed the nature of a self-fulfilling prediction within US thinking and the practices adopted in the use of the country's armed forces – and at the same time it served as a new strategic imperative now that the threat posed by the Soviet Union had been lifted.

[43] See Annual Report to the President and Congress by the Secretary of Defense (1995, 1999); Quadrennial Defence Review Report 1997; A National Strategy for a New Century (1991).

"Transformation of our military forces is critical to meeting the military challenges of the next century. Exploiting the revolution in military affairs is fundamental if U.S. forces are to retain their dominance in an uncertain world."[44]

Efforts were also made to extend the philosophy of the revolution in military affairs and the associated practical changes in the constitution of armed forces to Europe and elsewhere in the world, partly in the form of insistence by US governments on the future military capacity of the NATO alliance and on the ability of member nations to conduct operations together with US forces,[45] since the inability of many European armed forces to do so had become evident by the end of the decade. The lessons learned in both Bosnia and Kosovo were taken seriously in Europe, both within NATO and within the EU, which began from 1999 onwards to develop its own military crisis management capability in accordance with the tenets of the US revolution in military affairs. The aim in this respect has been to form small contingents of highly professional and well equipped troops for expeditionary operations beyond their own areas in which full use can be made of high-tech command and weapons systems. The member states of the European Union stated the need for a transformation in European armed forces in order to achieve "more flexible mobile forces" quite explicitly in the EU security strategy document approved in December 2003.[46]

Correspondingly, NATO has been attempting since the late 1990s to develop the intervention capacity of its European member states, again based in particular on experiences in Bosnia and Kosovo,[47] and agreement was reached between the member states in 1999 on a Defence Capabilities Initiative (DCI) aimed at placing the European allies on a growth course for the development and acquisition of 'new' resources in keeping with the revolution in military affairs. The vast superiority of the USA in the projection of military power had become apparent and there was considerable talk of a 'capability gap' between it and the other NATO countries. The purpose of the DCI was therefore to prevent this gap from widening to

---

[44] A National Strategy for a New Century (1991), p. 21 (italics by the author).

[45] See, for example, Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (2002), p. 869.

[46] A Secure Europe in a Better World – European Security Strategy (2003), p. 12.

[47] On developments in the military capabilities of the United States, NATO and the European Union in the post-Cold War era, see Raitasalo (2005a).

such an extent that it would endanger combined operations by the allies, and eventually to close the gap as far as possible.[48]

NATO began this process of transformation aimed at creating forces capable of taking part in modern (post-Cold War) operations in 2002, the spearhead of the transformation being the NATO Response Force (NRF), which could be deployed rapidly and effectively out-of-area. Similarly, an undertaking for the development of military forces was agreed upon in Prague when it became apparent that the European member states were failing to fulfil the DCI   promises that they had made in 1999.[49] In spite of everything – and in spite of the slow progress made by the European members of NATO in the actual acquisition of new military capabilities – the military forces available to NATO have been conceptualized, especially around the turn of the millennium, very largely in terms of the definitions laid down by the United States. In this respect the discourse of the revolution in military affairs may be said to have spread to the whole Western world, although admittedly not so much in the form of an emphasis on technological change as of *a strong belief in networking systems created by advanced technology* that will permit reductions to be made in the substantial sizes of conventional defence forces. Professionalism is one aspect of this process, but by no means the only one.

New wars and asymmetrical warfare

Where the 'balance of terror' that prevailed between East and West during the Cold War included the mutual understanding that neither superpower bloc could carry out military operations in the other's sphere of influence – at least not without enlisting a proxy, the emergence of *new wars*[50] has created a need for the Western powers to have a external intervention capacity that can be deployed outside their own area. Although wars were constantly being fought in Third World countries during the Cold War, these civil wars and 'low-intensity conflicts'[51] were largely passed over in Western evaluations of

---

[48] See, for example, Raitasalo (2005a); Sirén, Puistola, Raitasalo, Takamaa and Tavaila (2004), p. 42.

[49] Raitasalo (2005a); Sirén, Puistola, Raitasalo, Takamaa and Tavaila (2004), p. 42.

[50] See, for example, Kaldor (1999); Kaldor (2001). It should be noted that there were cases of countries carrying out military operations outside their own area even during the Cold War period, and at least the major military powers, including the Soviet Union, United States, Great Britain and France, developed and maintained a capacity for expeditionary operations.

[51] See, for example, van Creveld (1991).

the nature of war. The seriousness of the Soviet threat was such that it overshadowed all these 'smaller incidents' of physical violence, at the same time as the spheres of influence of the major powers placed strict limitations on the freedom of movement of both the American-led West and the Soviet-led East within the international system. Once the serious threat of a major war had receded, there was more room within the Western image of war for internal conflicts and other 'minor' physical skirmishes, while the development of the media (newspapers, television, internet etc.) into virtually real-time sources of news and information began to improve citizens' awareness of large-scale infringements of human rights, ethnic cleansings and civil wars in all corners of the world. This increased awareness in the West has in turn given rise to a desire to do something in a military sense to prevent or contain these new wars. One lesson that the West was able to learn from the protracted Bosnia operation in the early 1990s was the need for rapid intervention: these 'new wars' call for immediate action before they have time to escalate into mass killings or genocide.[52]

The partial transition in the Western image of war to incorporate non-state acts of violence is in many instances regarded as belonging to the frame of reference of *asymmetrical warfare*. The Cold War experiences of guerrilla warfare – such as those acquired by the United States in Vietnam or the Soviet Union in Afghanistan – provided an opportunity to conceptualize war in a situation where one or more of the parties to the conflict did not function in the manner of a traditional nation-state and the war itself was being conducted in a new arena, frequently within civil society. The 'theory' of asymmetrical warfare developed gradually within the Western image of war in the course of the 1990s, partly through a process of extracting the lessons to be learned from the Vietnam War some twenty years afterwards, in view of the fact that the West had resolved in the immediate aftermath of the war to concentrate on 'traditional' military solutions in the future.[53]

---

[52] This lesson had already been learned in a preliminary form from the genocides perpetrated in Ruanda and Burundi in 1994–1995, and the Western inability to act more promptly in Central Africa later served as an example of the need for rapid military intervention. See, for example, A Secure Europe in a Better World - European Security Strategy (2003), p. 7.

[53] On the state-centred image of war in the West and the lack of attention to guerrilla warfare, see, for example, van Creveld (1991), pp. ix-x, 25-32; Cassidy (2003), pp. 135-136.

Crisis management and humanitarian interventions

The question of stifling new wars at their inception, or at least of minimizing their effects, entered Western discussions of the use of armed forces during the 1990s. The influence of information technology on the instruments and methods of war that had come to be recognised under the heading of the revolution in military affairs had opened up possibilities for the Western powers to intervene in humanitarian crises without any great risk of casualties on their own side, and the United States in particular rapidly developed a global capability for such interventions by means of air power and precision weapons in the course of the decade.[54] It was indeed just at the overlap between the discourses of the Gulf War and the war in Bosnia that discussions regarding *international military interventions for crisis management and humanitarian purposes* came to the fore. The perceived *need* for humanitarian interventions arose from the outbreak of a series of new wars and the increased coverage given to these in the media, while the *possibilities* for intervention arose from the development of new weapons systems and command and control systems – in effect the implementation of the revolution in military affairs, especially in the United States. It was naturally partly as an outcome of the termination of the Cold War that these new wars arose and that the West was able to react in the way it did. However, as the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan put it, the strict interpretations of the principle of national sovereignty and the embargo on interventions that had prevailed in the Cold War period now started to be re-evaluated to correspond to the situation in the new wars that had broken out more recently:

> "… if humanitarian intervention is, indeed, an unacceptable assault on sovereignty, how should we respond to a Rwanda, to a Srebrenica – to gross and systematic violations of human rights that offend every precept of our common humanity? … Surely no legal principle – not even sovereignty – can ever shield crimes against humanity … Armed intervention must always remain the option of last resort, but in the face of mass murder,

---

[54] Where precision weapons accounted for about 7% of total armament during the Gulf War of 1991, a figure of 70% had been reached by the time of the Bosnia operation in 1995. See, for example, Gulf War Air Power Survey – Summary Report (993), p. 226; Raitasalo (2005a), pp. 208-216.

it is an option that cannot be relinquished."[55]

Gradually the idea of an increased need for a global military capability caught on in Europe as well, and some European countries began to invest in IT-based military technology in the late 1990s. The rise of international crisis management by military means – and humanitarian interventions as one form of this – to a central position in the Western mode of warfare was made possible by the development of precision weapons systems with long-range impact combined with improved means of force protection. The unsuccessful humanitarian mission in Somalia in 1992–1993 demonstrated the importance of force protection in the context of a military operation mounted on humanitarian grounds that is not directly concerned with protecting one's own national interests or territory. The loss of eighteen men led to a change in the strategic level of US policy and the withdrawal of troops from that country that had been ravaged by civil war.[56]

It should be noted that, although the European members of NATO and the EU have made considerable efforts to raise the level of their crisis management capabilities in military terms from the 1990s onwards, the role of the United States has been crucial in this respect.[57] This in turn has meant that with the re-directing of US security policy discussions towards the 'war on terrorism' since 2001 it has become increasingly difficult to draw the line between crisis management operations, invasions and counter-terrorist activities, leading to mounting criticism of US military operations.[58]

The development of an EU military capability is taking place at the present time precisely in this sphere of crisis management, and partly in collaboration with NATO. Indeed, the fact that NATO has approved crisis management operations as part of its mandate in addition to defence of the territories of its member states, together with the extension of its area of operation to assume global proportions, has demonstrated the importance of developing crisis management in our post-Cold War world. As US Defence Minister

---

[55] See The Responsibility to Protect – About the Commission (2007).
[56] On the operation in Somalia, see, for example, Weiss & Collins (2000).
[57] This has especially been the case in 'demanding' crisis management operations or humanitarian interventions that have required backing from military assault troops, and in cases where not all the parties to the conflict have given their assent to a crisis management operation.
[58] See, for example, Brahimi (2006), p. 15.

Robert Gates observed at the Munich security policy conference in February 2007, a considerable change has taken place in the NATO mandate over the last fifteen years. He laid particular stress on the character of NATO as a military alliance with the continuing purpose of pre-empting military threats and if necessary eliminating them once they have materialized, and concluded that investment in the creation and development of a military capability for crisis management, together with military action to prevent terrorism, was in a NATO context the essence of preparedness for the warfare of the 21st century.[59]

Military Outsourcing – the privatization of warfare

Another characteristic of the developments that have taken place in defence administration and the armed forces in Western countries over the last fifteen years has been a concentration on 'core activities', partly in order to improve financial efficiency. This means that many supporting and servicing functions have been sourced out to private operators,[60] which have come to occupy a more important role than ever before in the planning and execution of Western military operations. The servicing and repairing of weapons systems and command systems, the construction and maintenance of military bases, intelligence, catering services, vehicle servicing, fuel supplies, billeting, security services and expert technical services in connection with Western military operations are to increasing extents being

---

[59] See Gates (2007).

[60] As far as the U.S. is concerned, this privatization trend is summed up well in the Government Accountability Office report of 2007: "Since the early 1990s, DOD has increasingly relied on contractors to meet many of its logistical and operational support needs during combat operations, peacekeeping missions, and humanitarian assistance missions, ranging from Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm and operations in the Balkans (e.g., Bosnia and Kosovo) to Afghanistan and Iraq." High-Level DOD Action Needed to Address Long-Standing Problems with Management and Oversight of Contractors Supporting Deployed Forces (2007), p. 6. The increasing tendency for privatization is also reflected in the payments made by the US Armed Forces to private companies, which increased from 82.3 billion dollars in 1996 to 141.2 billion dollars in 2005. See Rebuilding Iraq – Reconstruction Progress Hindered by Contracting, Security, and capacity Challenges (2007), p. 3; see also Contractors Provide Vital Services to Deployed Forces but are not Adequately Addressed in DOD Plans (2003), p. 1.

placed in private hands.[61] This process of privatization of tasks traditionally belonging to the armed forces – the 'privatization of warfare' – has become a particularly prominent feature in the years since the Iraq War of 2003. Even in that year it was estimated that there would be more than 20,000 employees of private firms in Iraq during the reconstruction and stabilization period, engaged in producing services for the armed forces that have traditionally been looked after by the forces themselves.[62] As it was, it was estimated in 2007 that the US ground forces alone had some 60,000 contractor employees working for them in military operations in South-West Asia, principally in Iraq and Afghanistan.[63] Thus where the 'new wars' have brought non-state actors into combat in the Third World, they have also increased the significance of non-state actors, in many cases multi-national companies and corporations, in military operations mounted by the Western nations, through this 'privatization of warfare'.

The outsourcing of functions belonging to the armed forces to private companies is closely connected with the reform of defence organizations to conform to the military threats of the post-Cold War era. Forces have been much reduced in strength at the same time as the numbers of crisis management missions and other low-intensity military operations have been on the increase.[64] Likewise, the new threats are looked on as calling for new modes of action from the armed forces, including new weapons systems and command and control systems. These high-tech systems in turn are unprecedentedly expensive, and their acquisition on a large scale is feasible only if substantial *savings* can be made in expenditure on other functions of the armed forces. Efforts have indeed been made to achieve savings through enhanced efficiency, partly by privatizing various support functions that are no longer regarded as belonging to the core fields of expertise of the armed forces themselves – and thereby opening them up to competition. The constantly increasing complexity of systems resulting from the application of modern technol-

---

[61] See, for example, Contractors Provide Vital Services to Deployed Forces but are not Adequately Addressed in DOD Plans (2003), p. 7.

[62] Traynor (2003).

[63] Rebuilding Iraq – Reconstruction Progress Hindered by Contracting, Security, and Capacity Challenges (2007), p. 5.

[64] Cf. Contractors Provide Vital Services to Deployed Forces but are not Adequately Addressed in DOD Plans (2003), p. 1.

ogy has led in turn to the *commissioning of technological expertise* from private companies. The changes in the operational methods pursued by armed forces, the drive for savings in expenditure and the emphasis placed on advanced technology are all connected with the post-Cold War transformation of armed forces throughout the Western world, and it is these circumstances that have been referred to as justifications for privatization.[65]

Another advantage to be gained from outsourcing is *flexibility* in the implementation of military operations. It is possible, if necessary, to purchase from the private sector just those capacities that one expects to need in situations of a certain kind, e.g. situations in which a military organization is committed to an extensive, protracted military operation far away from home. A further motive for privatization has been perceived in political propriety, especially on the home front, in that the death or injury of an employee of a private company does not reflect on the state or the government in the same way as the death or injury of a soldier in battle. Similarly, the employees of private companies are not usually included in calculations of the strength of the military, so that this approach offers a means of exceeding quotas placed on the deployment of forces or of obscuring the true extent of an operation.

The war on terror – Bellum Americanum

One goal of US military policy for almost a decade before the terrorists struck on September 11th 2001 had been to maintain and even increase American military superiority, in view of the lessons learned in the Gulf War. The discourse of the revolution in military affairs determined American attitudes towards military power to a substantial extent and every effort was made to disseminate this doctrine globally. Especially in Europe, the basic tenets of this discourse have guided the development of armed forces over the past decade, although admittedly without the express aim of bringing about a revolution in military affairs. On the contrary, the principal aim has been to create an efficient body of troops that would be capable of taking part in multi-national operations in collaboration with the United States and of defending the country's own territory if required, although this latter need is beginning to be regarded as

---

[65]   See, for example, Improving the Combat Edge though Outsourcing (1996): Private Military Companies: Options for Regulation (2002).

highly improbable nowadays, at least in the form of a response to a large-scale invasion. On the other hand, an asymmetrical incursion into the territory of a European nation – in effect defence in the face of a terrorist attack, has entered the picture for armed forces in both Europe and the United States since September 11th 2001. It must be noted, however, that while the war declared on terrorism in the USA has been a militarized response to the terrorist threat, the armed forces have played a more limited role in the containing of terrorism in Europe, mainly one of providing support for other authorities.

When the President of the United States declared war on terrorism almost immediately after the strike of September 11th 2001, the goal was to destroy all the globally active terrorist organizations, and three days after the event Congress authorized the President to deploy the armed forces as necessary against all nations, organizations or persons implicated in the planning or execution of the raids or in providing protection for those who carried them out. This "Authorization for Use of Military Force" together with the declaration of a war on terrorism quite explicitly extended the official US concept of war to include non-state actors.[66] Implicitly, this transition had occurred in the 1990s, largely in connection with the 'new wars' and the question of humanitarian interventions. Nevertheless, the world's only superpower declared war against an abstract threat named as 'terrorism' in September 2001, and set out in the months that followed to wage wars of a largely conventional nature, first in Afghanistan from October 2001 onwards and then in Iraq from March 2003, both wars that can still be regarded as being in progress today, although it is common to speak now of a stabilization or reconstruction phase. The security situation in both cases is very poor, however, and violence of a kind typical of guerrilla warfare is still a daily occurrence.[67]

The actions of President George W. Bush in response to the 9/11 terrorist strikes have contributed to a significant extent to the construction and definition of the status of terrorism as a military threat to the United States. Although the perception of 'terrorism'

---

[66] Cf. Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004, Government report to parliament 6/2004 (2004), p. 20: "In international cooperation, terrorism as a concept has come to be understood as political violence used by individuals or groups, the targets of which are selected randomly or for their symbolic value."

[67] Senate Joint Resolution 23 (2001); Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (2001), pp. 1347-1351.

as such as a target of warfare has not spread quite so universally, all state actors were obliged to adjust their own military activities to the reality of a situation in which the world's only military superpower (or hyperpower, as it is sometimes called) had initiated a number of military operations against the global threat posed by terrorism. The attempt to raise terrorism to the status of a clearly defined, serious military threat can perhaps be understood better when we realize that there was a notable lack of any significant external military threat to the Western powers in the decade immediately following the Cold War. It is interesting to note, too, that a decade before the 9/11 attack acts of terrorism had been explicitly declared criminal by the OSCE in its Charter of Paris – but had not been classed as military acts.[68] In addition, terrorism had been linked to strategic discussions on the spread of weapons of mass destruction in the course of the 1990s. Evidently these factors between them formed a body of opinion that led at once to the assumption in the wake of 9/11 of a threat that was at least partially a military one, against which one should be prepared to deploy armed forces.

> "America must not ignore the threat gathering against us. Facing clear evidence of peril, *we cannot wait for the final proof, the smoking gun, that <u>could</u> come in the form of a <u>mushroom cloud</u>.*"[69]

It is significant that US military policy thinking and rhetoric links the abstract threat arising from terrorism with actors at the state level, through the medium of 'rogue states' and 'failed states'. This link was forged a few months after the declaration of the 'war on terrorism', in President Bush's famous 'axis of evil' speech of January 2002, and it has subsequently contributed to the classification of terrorism as a military threat, since state-level actors (rogue states or failed states) constitute distinct targets for military action, whereas terrorist organizations or individual terrorists are often more difficult to pinpoint as objects of military operations. In all events, 'global terrorism' has emerged as the principal justification for the war on

---

68 Charter of Paris for a New Europe (1990), p. 8 "We unreservedly condemn, as criminal, all acts, methods and practices of terrorism and express our determination to work for its eradication both bilaterally and through multilateral co-operation."
69 Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (2002), p. 1718 (italics by the present author).

terrorism, a connection that has arisen partly out of the fact that terrorist organizations bent on strikes of a catastrophic nature have been associated with the possession of weapons of mass destruction within the discourse of the war on terrorism.[70]

The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq are good examples of the connection between the war on terrorism and the notion of the state, illustrating that *in spite of the non-state elements present in these wars, the discourse of the war of terrorism <u>partially</u> serves to reproduce the traditional state-centred view of war*. It has not, therefore, meant a total transition to non-state adversaries in the understanding of war.

The discourse of the war on terrorism is also clearly connected with the discourse of the revolution in military affairs, which was the main determinant of military power in the 1990s, at least in the sense that the latter, as a post-Cold War *attempt at re-defining warfare*,[71] came through the war of terrorism to be paralleled by a broader *attempt at re-defining the operational logic of the international system*. Thus the *Pax Americana* situation of the Cold War was transformed through the policies of the Bush Administration into a post-9/11 *Bellum Americanum* era, in which the operational logic of the international system came to involve the active exercise of military power on a unilateral basis and with pre-emptive goals if necessary, as defined in US military policy. The role of the revolution in military affairs in this broader re-definition process was largely restricted to one of guiding the development of military resources, since the ever more sophisticated intelligence, surveillance, command and control, and weapons systems being introduced are well suited to operations directed against terrorist organizations and states that harbour them.

NATO and the EU have also *partially* transferred terrorism to a military frame of reference, so that both view it as the most significant threat to security in the current international system and have set about developing their military resources and missions specifically in order to combat this threat. In addition, NATO, as a military

---

[70]   See, for example, Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (2002), pp. 2150-2151.

[71]   George W. Bush had stated in his presidential campaign of 1999 that the new arms technology would enable keeping the peace by redefining war on US terms, a message that he had then repeated on numerous occasions prior to the 9/11 attack. See, for example, Bush (1999); Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (2001), pp. 283, 400, 1778; Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (2004), p. 1107.

alliance, invoked Article 5 of its charter, the commitment to mutual defence, as a consequence of the 9/11 attack – a clause that had initially been formulated specifically with a view to the military threat posed by the Soviet Union.[72]

When analysing the views of the European NATO members and the member states of the European Union on terrorism as a security threat and on suitable means of suppressing it, it should nevertheless be underlined that US attitudes towards the use of armed force against terrorism have been on quite a different level from those of its European allies.[73] The European attitude can perhaps be characterized best as *action* against terrorism, whereas the American reaction to the threat posed by global terrorism is *war*. All the same, the war declared by the United States against terrorism and the threat posed by global terrorism are clearly factors that have to be taken into consideration by European countries when planning the development of their military resources.

Changing Western concepts of the nature of war and the use of armed forces

An examination of United States, NATO and EU security and defence policy documents indicates that the Western image of war has been in a constant state of change throughout the post-Cold War era, and has also become somewhat diversified by comparison with the fairly clearly defined, unambiguous manner in which war was perceived during the Cold War period.[74] If we look at the principal discourses relevant to the construction of that image in the circumstances of the Cold War, we can see that clear-cut changes, or at least

---

[72] Conclusions and Plan of Action of the Extraordinary European Council Meeting (2001); Presidency Conclusions – Seville European Council (2002), Appendix V, paragraph 6; A Secure Europe in a Better World - European Security Strategy (2003); Declaration on Solidarity against Terrorism (2004); NATO Press Release (2001); NATO Press Release (2004); Operation Active Endeavour (2007).

[73] On European phraseology related to terrorism and military action against it, see for example, NATO's Military Concept for Defence Against Terrorism (2003); Declaration on European Military Capabilities (2004), paragraph 7.

[74] There were also challenges to the Western view of war during the Cold War period, e.g. on account of the war in Vietnam. This challenge was for the most part ignored, however, and a potential war was still understood as consisting of a series of large-scale engagements between mechanized conventional troops representing the parties to the Cold War.

alterations in emphasis, occurred in four out of the five of these in the course of the 1990s.

In the first place, the ideological dichotomy of the Cold War and the state of global ideological confrontation had ended, as *the termination of the Cold War had meant the collapse of the whole political and military frame of reference that had persisted throughout that era*. This could not fail to make itself felt in the shaping of the Western image of war during the 1990s, especially as far as the modelling of military threats was concerned, so that these models are now very much more complex and include more non-state actors than before. At the same time the military threats have become more abstract in character, since asymmetrical warfare is a difficult threat to conceptualize – at least all the time one tries to perceive a possible future war from the viewpoint of the armed forces of a nation-state pitched against a non-state actor.

Secondly, *the image of a predominantly nuclear war reverted during the 1990s to one of largely conventional warfare*. Nuclear weapons and strategies based on them have declined in significance during the post-Cold War era, although they admittedly have not disappeared entirely. Indeed, the spread of nuclear weapons and the related technology to the 'rogue states' of the area of the former Soviet Union lay at the heart of the discussion of nuclear armament in the 1990s. At any rate, it is evident that *the new conventional military capabilities offered by applications of advanced information technology* (including long-range impact and precision weapons systems, electronic deception and interference systems and technological warfare) *have partly replaced nuclear weapons and the sheer size of conventional armed forces as factors in the construction of a credible military force and the achievement of major power status* during the post-Cold War era.

Thirdly, *the scale of conventional warfare in the Western image of war was reduced during the 1990s* from the prospect of a global conventional war to that of a regional conflict. Where capabilities were maintained during the Cold War for an encounter between millions of soldiers in Europe or Asia, military operations since that time have gradually become more limited in extent, as also have the peacetime and wartime strengths of the nations' armed forces. On the other hand, it must be said that the removal of the deterrent to even conventional war that existed in the Cold War period led to numerous conventional wars and smaller-scale situations in which armed forc-

es had to be deployed in the course of that decade, e.g. the Gulf War of 1991, the Chechnya war in 1994 and the wars in the Balkans that followed the dissolution of Yugoslavia. Also, humanitarian missions have become 'acceptable' in the West as reasons for deploying armed forces, and smaller-scale contingencies have gained a more prominent place among the principles governing deployment. At the conceptual level, these changes in the image of war may be summarized as a transition towards military methods of crisis management and peace enforcement. The politically motivated use of armed forces – war – has now become legitimate in many instances as a means of carrying out humanitarian missions, whereas during the Cold War the normative embargo on territorial interventions was very much stronger.[75]

The changes that have taken place in the assessment of military power have thus been reflected not only in a decline in the emphasis on nuclear weapons but also in a change in the scale of conventional warfare and in new opportunities for exploiting advanced technology. Massed forces, universal conscription and mechanized combat have been shifted into the background, and the traditional custom of 'calculating' military strength in terms of the number of battle tanks, naval vessels and army divisions that can be deployed has declined in significance. Information technology, networked systems and interoperability with the United States as the unrivalled world military leader imply military power of a different kind from that which prevailed during the Cold War. Armed forces consisting of small, highly mobile units with networked sensor devices, command and control systems and weapons systems are typical of the nations that wield real military power in today's world. The United States has had a virtually exclusive right to define the elements of 'technological' mili-

---

[75] It should be noted, however, that not all humanitarian interventions have met with widespread acceptance in the post-Cold War era. One example of this is the intervention in Kosovo, where the US led an incursion by NATO forces into Serbia without a United Nations Security Council resolution. It must also be pointed out that the agreements reached on the principle of sovereignty in international law have not as such been altered since the Cold War ended. It would be nearer the point to say that the concept of humanitarian intervention has taken on new interpretations in recent times on the basis of operations that have been carried out in practice. From the perspective of international law, it may be 'easier' for the UN Security Council to decide that a humanitarian intervention is justified nowadays than it was in the 1980s, for example, in spite of the fact that no new (international) agreements have been concluded on the matter.

tary power – and has, after all, been responsible for the vast majority of the world's expenditure of money and resources on the development of military technology for many years now. Similarly, US global strategic interests and the superpower status that it inherited from the Cold War period have left that country with a distinct military advantage over all the other actors in the international system.

Fourthly, *the state-centred perspective* that had dominated the image of war for centuries *continued to decline during the 1990s.* This trend had already been visible during the Cold War period, in that a large proportion of the wars that occurred involved at least one party that was not the army of any state, but it was particularly in the 1990s that the 'new wars', the dissolution of states and the rise of humanitarian interventions led the Western nations to take all kinds of situations requiring the use of armed forces into account when constructing their image of war. The restriction of this image to wars conducted between states was quite simply no longer a rational proposition during a decade in which the diversity of situations in which armed forces were deployed increased markedly – or at least awareness of the large-scale human suffering caused by crises that involved the use of armed forces spread on a global scale. It was during this decade that *large-scale acts of violence by non-state actors became an integral part of the Western image of war*.

In spite of the trends for change during the 1990s identified above, it is important in this connection to emphasize the short time-span involved, only one decade, and *the inertia associated with established shared understandings and interpretations of war and warfare*. This 'inertia' is a matter of the 'natural acceptance' of intersubjective notions of war that have accumulated over decades and centuries – a process in which social facts are gradually transformed in the course of time into objective facts.[76] For states and other actors, war is a form of struggle for existence, so that any significant alteration in their image of war will require a broad-based change in the rules and operational logic governing the international system and a questioning of the ossified patterns of behaviour and thought processes associated with the use of armed forces. Thus, in spite of the trends towards change in the image of war that emerged during

---

[76]   This process by which the origins of intersubjective 'social' facts are forgotten in the course of human activity and they come to be understood as objective facts that are independent of human beings, or suprahistorical principles, is known as 'reification'.

the first post-Cold War decade, the image that had prevailed in the Cold War period still largely persisted in the late 1990s, at least in the sphere of influence of the industrially developed Western countries. In particular, the view of war as a symmetrical confrontation between armed forces of a similar type with the aim of defeating their adversaries in a decisive battle continued to influence this image throughout the decade. The state-level actors certainly became aware during the 1990s of the low-intensity conflicts that had made their appearance before the end of the Cold War, but the development of their armed forces continued to be directed not only by the need to win the 'new wars' but also by a highly traditional understanding of the need to repel a large-scale offensive mounted by another industrially developed country. So it was that throughout the decade the existing C2 and weapons systems developed or acquired during the Cold War and the related infrastructure and doctrines regarding the use of armed forces reproduced the Cold War image of warfare, or at least a 'traditional' understanding of the nature of war that came very close to this. *The 'new' discourses of war that arose during the 1990s served largely as attempts at challenging the ossified Cold War image of war and preliminary models for a broader re-definition of war that might conceivably come about in the future. The discourses of change that did arise and gain in currency during the decade nevertheless rendered the traditional image of war more vulnerable to revision and opened up concepts of the nature and purposes of war that were based on a fairly broad consensus of opinion and could become subject to re-definition.*

It should be noted that only some of the discourses that developed in the 1990s were connected with determined and explicit efforts on the part of state actors to re-define war in relation to the post-Cold War security situation within the international system, the most obvious example being the discourse of the revolution in military affairs that developed in the United States and spread from there. At the core of this discourse lay the technology-based notion of warfare being carried on in a situation where the traditional logic of developing armed forces to meet the threat of a military offensive would rapidly prove inapplicable. The revolution in military affairs provided the United States with a moderate means of revising its perspective on warfare by emphasizing the opportunities for developing its capabilities through applications of information technology, creating a military scenario, particularly for that nation, which could be implemented in order to develop the armed forces in a situ-

ation in which the direct military threat had for all practical purposes disappeared. At the same time, however, the perspective on warfare remained one in which symmetrical encounters might occur on a fairly substantial scale between the forces of state-level actors – since the intellectual stimulus for the whole discourse had been the Gulf War of 1991. When evaluating the nature of the revolution in military affairs as a force for a change in the image of war, and in particular in those instruments of war that were regarded as efficient, it should be stressed that the academic and military discussion and debate that accompanied it – serving as a form of conceptual maturation – had been going on for about five years before the US defence administration began the process of transforming the armed forces explicitly in accordance with this thesis.[77]

It should also be noted that the rise and development of the new discourses that altered the image of war in the post-Cold War years was influenced not only by states but also by many non-state actors. The crisis management and humanitarian intervention discourse, for instance, was influenced by organizations such as the United Nations,[78] the International Red Cross and Amnesty International.[79]

Thus the Western image of war had been undergoing change for more or less a decade by the time of the 9/11 assault, and the discourse of the war on terrorism that was set in motion by the United States was able to extract much of its momentum from earlier discourses on changes in the nature of war (during the 1990s). Non-state actors had already become part of the Western concepts of war as far as the discourses associated with the 'new wars', asymmetrical warfare and humanitarian interventions were concerned, and the new attitude towards the use of armed force had been put into action in the form of humanitarian interventions in the 1990s – with or without a UN mandate. By the time the war on terrorism was declared, the traditional respect for the sovereignty of states

---

[77] On the revolution in military affairs as a scenario for the use of the armed forces in the United States and as a discourse of change in the image of war, see Raitasalo (2005a), especially pp. 187-313.

[78] And particularly the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, founded in 2000 on the initiative of the U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan.

[79] Among private individuals, Mary Kaldor, for example, influenced the 'new wars' discourse and also indirectly the discussion on crisis management and humanitarian interventions.

and the embargo on interventions in other nations' territories had already 'faded' to some extent, even though the formal principles as laid down in international law had remained practically unchanged in the decade following the Cold War.[80]

The technology-centred analysis of warfare lent support to the declaration of war on terrorism, in that it was by exploiting the core aspects of the revolution in military affairs discourse – the development of capabilities for precision strikes and technological warfare and the adoption of modern intelligence and command systems etc. – that it became possible at all to declare war on terrorist organizations or even on individual terrorists. The new command and control systems and weapons systems that were available enabled intelligence operations, surveillance missions and the use of firepower to be undertaken with a precision that had previously been inconceivable. It may indeed be said that without the drive to develop the US armed forces from the mid-1990s onwards that came to be known as the revolution in military affairs it would have been much more difficult for the President of the United States to declare a war on terrorism with any conviction in September 2001.[81]

The declaration of the war on terrorism may be understood as an explicit and determined attempt by the US Administration to set out new rules for the use of military force applying universally to the international system in the post-Cold War era. During the decade preceding the 9/11 offensive the Western powers had attempted to adjust their military capacity to the new, relatively indeterminate threats that were arising, but no real, clearly defined new grounds for altering the functioning of their armed forces had emerged.[82] It can therefore

---

[80]   See Takamaa (2005); Raitasalo & Sipilä (2005b).

[81]   See National Security Strategy of the United States of America (2002), p. 16; also Tucker (2006), p. 59, who presents a critical view of the ability of the US forces to change their understanding of warfare as their basis for action in a way that would be relevant on the battlefield, i.e. would correspond to the modern image of war: "Past and present experience suggests that *the U.S. military will continue to innovate within its understanding of what warfare is*, and that these innovations will doubtless aggregate into some sort of transformation of conventional warfare capability, but these innovations and the transformation they drive will be largely irrelevant to unconventional conflict. In simple terms, the U.S. military will get better and better at putting projectiles into targets, whether bullets into foreheads or missiles into tanks, but this skill will not be decisive in unconventional conflict." (italics by the present author)

[82]   One concept that entered strategic discussions in the West during the 1990s was that of "the new threats". These replaced the threat of a large-scale war

be claimed that, given that the military logic of the Cold War period had come to the end of the road, the Western powers gradually, through a process of 'trial and error', set about defining rules for the deployment of armed forces in the post-Cold War period. The end of the Cold War naturally did not directly mean that the 'old' intersubjective discursive and social structures (including shared perceptions of threats) disappeared, but their effects in determining the practical steps to be taken certainly declined as the notion of a new post-Cold War age spread within the international system. A number of changes can thus be said to have taken place in the Western image of war over the last decade and a half. In the first place, the starting point in planning and preparation for the deployment of armed forces is no longer exclusively the threat of an invasion by another state or alliance among states, since non-state actors have entered the picture, either as direct threats (e.g. through acts of terrorism) or indirectly (by upsetting the stability or security of the international system, e.g. when privately raised troops terrorize a state that is on the verge of collapse). In addition, Western thinking is moving away from a threat of war that might undermine the whole international system and towards the concept of regional conflicts.

With the change in the nature of the threat that they are facing, the Western armed forces turned their attention to more restricted operations in the course of the 1990s. Crisis management operations, humanitarian interventions and small-scale military operations have gradually 'overtaken' the threat of a full-scale war between alliances of superpowers as the potential field of activity for armed forces, and these operations are conceived of as occurring beyond the bounds of the countries' own territories and as making use of efficient command and weapons systems in order to reduce losses – whether in the form of soldiers injured or killed, casualties on the opposing side, civilian casualties or accompanying material losses.

The transformation as far as the development of armed forces is concerned has emerged at the core of the Western image of war over the last decade. The new threats and the military modes of operation

---

that had become the established norm during the Cold War. The new threats include regional wars, epidemics, the drug trade, international organized crime, environmental hazards, etc. , and their 'emergence' imply the disappearance or dispersal of the old, clearly defined and obviously dangerous threats. No unambiguous factor or process that constitutes a threat primarily to the Western countries could be identified in conjunction with these 'new threats'.

required to meet those threats have been looked on as calling for renewal of the armed forces in order to correspond better to the realities of the post-Cold War era. The United States has clearly taken the lead in pioneering this transformation, while the main reason for the European countries to follow suit, apart from reducing their defence budgets, has been the desire to maintain interoperability with the US forces as the latter implement their revolution in military affairs. Anxious comments were indeed to be heard in Europe in the late 1990s to the effect that, if the current trend were to continue, military collaboration between the United States and its allies would become an impossibility in the course of time on account of the latter's huge investments in advanced military technology.

3. Post-Cold War changes
in the Finnish image of war

Two factors in particular should be taken into account when examining the image of war that developed and prevailed in Finland during the Cold War period. One of these is concerned with the tension that existed between the superpowers at that time and the possibility of a large-scale war breaking out between the military alliances. The other is connected with Finland's security policy orientation, the policy of neutrality. It was the prospect of a crisis arising between the alliances led by the two superpowers that lay at the centre of the Finnish image of war during the Cold War period, for either alliance, NATO or the Warsaw Pact, was regarded as capable of extending its operations to Finnish territory if needed.[83] The military threat posed by NATO during the Cold War according to Finnish military thinking was largely a product of the extraordinary situation that Finland was in with respect to the Soviet Union, for in order to convince the latter that Finland's territory and resources could not be used as part of an offensive against that country, it was necessary to maintain credible defences against attack from any direction.[84] As far as the military threats attached to a conflict between the superpowers in

---

[83] See Parliamentary Defence Committee, Komiteanmietintö 1971:A18 (1971), pp. 21-22; Second Parliamentary Defence Committee, Komiteanmietintö 1976:37 (1976), pp. 19-27 (in Finnish), especially p. 22: "Being close to the strategically important northern sea areas, the airspace and road network of Finnish Lapland could provide either party to a confrontation between the military alliances with an opportunity to evade the defences of the other"; Third Parliamentary Defence Committee, Komiteanmietintö 1981:1 (1981), pp. 21-22.

[84] One major goal of Finnish defence policy in 1990 was still regarded as being to reinforce the policy of neutrality by demonstrating a capability for repelling attacks from all directions (from NATO as well as the Soviet Union). See, for example, the evaluation of the security situation in Europe, prospects for its development and its implications for Finnish defence policy in the report of the Parliamentary Advisory Committee on Defence, 28.2.1990 (1990), pp. 22-23. On credibility problems affecting Finnish defence, see Kilpinen (2007) (in Finnish): "It can be calculated from data gathered over the years on the Finnish defence budget and wartime troop strengths that the sums available would not have been sufficient to equip an army of 500,000 with modern weapons. The belief in Finland's defence rested more on the achievements of the veterans of the last war than on the outcome of any cool-headed analysis of the situation in the 1970s."

the Cold war world were concerned, this meant in practice that in addition to the possibility of a large-scale offensive on the part of the Soviet Union, Finland had to be capable of defending its territory against a NATO incursion.

In spite of the provisions of the Agreement on Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance, the most concrete military threat to Finland during the Cold War was that of a massive Soviet attack, and Finland did indeed experience political and military pressure of this kind during the decades in question, particularly in the form of a constant questioning of the Finnish policy of neutrality and a proposal for joint military exercises on one occasion. The most extreme threat of all was that of a full-scale Soviet invasion with conventional arms, although the eventuality of a nuclear attack was also taken into account in national defence planning:

> "*Basic strategic plans* [for military action in defence of the national territory] *should generally be drawn up for the eventuality of a war in which there is a likelihood of tactical nuclear weapons being used*. Plans and procedures should be adjusted where necessary to conform to the requirements of a major atomic war. … Attention should be paid at every stage in the hostilities to the possibility of the enemy resorting to nuclear weapons in order to disable the country's administration, means of production and communications systems and undermine the resistance of the population at large."[85]

The "nuclear weapons question" was a serious problem in all military scenarios during the Cold War period, as the possibilities for defence against a nuclear attack were restricted to lessening its effects and the scope for retaliation was extremely limited. The emphasis on nuclear weapons that had been present in Finnish defence

---

[85] Field Manual – General Section (1958), pp. 57, 101 (in Finnish; italics by the author); see also Field Manual – General Section (1995) (in Finnish): "Full-scale wars are usually waged between a number of states simultaneously. … Full-scale warfare can be conducted with conventional arms, or it can escalate into a nuclear war." The significance of the threat of a nuclear war was still in evidence in the training of individual soldiers in the 1990s, as protection against a nuclear explosion or nuclear fall-out continued to be part of the training for conscripts, even though the reference to nuclear weapons had been removed from the Field Service Manual in the 1980s. Also, provisions were made throughout the Cold War period to protect the civilian population from nuclear fall-out.

thinking since the later stages of the Second World War gradually began to fade during the 1960s, however, partly in response to the political and strategic character that these weapons had taken on (as deterrents)[86] and partly for pragmatic reasons arising out of the defence system. As it was in practice impossible to repel a nuclear attack or to provide any protection against it, the most reasonable course of action was to reduce the emphasis placed on this aspect in evaluations of military threats, given a situation in which the usefulness of nuclear weapons in combat was universally doubted.[87]

The general alterations in the image of war that took place within the international system following the Second World War may be attributed not only to the possibility of a nuclear war, but also to the heightened probability of a surprise attack. In addition to the use of a massive force relying on superiority in numbers, rapid deployment troops now came on the scene, troops that could mount a surprise attack and leave the defenders and the whole of the international system faced with a *fait accompli*.[88] The territorial defence system and regional engagement principle introduced in Finland in the 1960s may be viewed as attempts to meet the challenges posed by this form of warfare.[89] The events of 1968 in Czechoslovakia increased the emphasis placed on surprise attacks in Finnish evaluations of military threats,[90] and again the Soviet Union came to be regarded as a possible source of such an attack, especially as it was thought to possess the capability for a rapid strike to take possession of the Finnish capital, Helsinki.[91]

---

[86] Suspicions of the probability of a nuclear war grew as a result of the lessons learned in the Korean War and on account of the increased powers of destruction inherent in these weapons.

[87] See Raunio (2002), pp. 170-171; Parliamentary Defence Committee, Komiteanmietintö 1971:A18 (1971), p. 28 (in Finnish).

[88] Cf. Salminen (1995).

[89] See Visuri (1998), pp. 12-116; Raunio (2002), pp. 176-178; Jouko (2006). Although the territorial defence system was adopted in 1966, the need for such an approach and the principles governing it had already been expressed in the Defence Revision of 1949 and in Finnish defence policy thinking during the 1950s.

[90] See, for example, Parliamentary Defence Committee, Komiteanmietintö 1971:A18 (1971), p. 30; Second Parliamentary Defence Committee, Komiteanmietintö 1976:37 (1976), p. 28; Third Parliamentary Defence Committee, Komiteanmietintö 1981:1 (1981), p. 35; Raunio (2002), pp. 165-167; It should be noted that the defence revision of 1949 already made mention of an attack mounted by surprise as a possible military threat. See Raunio (2002), p. 57.

[91] Klenberg (2007); Raunio (2002), pp. 165-167.

Leaving the Cold War behind – international crisis management and armed forces for the age of the information society

The improvement in relations between the superpowers in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the termination of the Cold War and the eventual dissolution of the Soviet Union came to be reflected fairly rapidly in the formulation of Finnish defence policy. It was noted in the 1990 report of the Parliamentary Advisory Committee on Defence, for instance, that *threats of a lower category than war were likely to increase in importance* in the future, and that attention should be paid to the protection of *functions that are vital to the community* in addition to the traditional territorial notion of defence.[92]

The change in the logic behind the international security system upon the ending of the Cold War was brought out into the open quite directly during the early 1990s, in the sense that:

> "The military situation has altered since the Cold War. The threat of a major war has receded, the arms race has declined and openness in military matters has increased. … No military tension of the kind experienced during the Cold War is to be found any longer in the immediate vicinity of Finland."[93]

The 1995 government report to parliament entitled *Security in a changing world – guidelines for Finland's security policy* notes, however, that while the threat of a major war had faded somewhat, small armed conflicts were everyday occurrences on the international scene. As the danger of wars between states subsided, internal conflicts within states and ethic or religious disputes had come to dominate the picture by the mid-1990s. The wars that ensued upon the dissolution of the state of Yugoslavia and the incapacity of Europe to cope with these left their mark on the Finnish understanding

---

[92] Estimate of the condition and capabilities of the Defence Forces and statement of opinion regarding developmental plans and defence budgets for the 1990s, in the report of the Parliamentary Advisory Committee on Defence, Komiteanmietintö 1990:57 (1990), pp. 36, 59. Ari Raunio notes in his paper that even in the days of the parliamentary defence committees (1973-1981) the threat of a symmetrical war was almost entirely dropped from official defence thinking. See Raunio (2002), pp. 165-167.

[93] Security in a changing world – guidelines for Finland's security policy. Government report to parliament 6.6.1995 (1995), pp. 5, 30 (in Finnish).

of the new nature of war around the middle of the decade. Thus the decision to join the NATO Partnership for Peace (PfP) programme was looked on in the 1995 government report to parliament as one aspect of the international change in the image of war. In addition, the PfP programme was viewed as an opportunity for Finland to take part in crisis management operations and to develop its military capabilities – although the report admits that Finland will be "primarily on the input side of the PfP programme".[94] Correspondingly, the large number of concepts referring to crisis management used in the mid-1990s report similarly testifies to the importance of the 'new wars' conducted at a lower level of intensity than had been traditionally assumed, as the report makes specific reference to crisis management operations, humanitarian missions, peacekeeping missions and peace enforcement operations.[95]

The fact that Finland joined the European Union in 1995 also boosted the post-Cold War significance of the western 'security reference group' alongside NATO collaboration.[96] Finland was naturally a part of the West even during the Cold War, but the lifting of the Soviet political and military pressure and the abrogation of the Agreement on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance enabled cooperation to take place with the West on a hitherto unseen scale – including military cooperation. The European Union has progressively developed its security and defence dimension from the 1990s onwards, chiefly in response to the challenges presented by the new wars. It is noticeable, however, that where Finland, with a superpower as its immediate neighbour, has continued to consider the possibility of a conventional war between established states in addition to these new wars, the other EU member states acknowledged in the course of the 1990s that the danger of a traditional military of-

---

[94] Ibid., pp. 19-22.
[95] Ibid., p. 24.
[96] On the westward drift in Finland's geopolitical standing, see Security in a changing world – guidelines for Finland's security policy. Government report to parliament 6.6.1995 (1995), pp. 42-44 (in Finnish): "Following the termination of the dichotomous division of Europe, Finland is no longer located between East and West in terms of security policy, as it has strengthened its security by joining the European Union and taking part in the joint activities to construct a secure environment in the neighbouring areas, in Europe as a whole and globally. … Membership of the European Union has clarified and strengthened Finland's position by *linking it to the core group of European democracies*." (italics by the author).

fensive was now more or less non-existent. In fact, the increased collaboration in matters of crisis management that has come with EU membership has led Finland as well to direct its attention towards more demanding international missions of that kind. The need to be prepared to take part in such operations had already been noted in the 1995 government report to parliament, with the observation that "a responsible security policy means that we should be prepared to bear our own share of the burden in more demanding missions than heretofore,"[97] while elsewhere it was stated in an analogous context that Finland was still lacking the "rapid deployment troops equipped for international collaboration" that were quite obviously needed for such purposes.[98] The Finnish law on the use of peacekeeping forces was revised towards the end of 1995 to enable the country to take part in "extended" peacekeeping operations, i.e. ones that included protection of the civilian population and the provision of humanitarian aid, in addition to missions of the conventional type.[99] The 1995 revision of the law on peacekeeping operations did not yet allow for peace enforcement operations, however, but specifically excluded these from the field of activities to which it applied.[100]

As far as the national defence was concerned, the 1995 government report continued along the lines established during the Cold War era, so that the notions of regional defence, universal conscription and a defence system based on troop mobilization formed, as it were, a bridge between the circumstances of the Cold War and the new times of change and uncertainty that lay ahead. The long-term logic behind the development of the armed forces was indeed apparent in this report in the form of a rejection of the necessity for any adjustment in the development of the defence system in spite of the changing international security situation, although it should be noted that this report was specifically concerned with security policy and not with security and defence policy, which may explain why it dealt with defence policy and the development of the Finnish defence system only in passing. No mention was made, for instance, of the perceived threats govern-

[97] Ibid., p. 26 (in Finnish).
[98] Ibid., p. 24 (in Finnish).
[99] See, for example, Security trends in Europe and the defence of Finland, Government report to parliament 1/1997, 17.3.1997 (1997), p. 30 (in Finnish).
[100] Report of the working group for revision of the law of peacekeeping missions (2005), p. 6.

ing defence planning, although they can be found in the General Section of the 1995 Field Manual:

1) rapid assumption of control over the country through disablement of the political and military leadership, occupation of critical regions and the taking over of administrative functions by means of a surprise attack in the style of a coup d'état,
2) appropriation of the national territory for transit purposes or as a base for operations against a third party, and
3) conquest of the whole country or a strategically important part of it by means of a large-scale military action.[101]

Of these three scenarios, that concerned with the use of Finnish territory for operations against a third party comes closest to the assumption of an East-West confrontation between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, harking back to the days of the Cold War, in which the Finnish defence system was expected to possess a reliable capacity for repelling any attack on the Soviet Union through Finnish territory.[102]

The 1995 security policy report adopted a fairly positive attitude towards the existence of conventional forces in the areas bordering on Finland and regarded the general situation in neighbouring areas as good. Developments in Russia were viewed in a mostly favourable light, although potential threats were still perceived in that direction, and both the normalization of relations between Finland and Russia[103] and the "historic" reductions in conventional arms that had commenced in Europe by that time[104] were mentioned in the report as promising changes in the security environment that were con-

---

[101] Field Manual – General Section (1995), p. 24.
[102] Cf. the wording used in the 1997 government report on security and defence policy, which states that "The most probable military threat to Finland during the Cold War was the use of Finnish territory by an alien power in the course of major hostilities", Security trends in Europe and the defence of Finland, Government report to parliament 1/1997, 17.3.1997 (1997), p. 46 (in Finnish).
[103] This normalization can be seen as having taken place relative to the 'state of subordination' of Finland to the will of the Soviet Union during the Cold War, brought about, among other things, by the Agreement on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance and the almost constant political and military pressure exerted by the Soviet government on the Finns.
[104] Particularly through the agreement on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE).

nected with the post-Cold War "transition period".[105] Similarly, the re-phrasing in this report of the "nuclear weapons question" (of how the possibility of a nuclear attack should be accounted for in Finnish defence planning), which had been a serious defence policy problem for Finland in the Cold War era, was a manifestation of the change in the image of war that had come about by the mid-1990s:

> "Nuclear weapons have declined in importance within international relations and are no longer the dominant source of tension between the major powers. At the same time the security problems associated with them have taken on new forms. … A new source of international anxiety is the passage of weapons-grade nuclear material from the area of the former Soviet Union to crisis regions or into the hands of terrorists."[106]

The changes in the international security environment that took place during the first half of the decade following the end of the Cold War (i.e. up to the mid-1990s) were reflected in Finnish security policy to some extent, in that while the accent on an independent defence capability, the territorial defence system and universal conscription was retained, the notion of neutrality was replaced by that of non-alliance. By that time armed conflicts of the type represented by the "new wars" and the more demanding crisis management operations required to contain these had gained greater weight in the Finnish image of war, and although an element of continuity existed in the form of the possibility of a war between nation-states, the probability of such an event had clearly diminished.

It was nevertheless from the first half of the 1990s onwards that a certain fragmentation began to enter into the Finnish image of war. On the one hand, there was still a risk of a serious large-scale offensive, although improbable, while on the other hand, the new wars that were cropping up elsewhere in the world meant a distinct need to develop a capability for conducting military operations outside the area of Finland itself. The latter factor was viewed in defence policy circles primarily within a western frame of reference, in the context of NATO and to an increasing extent in the EU and WEU, even though

---

[105] Security in a changing world – guidelines for Finland's security policy. Government report to parliament 6.6.1995 (1995), pp. 29-44 (in Finnish).

[106] Security trends in Europe and the defence of Finland, Government report to parliament 1/1997, 17.3.1997 (1997), pp. 27-28 (in Finnish).

the use of the armed forces for humanitarian purposes was regarded from a political and strategic viewpoint as a matter of global (UN) or regional (OSCE) security cooperation. It should be noted, however, that this fragmentation of the image of war began in a very "moderate" fashion, as a stepwise process of responding to the changes in the international security environment in the course of the 1990s, and that the incremental re-evaluation of the Finnish image of war became possible precisely on account of the retreat of the threat of a large-scale conventional war into the background.[107]

This meant that although the Finnish image of war by the mid-1990s was still dominated by the Cold War notions of inter-state wars, factors contesting this unambiguous image had begun to emerge alongside these with the spread of the discourse of the end of the Cold War. In particular, the discourse concerned with new wars of a religious or ethnic nature and the predominantly western discourse of humanitarian interventions and more demanding military crisis management operations had begun to "erode" the conventional threat of an inter-state war.

International crisis management continued to increase in significance as a part of the Finnish image of war in the course of the latter half of the decade, a development that was framed as part of a broader entity in the government security and defence policy report to parliament in 1997. It was this report that stated explicitly that *a change was taking place in the image of war* and linked this change with the retreat of the threat of a major war, the increase in local conflicts, the increase in international crisis management operations, the more demanding nature of these latter and the rapid developments made in military technology.[108] The response to this change in the image of war indicated in the report was the need to be prepared to take part in international crisis management opera-

---

[107] See ibid., p. 40 (in Finnish): "Finland's security policy provides an adequate justification for participation in international joint crisis management operations within a framework formed by membership of the EU, observer status within the WEU, participation in the NATO "Partnership for Peace" programme and membership of the OSCE and UN."

[108] Ibid., pp. 29-30 (in Finnish). On international crisis management operations, see p. 29: "The changing nature of conflicts imposes growing demands on military crisis management in this post-Cold War situation. … It is necessary within the scope of crisis management to be prepared for more extensive use of force in order to complete the missions required by the international community." See also pp. 45-46, 48, 53.

tions to increasing extents. It is also significant that *the report analysed the development of crisis management capabilities as a form of investment in the national defence*, i.e. as implying an improved state of preparedness, better-trained reserves and well-equipped troops. In addition, active participation in international crisis management missions was presented as a means of improving *the interoperability of the Finnish Defence Forces* and *the chances of receiving external military assistance* in the event of Finland coming under attack. An amendment was made to the law on the use of the Defence Forces for peace-keeping purposes in 2000 to allow Finland to participate in humanitarian operations, or to provide protection for such operations, at the request of a United Nations agency or department.[109]

The change in the image of war thus became evident in the 1997 government report to parliament by virtue of two crucial factors. In the first place, *the nature of crises had altered*. The straightforward manner of evaluating and predicting the possibility of war that had applied in the Cold War period had been challenged in the post-Cold War era, when a broad spectrum of "new threats" had appeared alongside the more powerful military dangers, and the report speaks not only of territorial infringements but also of possible crisis situations arising from attempts at military interference with the vital functions of societies. The creation of a crisis management capability was partly connected with this factor. Secondly, the change in the image of war is attributed to *developments in military technology*.[110] Following the international model, the inspiration for this analysis of technological warfare in the report was the Gulf War of 1991, which, it was claimed, could well result in an increasing accent on weapons technology, air power and strategic transport capabilities in warfare.[111] The analysis of developments in military technology admittedly takes place from the perspective of developments within society, and it is also interesting to note that the report's evaluation of the relationship between warfare and technology is based on Heidi and Alvin Toffler's model of three waves of warfare, which implies that the degree of development within society as a whole has led so

---

[109] Report of the working group for revision of the law of peacekeeping missions (2005), p. 7.

[110] See Security trends in Europe and the defence of Finland, Government report to parliament 1/1997, 17.3.1997 (1997), p. 51 (in Finnish): "The use of advanced technology for military purposes is a powerful factor in shaping the development of armed forces and the practice of warfare."

[111] Ibid., p. 15.

far to three revolutionary changes in the pattern of warfare. The first phase of change was connected with the development of agrarian societies, the second with industrial societies and mass production, and now, "on the eve of the third wave" the development of the "information society" was leading to *a further revolutionary change in warfare*, in which knowledge would become the principal element rather than massed military force and large-scale destruction. Starting out from the Tofflers' three-wave model, the report maintains that:[112]

> "The armed forces of the information society will consist of highly mobile, technically advanced troops with a low rate of personnel turnover. … although the motivation felt by the citizens of the information society for maintaining conventional armed forces of the kind typical of an industrial or even agricultural society will give rise to a credibility problem. The majority of the armed forces existing in Europe are armies of the industrial age, and efforts will have to be made to develop these to the information society level. The United States has progressed furthest in this development work so far, but considerable progress is being made in the other NATO countries as well. … An army of the industrial age will not be able to protect its citizens or social structures from the effects of weapons generated by the information society."[113]

Examined in term of military technology, the change in the image of war was evident from the accent placed on the exploitation of information technology for military purposes and the expected networking of intelligence, command and control systems and weapons systems as further developments were made in data transmission. Sensors and weapons systems would be functioning within the same networks, and with ever shorter delay times. Meanwhile, significant increases would be achieved in the ranges over which arms systems could operate and their precision would be substantially improved, the mobility of systems and troops would be enhanced, troops would be reduced in size and their combat ef-

---

[112] Ibid.; see also Toffler & Toffler (1994).
[113] Security trends in Europe and the defence of Finland, Government report to parliament 1/1997, 17.3.1997 (1997), p. 50 (in Finnish).

fectiveness greatly increased.[114] The 1997 report also maintained, still in the spirit of the Toffler model, that the defence forces had already developed into a "multi-layered combination of armed forces of the agrarian and industrial societies with functions operating on territorial defence principles." In particular, certain parts of the defence forces' command, control and surveillance systems and certain naval and air force units were described as conforming to the requirements of the information society."[115]

The evaluation of the technicization of warfare presented in the 1997 report emphasizes the importance of *more professional personnel*, the value of *surprise tactics based on a brief use of military force* and a broad-based shift in doctrine *from wars of attrition and the philosophy behind them to manoeuvre warfare*, in an attempt to produce an impact on the enemy by means of rapid movements, substantial and precisely targeted firepower and psychological manoeuvres designed to undermine the enemy's desire to continue hostilities.

> "The greater variety of missions and the development of new technologies will mean differentiation in the structure of armed forces and in their training. The performance of the smaller forces maintained will have to be improved by developing their equipment, and economic resources will have to be targeted at developing the best combat troops. It is the best trained and best equipped troops that should be kept on a high level of alert for demanding crisis management missions. At present both the development of defence equipment and trade in this equipment are dominated by the United States, with the European countries attempting to achieve comparable technical standards."[116]

The conclusion reached in the 1997 report regarding the spread of the technicization of warfare to Finland in the post-Cold War era was that there was a need to reduce troop size and raise the quality of training and armament, to invest in new military technology and to develop a capability for taking part in crisis management operations out-of-area.

---

[114] Ibid., pp. 51-52.
[115] Ibid., p. 53 (in Finnish).
[116] bid., pp. 28-29 (in Finnish).

"National defence requirements remain an important factor in the development of the Finnish Defence Forces, even though the altered security environment may mean an increase in international crisis management missions. The general global trend is towards *a reduction in troops numbers with a corresponding improvement in levels of training and preparedness. Finland should be able to develop at least some of its troops in the same way.*"[117]

As far as developments in Russia are concerned, the report notes that there are "numerous uncertainty factors" which may have consequences for security policy throughout Europe, including Finland. Russia continues to be described from a Finnish perspective as a major military power which will strive to preserve its influence and its superpower identity by means of its armed forces – including the nuclear weapons that it possesses.[118] The reform of the Russian armed forces is discussed within the framework of the western image of war, and it is envisaged that Russia will set out to reduce the size of its armed forces, increase their level of professionalism and equip them with modern weapons technology and command and control systems that meet 21st-century requirements. In other words, the capability of its smaller body of troops can be expected to be enhanced through investments in technology and an emphasis on flexibility in their use. It is also estimated that the level of preparedness of the Russian armed forces will improve as a result of the reform, as "fully equipped combat troops comprising all branches of the forces will be created for deployment on all the main fronts".[119] In view of the above-mentioned global factors pointing towards a change in the image of war and of Russia's military potential, the report provides a partially revised list of crisis and threat models upon which defence planning should be based:

1. Political and military pressure backed up with limited use of military force or the threat of this.
2. A sudden strategic strike.
3. A full-scale offensive aimed at the capture of strategically important areas or the use of Finnish territory for an offensive against a third party.[120]

    Comparison of these models with the ones quoted in the Gen-

---

[117] Ibid., p. 53 (in Finnish; italics by the author).
[118] Ibid., p. 19.
[119] Ibid., p. 39 (in Finnish).
[120] Ibid., p. 78.

eral Section of the 1995 Field Manual suggests that the threat of a "transit" offensive (against a third party) had obviously declined in importance, as this was now merely one aspect of the model that involved a full-scale offensive, while political and military pressure had become established as a new type of threat that should be taken into account in defence planning. Meanwhile, the "surprise attack" mentioned in the 1995 General Section of the Field Manual is now referred to as a "strategic strike".[121] These two concepts are very closely related in terms of practical content, but if one is to look for differences between them, a "strategic strike" may be assumed to entail assertive military capabilities consistent with trends in modern techno-warfare.

The report also mentions the need to be prepared to prevent crises from breaking out in neighbouring areas or to restrict the effects of any that do break out. In response to the above threat or crisis models derived from the nature of the security environment in the post-Cold War era, the 1997 report clearly regards the ability to prevent or repel a strategic strike as a more important target for development, in addition to which a need is expressed for developing troops for use in international crisis management missions.[122]

The international trends in the development of armed forces mentioned in the 1997 government report and the conclusions reached from them regarding steps to be taken in Finland may be seen to be clearly connected with the "grafting" of the western discourse of a revolution in military affairs onto Finland's official defence thinking. In addition, connections may be seen between the report and the possibilities for developing military crisis management and defence of one's own territory through modifications to the armed forces of the Cold War period to render them suitable for techno-warfare. In the latter half of the 1990s the discourses that had shaped the image of war in earlier times, during the Cold War, were combined with one of the most important western discourses touching upon military power to be found within Finnish security and defence policy thinking. *The revolutionary influence of advanced military technology on warfare* had succeeded in modifying US ideas on the subject from the early 1990s onwards,[123] and the same revo-

---

[121] Ibid., pp. 52, 78; Security in a changing world – guidelines for Finland's security policy. Government report to parliament 6.6.1995 (1995) (in Finnish).

[122] Ibid., p. 78.

[123] See Raitasalo (2005a), chapter 7.

lutionizing ideas entered Finnish discussions at the official level in 1997.[124] *Examined from the viewpoint of the change in the image of war*, the image inherited by the Finns from the Cold War era was modified towards the end of the 1990s most especially by the following:

1. The discourse of the "new wars", a description of the conflicts that occurred during the transition period following the Cold War and of the principal security challenges facing the new, international security environment.
2. The discourse of military crisis management and humanitarian interventions, as the western response to the "new wars" within the framework of the concept of military crisis management.
3. The discourse of a revolution in military affairs, concerning opportunities for the advanced industrial countries to transfer to a style of warfare typical of an information society by acquiring high-tech networked systems of the kind made possible by information technology.

It should be noted that although each of the above discourses regarding the change in the image of war is connected with the context of that image in a different way, they are all interconnected. The new wars are associated with the change in the international security environment and the new military threats emerging during the post-Cold War era, while military crisis management and humanitarian interventions are responses to the need to solve the problems created by the new wars and serve as criteria for evaluating the gradually increasing western military power. At the same time, the revolution in military affairs enabled modernization of the territorial defence system inherited from the Cold War period in order to maintain and develop Finland's overall military capabilities in the changing security environment. In addition, the discourse of the revolution in military affairs had the effect of reducing troop numbers

---

[124] Security trends in Europe and the defence of Finland, Government report to parliament 1/1997, 17.3.1997 (1997). See also Precautions to be taken in the event of social disturbances or states of emergency (1999), p. 54: "*The application of advanced technology for military use has had a powerful effect in shaping the image of war and the development of armed forces and warfare.* Particular objects of development have been methods of information warfare designed to disable an adversary's data systems and, methods for achieving strategic and operative troop mobility, increased firepower and the ability to achieve comprehensive domination over a wide theatre of war" (in Finnish; italics by the author).

and allowing the smaller armed forces to be better equipped. The acceptance of the discourse of the revolution in military affairs as part of the Finnish image of war also served to promote the development and acquisition of a level of equipment and armaments that would in the long term provide opportunities for carrying out interventions beyond the country's own territory and the capabilities for doing so. Thus the partial acceptance of the discourse of the revolution in military affairs as part of the Finnish image of war in the late 1990s may also be seen as a means of providing for the future, in that by developing the Defence Forces in accordance with international trends in techno-warfare, or at least going along with these trends, it would be possible to take part in combined operations (crisis management for the defence of the Finnish territory or that of another country) with other western countries as the need arose. On the other hand, the revolution in military affairs was also a discourse of continuity in the image of war, at least in the sense that the idea behind this technology-based revolution was that information society armies would have an advantage over those of industrial societies on the battlefield in the case of a war between nation-states. A further factor that implied continuity in the Finnish image of war was the persisting presence of Russia as a major military power in the late 1990s and the unpredictability of its development in the medium or long term. Likewise, the enormous potential of Russia's armed forces by comparison with the defence forces of a small nation such as Finland had the effect of retarding the complete passage of the traditional military threat into the history books.[125]

As the threat of a traditional full-scale military offensive continued to fade in the late 1990s, the new threats associated with the information society began to emerge alongside the existing military ones in the broadening security perspective. In terms of military defence, *this meant that territorial defence gradually began to diminish in significance as far as changes in the image of war were concerned, while functions vital to the society assumed a more central role* as potential targets of military action. In particular, the raising of a strategic strike to the rank of a conceivable security threat in the 1997 government report meant that vital functions of society occupied a more critical role, as the purpose of a strategic strike may be assumed to be to induce the defender to agree to the aggressor's demands by

---

[125] Security trends in Europe and the defence of Finland, Government report to parliament 1/1997, 17.3.1997 (1997), pp. 19-21, 37-40.

means of efficient surprise assaults on sites of vital importance for the functioning of society.[126] The 1997 report similarly mentions that the changes in the image of war imply that vital community functions are likely to become targets of military action in crisis situations to an increasing degree.[127] It should be noted in this connection that the increase in the importance of international crisis management operations that had begun in the early 1990s did not as such imply any questioning of the defence of the national territory. In fact, the availability of the troops trained for participation in international crisis management operations for use as part of the defence of the home country was emphasized in all formulations of national defence policy throughout the 1990s.[128] The new concentration on technological threats that emerged towards the end of the decade, on the other hand, posed a challenge for the whole defence of the national territory, especially since the most probable military threats (political and military pressure or a strategic strike) would no longer be assumed to be aimed directly at the whole of that territory. A full-scale offensive was admittedly still one of the threats considered at the end of the decade, but was by then deemed the least probable.

The heightened importance of functions that were vital to society as far as the national defence was concerned was also reflected in the National Defence Council's memorandum *Precautions to be taken in the event of social disturbances or states of emergency*, drawn up in 1999. In the light of the changes in the international security environment and in the structure of Finnish society, this document stresses the importance of taking precautions for the event of a crisis. The increased technicality and complexity of society and the emergence of new threats were taken as justification for a re-planning of the provisions for coping with crisis situations, especially situations related to the actual declaration of a state of emergency, including the threat of war, war itself, or the aftermath of war. In practice this meant turning attention to the "grey stages" rather than actual states of war or states of emergency as clearly laid down in law.[129] The fact that attention was drawn to internal and external security at such

---

[126] See, for example, Precautions to be taken in the event of social disturbances or states of emergency (1999), p. 54.

[127] Security trends in Europe and the defence of Finland, Government report to parliament 1/1997, 17.3.1997 (1997), p. 69.

[128] Nokkala (2005a).

[129] Precautions to be taken in the event of social disturbances or states of emergency (1999), pp. 13-17 (in Finnish).

"grey stages" reflects well the shift that had taken place in the Finnish image of war during the post-Cold War period, a shift that came to be accepted in official security policy discussions and documents towards the end of the decade.

The challenges of a new millennium

By 2001 at the latest the permanence of the termination of the Cold War had been accepted in Finnish security policy thinking and the threat of a full-scale military incursion had virtually ceased to exist.

> "The changes in European security put in motion after the end of the Cold War are both profound and lasting. The threat of a large-scale military conflict in Europe will remain low."[130]

This statement followed on fairly naturally from the change in the structure of the defence forces outlined in the previous report, that of 1997, and also from the changeover to a capability for preventing and repelling strategic strikes and an increased desire to participate in international crisis management operations. Finland had come down in favour of the latter policy in 1999, when the European Union decided to develop its military crisis management capability, and the Finnish government had committed about 1500 men from its ground and naval troops to the European pool of forces. In addition, Finland had intensified its crisis management cooperation with NATO, e.g. in the framework of the extended Partnership for Peace programme (EAPC, PARP).

The 2001 government report regarded international crisis management as *essential in view of the altered nature of international crises*, and noted that the general international trend was "to develop defence systems in order to be able to react to international crises as rapidly and flexibly as possible". At the same time Finland explicitly indicated its willingness to re-interpret the principle of the sovereignty of states: "Since blatant and massive human rights violations may threaten international peace and security, state sovereignty is no longer considered an absolute impediment to intervention." The

---

[130] Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2001. Government report to parliament, 13.6.2001 (2001), p. 4.

justifications presented in the report for intervention in international crises were the strengthening of Finland's own security and the support provided by this international collaboration for preparations to protect the vital functions of society in a state of emergency. The principal reference institutions mentioned in the report with respect to participation in military crisis management operations and the development of a capability for doing so were NATO and the European Union. As far as the country's own national crisis management capabilities were concerned, it was announced that F-18 interceptor aircraft from the Finnish Air Force were to take part in crisis management exercises during 2001 in order to determine the feasibility of the air force participating in operations of that kind in the future and the functions that they might perform. Work had also started on developing the navy's minesweeping capabilities for deployment in international operations.[131]

A further feature that was clearly visible in the 2001 report was a shift, already detectable four years earlier, from the threat of a military offensive to factors threatening the functioning of society. This was apparent both in the emphasis placed on cooperation between the various authorities in the overall defence of the national territory and in the broader discussion entered into with regard to disturbances in the normal conditions of life, economic and technological threats, internal security and the ensuring of essential supplies.[132] The above-mentioned shift "away" from military threats should not, however, be taken to imply the disappearance of such threats. It was presumed that there would still be uncertainty factors connected with developments in Russia in the future as well and that Russia had significant bodies of troops at a high level of alert assembled in the areas adjacent to Finland, primarily on the Kola Peninsula and in the environs of St. Petersburg. Similarly, the preservation of community functions, the retention of control over the nucleus of the national territory and mobilization in defence of the whole territory if necessary continued to be laid down as the country's military defence aims, even though the focus of development in the defence system was on strengthening the capacity to prevent and repel strategic strikes.[133]

---

[131] Ibid., sections I, III.
[132] See ibid., section III.
[133] Ibid, section I, ch. 1.5.

It was foreseen in the 2001 government report that the general international military development in future years – under US leadership – would be towards an enhanced capability for technological warfare, providing an increase in military capability that would mean that even a major reduction in numbers would not lead to any diminution of the threat posed. It was assumed that rapidly deployable air power ad extremely accurate precision weapons would gain in importance in the future. It was also assumed that Russia would following the western technology-based pattern in the development of its own armed forces – although it was admitted that Russia might not have the economic resources to keep up with the transformation processes achieved in the West. It was clear, however, that given the country's security environment, development of the armed forces would inevitably "require that Finland continues to invest in new technologies".[134]

The post-Cold War change in perceived threats to community functions from a military attack was brought out into the open in public in a decision in principle issued by the Council of State in 2003 regarding the ensuring of the vital functions of society under varying degrees of emergency conditions:

> "Internationalization and the structural changes within society will have a significant effect on *society's abilities to maintain its essential functions*. … These functions include central government, external functional capacity, the national defence, internal security, the functioning of society and the economy, the people's working ability and sources of livelihood and their mental ability to withstand crisis conditions. … In accordance with the aims of Finland's security and defence policy, *the ensuring of these vital functions must be regarded as one element in the preservation of this country's independence and the maintenance of the security and conditions of life of its citizens.*"[135]

---

[134] Ibid., sections I and III.

[135] Council of State Decision in Principle Regarding the Ensuring of the Vital Functions of Society (2003), p. 6 (in Finnish; italics by the author). The threats to these vital functions are mentioned in the decision in the following way: "threats to data systems, illegal immigration and movements of population that constitute a security risk, threats to the health and nutrition of the population, environmental threats, economic threats, organized crime and terrorism, major disasters, states of international tension, serious violations of Finnish territorial integrity, war or an armed incursion, the threat of war and the aftermath of war", ibid. pp. 7-8.

The above decision in principle and the associated strategy for preserving the vital functions of society gave concrete expression to the gradual increase in the importance of internal security that had begun with the government's security and defence policy report in the late 1990s. The strategy as such meant that, adopting a broad concept of security, acknowledgement was given to the need for greater collaboration between the various security authorities, in practice chiefly the defence forces, the police and the border guard establishment.

The report of the parliamentary security policy monitoring group, published in 2004,[136] similarly served to make it quite clear where the new threats lay and underlined that new security policy alternatives should be sought and new methods adopted in order to deal with these. The group proposed that Finland should increase its international collaboration and be prepared to bear its own share of the responsibility for global security – as part of the European Union and its developing military crisis management capability. As far as developments in the Russian armed forces were concerned, the group drew attention to a public statement issued by the Russian government regarding the possibility of preventive strikes, the use of armed force against cross-border crime and terrorism, the protection of Russia's strategic transport routes and defence of the rights of Russian citizens living abroad.[137]

The 2004 government report on security and defence policy continued to pursue in an incremental manner the notion of the fading of the conventional military threat facing Finland, although the impact of the terrorist attacks of 11th September 2001 was clearly visible in this report.[138]

> "Although the threat of a conventional war has receded, particularly in Europe, Finland's security is also linked through globalization to the wider international environment. *The new threats* targeted in recent years at comprehensive security have started to be reflected to an increasing degree *in the external and*

---

[136] The monitoring group, formed as part of the parliamentary phase of preparing the 2004 government report on security and defence, was chaired initially by Antti Kalliomäki, M.P., and later by Aulis Ranta-Muotio, M.P.

[137] Report of the Security Policy Monitoring Group (2004), p. 22.

[138] The corresponding 2001 report had come out just prior to the attacks, and although terrorism was mentioned as a new form of threat, there was practically no discussion on this topic.

internal security of European countries."[139]

The definition of a threat as given above serves well to summarize the trend that had taken place from the early 1990s onwards: military dangers should still be taken into account – at least in the medium term – but the threats experienced by the European nations were now connected far more with internal security, a new aspect within the framework of a more comprehensive notion of security. In the long term the constantly altering threat scenario would require security policy tools of a new kind in order to maintain an adequate response.

The threat models that governed defence planning in the 2004 report were very much the same as those in the previous one – and in that of 1997, for that matter. The new element was that the 2004 report raised for the first time the question of the methods of asymmetric warfare being used against Finland:

> "*A further aim is, through joint action with other authorities, to prevent the use of asymmetric means of warfare against society*. … In the future, asymmetric warfare will become a significant security threat and may be an element in all threat scenarios. … *Terrorism* and sabotage, the proliferation and use of weapons of mass destruction, and information warfare are considered the main asymmetric threats."[140]

This formulation in the 2004 report by which the methods of asymmetric warfare were linked to all the threat scenarios implied in practice a closer dependence of the activities and tasks of the defence forces on the threat posed by terrorism. Indeed, terrorism was now mentioned specifically as a guiding factor in defence planning. This association with terrorism is mostly expressed indirectly in the report, however, and is couched in fairly loose terms.

> "*The Defence Forces can support other authorities through various forms of executive assistance in combating terrorism. … To*

---

[139] Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004. Government report 6/2004 (2004), p. 16 (italics by the author). See also, p. 75: "…stability in Finland's neighbouring areas has increased. … Regional conflicts, failing states, terrorism and the threat of the proliferation and use of weapons of mass destruction are some of the continuing security problems."

[140] Ibid., pp. 103-104.

this end, the requirements for efficient communications with the civil sector are being studied. In addition, it will be ensured that executive assistance arrangements are clear and function well, given the requirements of the situation. *Executive assistance obligations will also be taken into account in Defence Forces' material procurement. … Development of Defence Forces' capabilities in military defence also provides the capacity for more efficient executive assistance, especially in combating terrorism and serious crime*. … The ways in which the police and Defence Forces will cooperate in combating terrorism will be developed."[141]

The report also pointed to a need for new legislation regarding the use of the Defence Forces' military capabilities for anti-terrorism purposes in accordance with the concept of *extended executive assistance*. By broadening the scope of the assistance provided by the Defence Forces to other authorities to include the use of military force for preventing or intercepting acts of terrorism, it would at least be legally possible to enlist the help of the military in the event of the hijacking of an aircraft, for instance. Possible assistance that could be offered to the police (on a case-by-case basis) as mentioned in the report included the deployment of air force or navy units, anti-aircraft units or protective troops.[142] Eventually, in July 2005, *an amendment to the law on executive assistance provided by the Defence Forces to the police* was introduce which allowed *the assistance given for the prevention or interception of acts of terrorism to include military force* if this was "essential in order to avoid a severe and immediate danger to the lives or health of a large number of people in a situation that cannot be resolved by less drastic measures." The new law defined this "military force" as a use of military equipment in excess of the discharge of a personal firearm as is permitted in pursuance of police duties.[143]

It was estimated in the 2004 government report that the "demand" for military crisis management was likely to increase in the future, or at least remain at its existing level. It is also noticeable that the guidelines laid out for the development of a crisis management capability reflected the international terrorism perspective, in that it

---

[141] Ibid., pp. 127-128, 136 (italics by the author).

[142] Ibid., p. 127-128.

[143] Amendment to the Law on Executive Assistance Rendered to the Police by the Defence Forces 522/2005 (2005) (in Finnish).

emphasized the need to intervene rapidly in crises that were likely to promote international terrorism and also required that the Defence Forces should be capable of taking the risk of terrorism attached to crisis management operations into account in the structure of their detachments and the training and equipment provided for them.[144] Any increase in the demand for crisis management operations was expected to call for preparations for more challenging crisis management operations, but it was also noted that these preparations and the participation in such operations would be advantageous as far as the *credibility* of the national defence system was concerned and was likely to increase *interoperability* with troops from other countries. It may be claimed on the basis of the analysis of the security environment presented in this report that the gradual disappearance of the traditional military threats that had begun in the early 1990s had led to a situation at the beginning of the 21st century in which *the credibility of a country's defence – at least in the developed western countries – was increasingly being defined on the basis of expeditionary military capabilities in crisis management operations requiring multinational forces*. It is also significant that the "new" military capabilities required for a credible defence system were based on the deployment of advanced technology, high-quality personnel and specialized knowhow. Thus a credible military force in the context of the western image of war, as represented in this Finnish security policy analysis, was no longer based on the numbers of army divisions in the field or the strength of these in terms of manpower. *Instead, military power lay in the networking of command and control systems and weapons systems, the possession of precision weapons and the numbers and quality of the rapid deployment troops available.*

The global decline in the significance of territorial defence and emphasis on multinational crisis management operations was also reflected in Finnish security policy debates and decisions around the middle of the first decade of the new millennium, leading the 2005 working group for the revision of the law on peacekeeping forces to justify the replacement of that law with a new crisis management law partly on the grounds of the change in the nature of crisis management operations. The working group based its argument on *the decline in the significance of traditional territorial defence tasks, the increase in more demanding crisis management operations* and *the global*

---

[144] Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004. Government report 6/2004 (2004), p. 7, p. 127.

trend in the development of armed forces towards greater emphasis on the high-mobility capabilities required for international missions.[145]

In accordance with the constructivist theoretical framework, it can also be conjectured that the idea of developments in the global security situation *requiring* Finland to equip its armed forces for more demanding international crisis management assignments, as laid out in the 2004 government report and the 2005 report of the working group for the revision of the law on peacekeeping forces was a manifestation of the broader changes that had taken place in the identities of the western nations since the end of the Cold War. *A capacity for participating in demanding international crisis management missions of a kind comparable to actual warfare was becoming one of the hallmarks of a competent western state.* In terms of a security policy analysis grounded in traditional instrumental rationality, the notion of a small country taking part in challenging crisis management operations thousands of kilometres away from its own territory is anything but a reasonable proposition. Such operations become reasonable only when other – normative-expressive – identity factors are taken into account as well, above all the 'obligation' on an advanced, affluent western nation to acquire a military crisis management capability that had evolved in the decade and a half since the Cold War. 'Being' a western democracy entailed participation in military crisis management – at least as far as military activities associated with 'Westernism' were concerned.[146]

The 2004 government report had evaluated the changing security situation within the globalizing international system from the point of view of the armed forces of other nations in the following manner:

> "*Changes in security threats* have strongly influenced the development of strategies and military doctrines after the Cold War. As a result, *the defence systems of major powers are undergoing rapid changes*, a development that is supported and accelerated by *big changes in weapons technology*, particularly in the use of information technology. The transformation has been most evident *in the Western world*, but similar changes are also taking

---

[145] Report of the working group for the revision of the law on peacekeeping missions (2005), p. 13.

[146] See The Responsibility to Protect – Research, Bibliography, Background (2001).

place in the Russian armed forces."[147]

"Many countries are focusing on developing military forces suitable for crisis management instead of the earlier emphasis on territorial defence."[148]

The changes in the defence systems of the 'major powers' referred to in the report – in practice the western powers as far as Finland was concerned – are regarded in that document as consisting of a shift from territorial defence to the defence of values, interests and essential functions, implying in practical terms an extension of the area over which military activity is projected. Western military defence in the post-Cold War period has moved beyond the boundaries of these countries – although naturally without neglecting the defence of their own areas.[149] A crucial aspect from a Finnish perspective has been the progress made by the European Union in matters of security and defence policy, and Finland has been fully involved as an EU member in formulating and implementing the decisions and operations connected with its military dimension.

The 2004 government report on security and defence differed slightly from its predecessors in that it outlined the foundations of the country's defence in terms of four directions of change. The first of these was connected with the "*revised territorial defence system*", which in practical terms meant a reduction in the numbers of troops to be maintained, qualitative improvements in the equipment available to them and thus increases in their military capability.[150] The raising of the question of a revised territorial defence system in this report marked a partial shift away from defence of the national territory as such and towards the protection of society's essential functions and strategic targets.[151]

---

[147] Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004. Government report 6/2004 (2004), p. 38 (italics by the author).
[148] Ibid., p. 77.
[149] Ibid., pp. 38-39. Note the remark on p. 39: "In the future, countries will increasingly deploy their armed forces in international crisis management operations and other tasks outside their own borders."
[150] Ibid., pp. 100-132.
[151] Ibid., p. 101. It should be noted, however, that the report did not abandon the notion of traditional territorial defence. The dynamism of the change marked by the revised system was largely a matter of emphasis, being derived from an alteration in the order of importance of the various threat scenarios. The

The other three directions of change are mentioned in the report as factors leading to the revision of the territorial defence system. The first of these is connected with *the change in the nature of warfare*, the second with *technological progress* and its effects on warfare and the third with international collaboration. It is noted in the evaluation of international crisis management operations that preparations should be made for more complex and more demanding operations in the future – i.e. from around 2010 onwards, and that this will require the adoption of new modes of action. Above all, however, participation in international crisis management operations is regarded in the report as a means of enhancing Finland's *national defence credibility*.[152]

The movement in the direction of high technology is reflected in the decision announced in the report to create for the Defence Forces "a common intelligence, surveillance and command and control system covering all services and fulfilling the requirements of network-centric warfare". In the western strategic discourse the notion of *network-centric warfare* was part of the implementation of the revolution in military affairs through the exploitation of advanced technology in the context of armed conflicts. In addition to this, the report emphasized the development of military systems from the perspective of military crisis management, rapid deployment capabilities and international collaboration, while it also regarded the capacity of the Defence Forces to provide executive assistance for other authorities as an essential aspect of their development.[153]

It is interesting to note that alongside the requirement of network-centric warfare, participation in international crisis management is also looked on in the 2004 report as *partially* a function of technological development. The constantly more complex and more demanding collaboration in the field of international crisis management was seen as being reflected in increased demands for high levels of preparedness, *equipment* and expertise. Also the development and acquisition of equipment for these purposes should take place "according to NATO standards and norms".[154] This can be taken im-

---

most probable future military threats were not full-scale conventional attacks but rather instances of asymmetrical warfare, strategic strikes, the exertion of military, political or economic pressure or regional crises having repercussions for Finland. See also ibid., pp. 99-101.

[152] Ibid., pp. 95, 100.
[153] Ibid., pp. 100, 104.
[154] Ibid., p. 101.

plicitly to mean that the development of the Finnish military forces as far as the troops taking part in international operations were concerned was to be governed to a major extent by instances outside Finland itself.

In the same way the troops specifically designated for national territorial defence duties – wartime manoeuvre and territorial troops – were to be developed in a manner that conformed very closely to the general western image of war in order to respond to the challenges of the coming decade. These forces would be smaller in size than previously, but more mobile and would require virtually real-time situation assessments. This would mean the development of an integrated intelligence, surveillance and command and control system. And as with the troops taking part in international crisis management, the command system for the troops engaged in the national defence would have to be internationally compatible.[155] Thus in this respect, too, western views on the deployment of military forces were instrumental in determining the development of the Finnish defence system and Defence Forces.

The new law on military crisis management to replace the earlier law on peacekeeping forces was introduced in 2006. The need for such a law had become apparent as a consequence of developments in crisis management operations particularly during the post-Cold War era, in that these operations had become more extensive and more demanding in nature and were not always backed up by a United Nations mandate. The space for this post-Cold War expansion of military crisis management was created as a result of the decline in the threat of a military offensive of the traditional kind and the consequent lessening of the emphasis on territorial defence duties – at least in the majority of the developed western countries. One of the most controversial aspects of the law which was passed and came into force in 2006 was the fact that it made it possible for Finnish troops to take part in international military crisis management operations that did not have a UN Security Council mandate. As far as the use of force was concerned, the law granted a soldier engaged in a crisis management operation the right to use "the degree of force essential for the exercise of his task" on each particular occasion.[156]

---

[155] Ibid., pp. 105, 109.
[156] Law on Military Crisis Management 211/2006 (2006) (in Finnish).

The Strategy for Protecting the Vital Functions of Society, also published in 2006, defined the aim with respect to the national military defence as being to form a credible preventive threshold to the exercise of military force or the threat to do so. Russia is implicitly linked to this strategic document in that the *credibility of the preventive threshold* is defined as *a demonstrable level of capability relative to the military capacity of the security environment*. The strategy defines the national defence in terms of the protecting of the vital functions of society and crucial individual targets and the maintaining of control over areas of critical importance for defence purposes. In the spirit of the 2004 government report, the focus of the national defence from 2010 onwards should be transferred more obviously towards specific sites and vital functions. In addition, the document regards all the threat scenarios as laying more emphasis than before on collaboration between the Defence Forces and other authorities.[157]

The strategy defines the purpose of participation in international crisis management as being to prevent and restrict international crises so that their repercussions will not be felt in Finland. Links with the United States, the European Union and NATO in this respect are also emphasized, and similarly links with the creation of new military capabilities to meet the needs of the national defence.

> "The international interoperability of the Defence Forces should be developed in accordance with the needs, requirements and emphases of the EU and NATO. Particular attention should be paid to the development of network-assisted warfare and rapid deployment capabilities and areas of special expertise."[158]

Further aims of international crisis management activities defined in the 2006 strategy were the ability to accept military assistance and to provide *host nation support*. The idea of a revised territorial defence system and the creation of an integrated intelligence, surveillance and command and control system compatible with network-centred warfare officially raised in the 2004 government report is closely associated with the purpose of international crisis

---

[157] Strategy for Protecting the Vital Functions of Society. Decision in Principle by the Council of State, 23.11.2006 (2006). See also Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004. Government report 6/2004 (2004).

[158] Strategy for Protecting the Vital Functions of Society. Decision in principle by the Council of State, 23.11.2006 (2006), p. 29 (in Finnish; italics by the author).

management as laid down in this strategy, in that, in addition to improved interoperability, international crisis management activities were expected to lead to the development of capabilities in the context of the revised territorial defence system, especially in the form of the value added through network-centred defence.[159] Thus network-centred warfare and the general technicization of warfare that lay behind it, together with the increase in international activity, formed the cornerstones of the development of the Finnish Defence Forces as far as this strategy document was concerned:

> "The Defence Forces' organization and material acquisitions should be developed with a view to the change in the nature of warfare, advances in technology and increases in international cooperation. … Troops strengths will be reduced, but at the same time their mobility, firepower and range will be increased."[160]

It should be noted, however, that the focus of military defence development in the 2006 strategy was very much on cooperation between the various authorities, which is quite natural, since most of the threat scenarios considered in this strategy involved fields of administration that lay outside the scope of the armed forces.[161] As a result of the changes in threat scenarios and the increasing difficulties in distinguishing between internal and external threats, the strategy assigned a more powerful role to the Defence Forces in supporting the other authorities and protecting society at large, proposing that their equipment and expertise should be planned and prepared much more with a view to use for the prevention and interception of threats than previously. The international dimension

---

[159] See ibid., pp. 29-31.

[160] Ibid., p. 30 (in Finnish).

[161] Where the main emphasis in the government reports on security and defence was on outlining and evaluating general trends in security and the development of the Finnish defence system, the purpose of the strategies for protecting the vital functions of society was to define tasks and measures to be carried out in all branches of the administration in response to changes in the security environment. Only three of the nine threat scenarios mentioned in the 2006 strategy concerned the defence administration, and correspondingly, only five of the 50 strategic tasks outlined in it came under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Defence. See Strategy for Protecting the Vital Functions of Society. Decision in principle by the Council of State, 23.11.2006 (2006).

of the support afforded to other authorities – executive assistance abroad[162] – was also taken into account in the document, in accordance with the European Union's solidarity obligations.

The Ministry of Defence Strategy 2025, "Security for the Future", published in summer 2006, outlines the principal functions of the defence administration in a similar manner to that adopted by the working group on the law governing the defence forces. These functions are classified into military defence of the national territory, increased cooperation with other authorities and intensified international crisis management activities. The strategy is again based on trends visible in the international system, many of which could have direct or indirect implications for the development of Finland's defence system. Technological advances are mentioned as likely to affect the country's defence arrangement to a significant extent in the future, even though this strategy approaches the relationship between military technology and the nature of warfare in a slightly more restrained manner than did the 1997 government report: "The new technologies do nothing to alter the nature of traditional warfare or the regularities governing it."[163]

Although the strategy acknowledges the important role of technology in the development of armed forces, it tends to approach technology as a form of external pressure that *is compelling* Finland to react to certain global imperatives regarding military technology when developing its defence system. The appeal to technological progress may even be seen as a depoliticization of the wording of Finnish defence policy, implying, as it were, that policy decisions are being taken under duress from certain objective technical factors rather than being political valued judgements aimed at achieving certain desired goals:

"The development and maintenance of military technology is a challenging matter in view of the scarcity of resources. Modern defence equipment can be expected to double in price roughly every seven years, and maintenance costs for this new equipment can be expected to rise at the same rate. *The expense of military technology thus compels us to look for future solutions*

---

[162] See Government Bill to be Placed Before Parliament for a Law on Military Crisis Management and Certain Related Laws 5/2006 (2006), p. 63.

[163] Security for the Future. Ministry of Defence Strategy 2025 (2006), p. 6 (in Finnish).

through innovative combinations of high-technology weapons systems and cost-effective commercial systems."[164]

The Ministry of Defence strategy links this compunction to follow the expensive trends in military technology with the notion that the creation and maintenance of a credible defence capability requires that *a third of the defence budget should be spent on material acquisitions*.[165] Thus the development of the Finnish defence system in the early decades of the 21st century is viewed in the Ministry of Defence strategy as being to a very great extent dictated from outside Finland. If the focus on technology arising out of the change in the international image of war is combined with the emphasis on material acquisitions required in order to guarantee external credibility, it is seen that the alternatives available to Finland for developing its defence system are little more than natural reactions to an analysis of the objective security environment. Following the savings and reductions in defence allocations in the 1990s, the Ministry of Defence strategy is bringing forward high-tech systems as fairly natural justifications for substantial increases in the defence budget. At a time of increasingly expensive technology, it is obvious that more money will have to be spent to maintain even the existing level of military capability.[166] In this age of techno-wars it is necessary to run faster merely in order to stay where you are. On the other hand, if more money is available it is possible to achieve a considerable increase in military capability – at least if one is to believe the discourse of the revolution in military affairs. As the Minister of Defence, Seppo Kääriäinen, put it towards the end of 2006:

> "In the name of credibility for the system and in accordance with the requirements of an ever-changing security environment, we are making new defence material purchases at hugely increasing prices. … If we do not invest sufficiently in modern technology there is a danger that our defence forces of the future will be capable of little more than 'leisure-time excursions."[167]

---

[164] Ibid., p. 6 (in Finnish).

[165] Ibid., p. 21.

[166] Cf. Security for the Future. Ministry of Defence Strategy 2025 (2006), p. 21 (in Finnish): "The maintaining of the present level of capability to correspond to the new requirements would call for significant re-evaluations or a substantially greater financial input."

[167] Kääriäinen (2006a) (in Finnish).

It should be noted that lying behind the general trend towards the technicization of warfare in connection with the development of armed forces, especially in the western countries, is the desire to be able to wage effective expeditionary warfare outside the country's own territory with smaller bodies of troops than in earlier times. US troops have for decades been customarily deployed outside their own area – outside their own continent, in fact. Once the end of the Cold War and the significant decline in the need to defend Europe by means of massive concentrations of US forces had released the development of that country's armed forces from the shackles of considering military resources in numerical terms, it was possible to use advanced technology to provide a new logic for this development, especially since the military threat that constituted the reason for maintaining those conventional forces had virtually disappeared. Thanks to its leading military role in the world, the United States was able to set out in a determined and unprejudiced manner to construct visions of the nature of warfare in the future (in terms of the revolution in military affairs) and to develop its armed forces in accordance with those visions (the technology-based transformation). In Europe, too, the fading of the threat of a full-scale offensive with the termination of the Cold War led to an emphasis on *expeditionary capabilities* in military development. This was particularly the case in Western Europe, where the threat of a military attack has now disappeared entirely and the aim of developing armed forces in accordance with technology-based visions of warfare employing the methods of the revolution in military affairs and the technology-based transformation first reached Europe from the United States. Indeed, the most significant military powers in Europe, Great Britain and France, had already acquired a military culture that included expeditionary capabilities during the Cold War and well before it, and these two major powers were able to make use of their relatively stable political and military position to establish a leading role for themselves in military developments within Europe in the changing security environment of the post-Cold War era. The vision of the revolution in military affairs and the practical programme of development associated with the technology-based transformation proved relatively easy for these two expeditionary-minded nations to adopt in the presence of the post-Cold War threat scenarios.

Although armed forces relying on intensive applications of advanced technology are undoubtedly very well suited for the defence

of their own territory, the 'techno-war' concept that has emerged internationally to represent the nature of warfare as far as the development of armed forces for offensive purposes is concerned is only partially relevant to the situation of small nations such as Finland that are interested above all in protecting crucial sites, functions and areas within their own territory. Nevertheless, the increasing international tendency to evaluate the credibility of military activity in terms of the possession of capabilities of the kind associated with a high level of military technology and the demonstration of a readiness to use such capabilities in the international arena has contributed to a 'reification'[168] of the effects of technological progress within Finnish defence policy thinking and to some extent to a techno-deterministic depoliticization of the formulation of defence policy.

The notion developed in the United States in the 1990s of a technology-led revolution in military affairs, with its associated transformation of the armed forces and implementation of network-centred warfare is re-echoed in the Ministry of Defence strategy in the following way:

> "Progress in information technology is making it possible to contemplate network-centred warfare, a concept based on the possession of an efficient, broad-based system for acquiring, gathering and analysing information, a modular system of high-performance troops, international interoperability and a highly sophisticated command system."[169]

The fairly widespread post-Cold War western tendency for greater professionalism in the armed forces[170] has reached Finland, partly along with the accent on technological development and the increase in progressively more demanding international crisis management operations, but by introducing the professionalism issue into the Finnish defence policy discussion, these more demanding operations and the technicization of command and control systems and weapons systems have in effect precipitated a need for a re-

---

[168] 'Reification' refers in his connection to a neglect of the socio-political nature of the evaluation of military strength and its transformation into something self-evident that is regarded as an objective fact.

[169] Security for the Future. Ministry of Defence Strategy 2025 (2006), p. 6 (in Finnish).

[170] See Nokkala (2005b), p. 121.

evaluation of one of the pillars of the Finnish defence system, universal male conscription. The Ministry of Defence strategy aims at an improvement in levels of expertise among Defence Forces personnel, and a more professional command of strategy among those taking part in international operations and the reservists grafted into the troops to be deployed in times of war. In as far as the credibility of the Finnish defence system in the post-Cold War era rests on the possession of well-equipped rapid deployment forces, it may nevertheless be said that *the traditional model of universal conscription may prove to detract somewhat from the credibility of the country's defence in view of the general western accent on professionalism*. This may be true in spite of the fact that Finnish discussions regarding national service have laid particular emphasis on the possibilities for making use of the civilian skills acquired by conscripts before call-up. The general western discussion of military professionalism has in fact been steered in a Finnish context very much towards increasing the expertise of the regular personnel and making better use of civilian skills. Although no proposal for selective conscription has yet been put forward in Finland, there have been hints of a more rigorous attitude in the vetting of conscripts on admission.

> "Future policy will be to train the whole sector of the age group that is fit for service in accordance with the Defence Forces' wartime troop requirements."[171]

The review of future prospects appended by the Ministry of Defence to its strategic plans of 2006 links new technology with the development of warfare from the viewpoint of the modernization of existing systems. Partially ignoring the question of the post-Cold War western troop reductions, this review notes that it is fairly common for countries to maintain extensive armed forces that have been modernized by the introduction of new technology.

---

[171] Security for the Future. Ministry of Defence Strategy 2025 (2006), p. 16 (in Finnish). Note should be taken in this connection of the significant reduction in troop numbers from around 700,000 men during the Cold War period (with a reserve of about 700,000 men, of whom about half a million were due to be assigned to wartime troops as required) to the current level of 350,000. This trend can be expected to continue. On development of the defence forces during the Cold War period, see Visuri (1998).

"…many countries maintain large armed forces based on a combination of traditional and modern concepts and technologies."[172]

The impact of the global trend towards the technicization of armed forces on the image of war is evaluated in the review of future prospects from the perspectives of rapid deployment capabilities, increased firepower, the military use of outer space, information warfare, network-assisted warfare and unmanned , all of which are defined as starting points for the development of the Defence Forces' military capability. Russia is mentioned as one of the factors promoting the modernization of armed forces by means of advanced technology, and is itself expected to follow the trend by modernizing the vast forces that it has inherited from the post-Cold War era as well as developing new military capabilities.[173]

"Russia will gain in affluence as a consequence of its exports of energy and raw materials, and this will enable investments to be made in the modernization of its armed forces and the development of their capabilities. The aim will be to have a force that is smaller in numbers but more professional, mobile and more efficient equipped, while retaining a nuclear capability."[174]

The threat of a military offensive against Finland is linked to the national territory and vital functions of society. Russia is not mentioned by name in this connection, but it is noted that "a significant and qualitatively developing military capability will continue to exist" in the neighbourhood of Finland. The military threat is regarded as being minimal at the time of writing, but it is admitted that the situation could alter even quite rapidly, e.g. in connection with an international conflict. In spite of Russia's huge military potential and more active attitude towards the modernization of its armed forces,

---

[172] Ministry of Defence Review of Future Prospects (2006), p. 4 (in Finnish).

[173] Ibid., pp. 7-8 (in Finnish); see also Kaskeala (2002b) (in Finnish): "Russia is aiming at a radical reform of its armed forces on the western model. They will be reducing them in the first phase to a wartime strength of about a million men by 2006, and shifting the emphasis to qualitative factors in the second phase, from the middle of the decade onwards. The intention is to equip these reduced and streamlined forces with the latest military technology."

[174] Ministry of Defence Review of Future Prospects (2006), p. 7 (in Finnish); see also Security for the Future. Ministry of Defence Strategy 2025 (2006), p. 11.

the security risks for Finland are perceived in the Ministry of Defence strategy as arising mainly from the 'new threats'. The foundation for the development of Finland's defence system is seen to lie in the ability to repel a fairly extensive military incursion, but at the same time the Defence Forces are expected to have improved capabilities for combating the new threats and preventing them in advance.[175]

> "The Defence Forces should be capable of lending support to other authorities for the prevention and elimination of broad-based security threats both at home and internationally."[176]

A certain general global trend is seen to lie behind these 'new threats' that have emerged alongside the traditional military ones, as is reflected in the fact that the evaluation of future military conflicts and the long-term duties of the Finnish Defence Forces in preventing and eliminating these conflicts in the Ministry of Defence strategy classifies *terrorism and asymmetric warfare within the expanding category of possible types of conflict*. In its estimates of the possibility of any of the future threats materializing, perhaps very rapidly, the strategy relies on a highly traditional formulation: *Threat = Will x Potential*. In other words, a major threat arises from a major military potential combined with the will to make use of it. Correspondingly, however, it is also possible for a medium-sized threat to arise out of a combination of a modest military potential with a strong will for action, or of a major potential with a minor will. Naturally, no more than a minor threat can arise out of a low military potential combined with a minimal will to use it.[177]

The problem in a situation where the international security environment and the image of war are undergoing change lies in locating the factors that represent military capabilities or potentials in each altered situation. What are the 'reliable' indicators of military capability when the nature of warfare is changing? Another problem, of course, is who are the actors in an altered international situation whose will to use their military potential needs to be assessed. Also, given the international trend for bringing about a transformation –

---

[175] Security for the Future. Ministry of Defence Strategy 2025 (2006), pp. 9-10 (in Finnish).
[176] Ibid., p. 10 (in Finnish).
[177] Security for the Future. Ministry of Defence Strategy 2025 (2006), p. 11; Ministry of Defence Review of Future Prospects (2006), p. 5.

or deep-seated change – in the development of armed forces and the simultaneous rise of the new threats to occupy a more prominent place in security policy decision-making, it is necessary to ask how well we are able at the present time, in the western countries in general and in Finland in particular, to assess the threat posed by terrorism, for example, by means of the formula *Threat = Will x Potential*. Whose will should we be assessing, and what military and civilian capabilities should we regard as relevant potentials in order to evaluate the threat posed by a whole variety of terrorist organizations defined on innumerable different criteria? As Stefano Guzzini notes when considering the problems involved in determining the 'balance of power', "*before diplomats can count, they must decide what counts*"[178]. The Ministry of Defence strategy emphasizes the will of non-state actors in this connection, as they may be able to achieve a sufficient military capacity relatively rapidly in relation to their restricted goals. A single terrorist strike, for instance, does not require the creation of a major military capability. Conversely, when examining threats posed by states as actors in terms of the formula *Threat = Will x Potential*, the strategy places emphasis on the inertia associated with national military capabilities – in that states maintain and develop large armed forces so that it can take years to alter their nature, extent or modes of operation, in spite of the fact that the will to use military force – and thereby carry out a threat – can change very rapidly.[179]

Thus the implications of the 'new threats' are by no means obvious. As the concept of security has widened during the post-Cold War era, the *proportional* use of military means to prevent and combat the many kinds of threat that have emerged can be estimated to have diminished. There are numerous types of environmental threat, social threat and threats arising from our economic interdependence that can only be resolved to a very minor extent by the use of arms. Failing states, terrorism, organized crime, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and regional conflicts can be regarded from a military viewpoint as no more than indirect threats to Finland, and in this sense it is logical that the Ministry of Defence strategy should link the growing importance of crisis management operations in the post-Cold War period with the broader field of western security, defence collaboration and interoperability, the implementation

---

[178] Guzzini (1998), p. 231 (italics by the author).
[179] Security for the Future. Ministry of Defence Strategy 2025 (2006), p. 11.

of which takes place from a Finnish point of view very clearly within European Union and NATO circles. Thus *the new threats are viewed as requiring from Finland an active military contribution* within a framework formed by these organizations – partly through participation in the EU battlegroups and cooperation with the NATO rapid deployment forces – all of which takes place within a world system based on the authority of the United Nations. It is admittedly possible, of course, that Finland may find itself in the future involved in international military interventions which have no UN mandate to legitimize them, but where a considerable amount of pressure nevertheless exists for Finnish participation.[180]

> "We may find ourselves in the future having to choose whether to take part in *operations that do not have a clear authorization from the UN*. … We may also have to consider in the future *preventive military action as part of a larger group of participating countries*."[181]

The new threats are brought to the fore in the Ministry of Defence strategy as starting points for planning the defence system in the form of the increased significance of both cooperation between the various authorities and crisis management operations, the need to secure the country's key areas and vital functions, the intention to develop territorial troops partly in order to provide support for other authorities and the implicit re-definition of the concept of total national defence. The strategy in fact approaches the last-mentioned topic from the comprehensive security perspective, and attempts to apply the principles of total defence as a response not only to traditional military threats but also to the new, broad-based security threats.[182]

> "It will also be appropriate to use our military capacity to prevent and combat broad-based security threats, and for the management and cleaning up of their repercussions both at home and, if necessary, beyond the boundary of our own country."[183]

---

[180] Ministry of Defence Review of Future Prospects (2006), pp. 5-9.
[181] Ibid., pp. 5, 9 (in Finnish; italics by the author).
[182] Security for the Future. Ministry of Defence Strategy 2025 (2006), pp. 11-12, 20.
[183] Ministry of Defence Review of Future Prospects (2006), p. 12 (in Finnish).

It can be estimated that the post-Cold War alteration in the security environment – and the blurring of the distinction between internal and external security as part of that alteration – will have introduced an element of tension into the concept of total defence as part of the armed forces' cooperation with other authorities. The role of the Ministry of Defence as a coordinator of the total defence system harks back to the time when the emphasis was on a distinct military threat. Now that the new, broad-based security threats are influencing Finnish security policy to an ever-increasing degree, the question of a gradual transfer of this coordinative role to the Ministry of the Interior is emerging as a more or less 'natural' sequel to this. The discussion up to now has centred partly on the role of cooperation between the territorial troops and various authorities, and no open public dispute between ministries has as yet been observable, but if we are to view national and international politics from the constructivist perspective, as a constant struggle over the acceptability of different interpretations, it can be expected to be no more than a matter of time before the responsibility for coordinating the total national defence becomes an issue of public debate, at the latest when competition for resources between the branches of the administration is reduced to a question of redistributing a fixed volume of resources among existing units with no room at all for bargaining in the context of a stabilization of the previously variable interpretations and responsibilities. In other words, the longer the dilution of the concept of military security continues, so that the broad-based concept becomes a 'natural' part of the security policy agenda, the higher the probability that the Ministry of Defence's hold over the coordination of the total national defence will be challenged by others.

The new threats have not replaced the old state-based scenarios as far as defence planning is concerned, however, for the 2006 version of *Information on the Total Defence of Finland*, a textbook used in National Defence Courses, for example, still describes the Russian armed forces as an instrument for the pursuance of traditional national interests on the one hand and, in accordance with the western image of war, as engaged in a process of technicization and professionalization on the other:

> "Russia still regards the possession of powerful armed forces as
> a matter of major geopolitical importance in view of the decline

in the significance of international organizations and arms control agreements and the more common use that is being made of *ad hoc* military alliances. *The traditional role of armed forces as a means of achieving political goals has not lost its importance.* … The doubling of the defence budget in 2000–2004 has created a firm foundation for *the development of new weapons systems,* for instance, although the volumes in which these have been produced have remained modest. The strength of the armed forces is likely to settle at around a million men, *an ever-increasing proportion of whom will nevertheless be contract soldiers.* The raising of professional standards to the planned level is estimated to call for an increase in paid staff to 70% of the total and that of non-commissioned officers to 50% by 2008. The contract soldiers will be placed chiefly in the special troops and stand-by troops."[184]

The above description of the Russian armed forces reflects rather aptly the discrepancies between the Finnish and western military threat scenarios, i.e. the perceived potential military threats or risks, and at the same time it shows that Russia is perceived in Finnish eyes as at least partially following developments in western armed forces by placing emphasis on high-tech systems and greater professionality.

The change in the Finnish image of war since the Cold War era

The above examination of official Finnish security policy documents from the post-Cold War period points to the following factors as indicators of changes in the international security environment:

1. The threat of another state attacking Finland with its armed forces has clearly diminished. Within the framework of a concept of security that has broadened – or has been broadened – somewhat, military threats have become less numerous, at least by comparison with the situation during the Cold War.
2. Alongside this dilution of the military threats the more broad-

---

[184] Pyykönen (2006) (in Finnish; italics by the author).

based threats have become more abstract and complex. Many factors that are liable to threaten the functionality and security of Finnish society are by nature such that they are difficult to prevent in advance or combat at the time by purely military means.

3. With the reduction in the threat of a full-scale offensive on traditional lines, defence of the functions that are vital to the workings of society has come to occupy a significant role in the duties of the Defence Forces. This is reflected in the tasks laid down for them both in peace time and at times of war. In peace time this trend is most noticeable in the form of a gradual increase in the emphasis on cooperation with other authorities and the provision of executive assistance and in the adoption of the concept of 'extended executive assistance', while in a hostile operating environment it is manifested above all in a greater emphasis on scenarios involving a strategic strike.

4. International military crisis management operations have taken on a more important role among the tasks of the Defence Forces at the same time as the traditional threat of a full-scale military offensive has receded. This means that the first line of defence for Finland has moved beyond the bounds of the country's own territory.

5. The development of a military capability consistent with the discharge of international crisis management duties has increased its importance as a determinant of the credibility of Finland's defence.

6. The use of advanced military technology has risen to an important position in the credibility of Finland's defence and as a determinant of the reforms to be made in the defence system. An increasing proportion of high-tech systems has become one of the initial assumptions for the post-Cold War development of the Finnish defence system, an assumption which it is difficult to question in defence policy discussions. This may be interpreted as an adaptation of the goals set for Finnish defence policy to the technology-based transformation of the armed forces that has taken place in the United States and Europe under the aegis of the revolution in military affairs.

7. The increased emphasis on advanced military technology and demanding international crisis management operations in the development of the Defence Forces has started to generate

pressures for change in the system of universal male conscrip-
tion. The increased need for professional personnel and the
gradual – and as yet still minor – shift in the emphasis of the
national defence away from the country's own territory as such
and towards sites of particular importance with regard to com-
munity functions, as well as towards international crisis man-
agement operations, have gradually led people to think about
current Finnish conscription practices. The credibility of armed
forces nowadays rests much more on the quality of the military
training provided than on its volume.

8. The decision has been made in Finland to offset the growing
costs of advanced military technology by reforming the terri-
torial defence system that prevailed in the Cold War era, with
its massive use of troops, command and control systems and
weapons systems. In practice this has meant the disbanding of
many units and the closure of institutions, entailing substantial
redundancies and transfers of functions to other localities. Ef-
forts have also been made to improve economic efficiency and
to compensate for the general loss of self-sufficiency brought
about by globalization by centralizing many of the Defence
Forces' core functions and outsourcing many more peripheral
ones. Thus the discourse of privatization in western warfare
has been transferred to Finnish defence policy discussions and
practices.

9. An increased need has been felt for cooperation between the
Defence Forces and other authorities operating in the field of
security, reflecting a more comprehensive concept of security
and the change in military threat scenarios. The traditional
threat posed by terrorism to internal security has gradually al-
tered since the year 2000 to apply to the nation's external se-
curity as well, and at the same time the traditional distinction
between internal and external security has become blurred as a
consequence of this extension of the concept both by broaden-
ing the target whose security is referred to (from the state to
the individual and the stability of the national and international
system) and by broadening the content of security (from mili-
tary security to the security of the political system, society and
the economy). Although the discourse of the war on terrorism,
which posed a challenge to the uniformity of the western image
of war, has only had a marginal influence on the development

of the activities of the Finnish Defence Forces, the more general preparations to meet such new threats have had the effect of steering the construction of the Finnish image of war away from the notion of territorial defence and towards the defence of the vital functions of society and international crisis management.

The Finnish image of war is constituted in very much the same manner as that prevailing in the west in general, even to the extent that one might conjecture that the end of the Cold War provided an opportunity for Finland to consolidate its identity as a western nation militarily as well as in other ways. The Defence Forces' material acquisitions – the most significant of which were a fleet of Hornet F-18 interceptor planes and a fleet of NH-90 transport helicopters – and both the doctrinal aspects of the general development of the defence system and factors connected with international military collaboration have bound Finland more tightly with the West than ever. Universal male conscription, the territorial defence system and the principle of military non-alliance are nevertheless specifically Finnish features that clearly cause the country to stand apart from western trends in defence policy. A potential re-appraisal of conscription has now been initiated in Finland, however, and similar progress has been made in revising the territorial defence system in accordance with the western tenets of a revolution in military affairs (particularly network-centric warfare). Likewise, the identity factors associated with military non-alliance have been openly taken into account in the Finnish polemic over membership of NATO. One cogent argument put forward in the NATO debate has been that it would confer full membership of the western community of states and entitled Finland to a place at all the tables around which decisions regarding this country as well as others are taken. The gradual widening of co-operation with NATO – including the increased attention paid to the need for NATO membership within Finnish internal policy discussions in the course of 2007 – are indications of the importance of this western reference group in the constantly ongoing reconstruction of the Finnish image of war.

The principles governing the development of the Finnish defence system tend to follow the general western trend in the development of armed forces with a time-lag of between five and ten years, and the 'depth' of the change is in general less marked than in

most western countries on average. Professionalization, privatiza-
tion, the emphasis on technology, more demanding military crisis
management operations and the integration of anti-terrorism into
the field of activities of the Defence Forces[185] are all common west-
ern trends. In certain specialized fields, e.g. the Effects-Based Ap-
proach to Operations (EBAO), it is still possible for Finland's defence
forces to achieve a rapid change, placing them in the forefront of
developments. In particular, the Finnish tradition of total defence,
the emphasis placed on disturbances in the functioning of society as
threats and the established nature of cooperation between different
authorities will facilitate the achievement of defence policy changes
at the political and strategic levels as threat scenarios become more
broad-based.

   As the 1990s advanced, Finland, as part of the western commu-
nity of nations, adjusted its established Defence Forces' peacekeeping
tradition to the emerging pattern of international crisis management
operations, although the emphasis in international operations and
exercises throughout that decade was on the benefits to be gained
for the national defence, often quite concrete ones. Since the turn
of the millennium, however, participation in international military
crisis management operations has emerged within Finnish defence
policy thinking as a credible form of military activity which merits
a place within the international system, even to the extent that the
functions and troops required for these operations have 'taken over'
part of the duties of the troops trained to defend the country's own
territory in a war situation, i.e. to raise the threshold for an offen-
sive and serve as a military deterrent. In addition, international op-
erations provide opportunities for troops to practice acting in crisis
situations that come as near to wartime conditions as is possible for
the Defence Forces to 'arrange'. This instrumental interest in partici-
pation in crisis management is also connected with the need to act
together with others in demanding situations which is part of the
Finnish identity policy

   Participation in international crisis management operations,
including humanitarian operations, has made it possible to link the
Finnish identity with the values of the western community, i.e. one
'should' participate, because all the actors that tie the Finnish iden-
tity with the western countries, the United States and the nations of

---

[185] Admittedly, the connections between terrorism and the development of the
armed forces have so far had very few practical implications.

Europe, are involved in them. By taking an active part, Finland is able to show the others – and itself – that it belongs to the western bloc. A further consideration that has formed part of the logic behind the increased importance of military crisis management, of course, has been the possibility of the solidarity of a collective western identity leading to concrete external assistance for Finland should it become embroiled in a crisis.

With the growing importance of international crisis management operations for defining the credibility of the Finnish defence system, it is quite obvious that the Defence Forces will have to an increasing extent to develop military capabilities that they can use as part of a multinational force engaged in such an operation outside their own territory. Interoperability on the technical, logistic and tactical-operative levels and with respect to command systems is a growing requirement for the development of military troops, functions and systems, at the same time as the work of building up the credibility of Finland's defence continues to move beyond the country's borders.

As far as the acquisition of defence material is concerned, a decision has already been taken to observe western standards as laid down by NATO. In addition, the Defence Forces have been ordered to train and equip troops for progressively more challenging crisis management assignments – the latest example of which has been participation in two EU battlegroups. In addition, there is a desire to increase cooperation with NATO itself, so that the Finnish crisis management troops taking part in more demanding operations can rehearse potential operative scenarios as thoroughly as possible in the company of other participant NATO troops. Finland wants to contribute to the exercises arranged for the NATO rapid deployment force (NRF) in the future, and the question of participating in operations as part of these forces has been raised nationally.[186] It should also be noted that the European Union has adopted NATO standards for defining military capability and conducting exercises, for instance.

---

[186] The President of Finland together with the Government Committee on Foreign and Security Policy announced a decision in principle to allow participation in NRF exercises on 2.11.2006. See Memorandum from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee "On the Possibility for Partnership Countries to Join in the Activities of the NATO Response Force, 13.12.2006" (2006) (in Finnish); Järvenpää (2007); Katainen (2006).

Thus a preliminary analysis of Finnish security policy documents and political discussions and argumentation connected with the formulation of Finnish defence policy lends support to the idea that the Finnish image of war follows trends in the west with respect to military threat scenarios, the duties of defence forces and the development of their military capabilities, although with a certain delay. This analysis of the image of war will be pursued further in Chapter 4, where we will examine the relation between the development of the Finnish defence system and the change in the security environment in the light of the change in the image of war.

4. Development of the Finnish Defence System in the Post-Cold War era

Based on the analysis presented in chapter 3 of the changes in the Finnish image of war arising out of the altered international security situation in the post-Cold War era, we set out in this chapter to examine *the challenges for the development of the Finnish defence system under post-Cold War conditions*. The 'defence system' in this sense may be taken as referring to military activities planned and put into effect within the framework of Finland's security and defence policy, the fundamental purposes of which are to maintain the country's security, enhance its position with regard to security policy and pursue its national interests as defined within the domestic political process. This broad interpretation of the defence system differs somewhat from the definition given in the General Section of the 2007 edition of the Field Manual, for instance, according to which:

> "The defence system is an entity that comprises the control and command system, the intelligence and surveillance system, the preparedness regulation system, the logistics system and the structure of the armed forces, i.e. the command levels and troops of the ground forces, navy and air force."[187]

The broader interpretation of a defence system adopted here and its close affinity to the concept of defence policy may be attributed to the change that has taken place in the international security environment since the Cold War, which has in turn formed the basis for the construction and maintenance of the Finnish defence system. Its adoption means that the development of this defence system is not restricted to preparations made for defending the national territory at times of war, e.g. in the framework of the concept of total defence, but rather the analysis presented in this chapter can be discussed from the perspective of Finland's military defence in accordance with its declared security and defence policy. It is within the framework of this Finnish military activity that the Defence Forces are being developed – both their peacetime personnel, organization and activities and their wartime troops, armaments and principles of operation.

---

[187] Field Manual – General Section (2007) (in Finnish).

The development of Finland's defence system will be examined in this chapter in terms of changes in four factors contributing to the Finnish image of war. These Finnish discourses constructing the post-Cold War image of war emerged in effect in the course of the examination of the Finnish image of war in chapter 3. Although in a sense they arise out of the general western image of war, they are also in part derived from Finland's own national military culture, i.e. the country's historical experiences of war and geostrategic location as an immediate neighbour of the Soviet Union/Russia.

The first discourse contributing to the formation of the Finnish image of war is connected with the national defence, and may be termed a *war of territorial defence*.[188] This concept which forms the nucleus of the Finnish defence system has been inherited from the Cold War period and has continued to provide a basis, or 'growth medium', for the changes that have taken place in the system since that time. The second discourse that quite clearly makes a contribution to the Finnish image of war is connected with the heightened significance of international military cooperation for the Finnish defence system, and particularly emphasis on international crisis management operations. This second discourse will therefore be referred to as a *crisis management war*.[189] The third discourse that affects the Finnish defence system and appears in the form of a change in the image of war is connected with the partial transition from the defence of a given territorial area to securing the functions vital to society, i.e. that of an *SFVS war*.[190] The fourth such discourse, which is again connected with the western image of war and the change that has taken place in this since the days of the Cold War, lays emphasis on the effects of advanced information technology as far as the development of the military activities and the creation of new capacities is concerned. This discourse, which also influences the size, organization and principles of operation of the armed forces, may be termed a *techno-war*. This represents a manifestation of the American discourse known as the 'revolution in military affairs' in the form in which it has spread to Europe and beyond. The development of the Finnish defence system in the post-Cold War era will thus be examined in this chapter from the perspective of:

---

[188] On the term 'war of territorial defence' and the Finnish image of war in the post-Cold War era, see Nokkala (2005a).

[189] Cf. Nokkala (2005a).

[190] SFVS is the accepted acronym for Securing Functions Vital to Society.

1. a war of territorial defence,
2. a crisis management war,
3. a SFVS war,
4. a techno-war.

These discourses of the Finnish image of war may be regarded as analytical categories that enable the influence of the alteration in this image on the development of the Finnish defence system to be observed and illustrated. In other words, they form the building blocks for the Finnish image of war by constraining and enabling re-production and transformation of the image inherited from the Cold War period. The 'development' of these elements in the post-Cold War era is depicted in Figure 1.
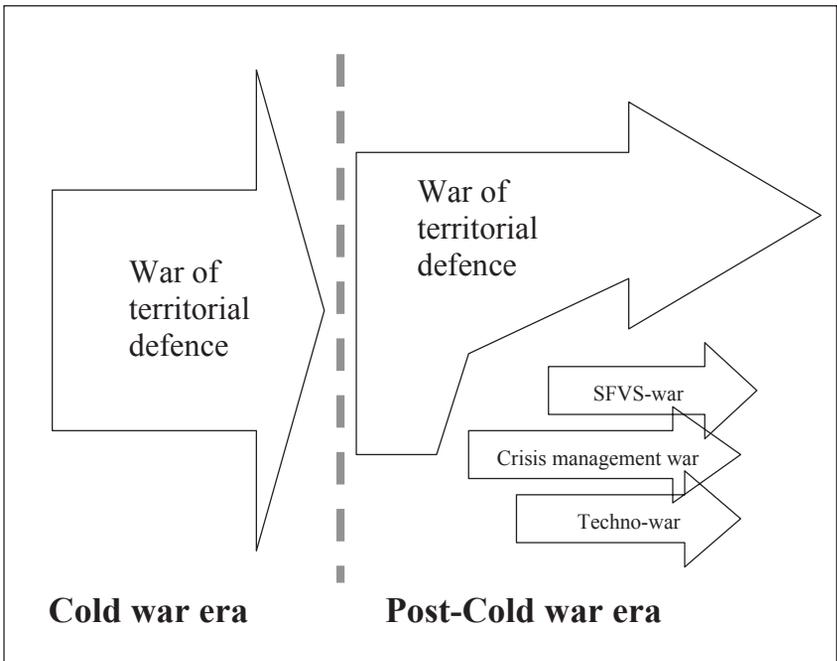

Figure 1. Alterations in the Finnish image of war in the post-Cold War era.

The Finnish image of war became established as a fairly consistent conceptual construct during the Cold War era, and the concept of a 'war of territorial defence' serves fairly well to reflect the situation at that time: the nation's independence and territorial integrity

were threatened by the armed forces of external state actors, which necessitated the maintenance of a territorial defence system and preparations for the event of a territorial conflict. By the end of the Cold War the Finnish defence system was governed almost exclusively by this notion of a war of territorial defence. Gradually, by the mid-1990s, however, the Finnish image of war began to incorporate a new element, connected with UN peacekeeping missions belonging to demanding crisis management operations. In other words, the notion of out-of-area military operations became associated with the generally accepted Finnish concepts of war and the deployment of military forces. Equally gradually, from the late 1990s onwards, the idea of developing rapid deployment forces for use in demanding crisis management missions began to gain a foothold in the Finnish image of war as well, and close integration with the military forces of other western countries and the emergence of wars of a new kind in Europe and elsewhere became an ever more important part of that revised image.

The notion of an SFVS war has become part of the Finnish image of war at the same time as the focus of the defence system has transferred from territorial defence towards securing the vital functions and functioning of society. The emphasis placed on a strategic strike as a major threat in the 1997 government report to parliament "Security trends in Europe and the defence of Finland" reflects fairly well the emergence of the concept of an SFVS war, and the 9/11 events, the subsequent US declaration of a war on terrorism and the more general western trend towards directing military attention at the threat posed by terrorism have increased the weight placed on this discourse of war within the Finnish image. The principles of executive assistance and international cooperation – including military cooperation – to minimize and/or eliminate the threat of terrorism are demonstrations of this.

The techno-war discourse entered the Finnish image of war in the late 1990s and in the very first years of the new millennium, a timing which corresponds fairly well with the trend in the western countries as a whole. The lead achieved by the United States as a developer and user of advanced information technology for the purposes of warfare was constantly being pointed to during the 1990s, as the western nations of Europe had managed to develop high-tech instruments of war and take them into use only to a relatively limited extent. Decisions had nevertheless been made in both

NATO and the EU to develop their future armed forces in accordance with the discourse of the revolution in military affairs in order to be able to participate in multinational network-centric warfare. The European aim as far as the development of armed forces and the creation of capabilities for new modes of warfare are concerned is clearly interoperability with the United States, especially in view of the lead established by that country and its hegemonic position with regard to the development and adoption of military applications of advanced technology. The transformation that now has to be implemented in Europe implies in practice the acquisition of network-centric military capabilities and the conducting expeditionary military operations. The idea of acquiring a capacity for network-centric warfare reached Finland around the turn of the millennium and was expressed in official form in the government report of 2004.

A war of territorial defence – changes in the territorial defence system

The Finnish image of war became fairly well established in an uncontested, unambiguous form during the Cold War period. It was essential to be able to react to a large-scale conventional attack with delaying and attrition tactics as soon as the enemy had crossed the border and then to destroy the invading force in series of decisive battles once mobilization of the extensive reserves had become possible. Thus the term *war of territorial defence* describes the image fairly aptly. It was assumed that the invading army of a major power would be intent on occupying the territory of Finland, and that the only option for reacting to this military threat lay in the system of universal conscription and the extending of the defence system over the whole territory of Finland. Although it was estimated that the balance of military power in the event of a war would be to Finland's disadvantage, war was nevertheless perceived primarily as a symmetric combat between troops fielding substantial numbers of men. Preparations were also made for guerrilla warfare – and for hostilities of an asymmetric character on the part of the enemy, e.g. sabotage – but overall the image of war during that period conformed to that of a territorial war that was symmetric in character.

Even at the very end of the Cold War period the development of the Finnish defence system was being directed unflinchingly from

the perspective of territorial defence conducted within the framework of a war of attrition, as reflected in the concern expressed in the 1981 report of the Third Parliamentary Defence Committee regarding the projected reduction of a hundred thousand in the complement of the trained reserves, from 700,000 to 600,000, in the course of the 1990s. In accordance with the prevailing image of a war of territorial defence, the committee, even as the Cold War was coming to an end, described the large body of trained reserves as the backbone of the defence system – even though a large proportion of these reserves were poorly equipped to resist an invasion by a massed body of highly mechanized troops.

> "A large body of reserves can provide the required depth and resistance in defence and a measure of security against surprise developments. The equipment available to the reserves that do not form part of the regular protection forces can be renewed only to a limited extent, and they duties assigned to them will have to be determined with this in mind."[191]

Following the termination of the Cold War, the existing Finnish image of war gradually changed. It is natural that as the threat of a large-scale invasion abated there should have been more 'room' for new – or altered – threats to grow in importance. Thus the new situation is reflected in a gradual change in the military threats quoted in the discourse of a territorial war, and particularly in a gradual decline in the attention paid to the threat of a 'transit attack' by a force aiming to pass through Finnish territory, which was in itself a direct manifestation of Finland's Cold War geopolitical role as a country located between East and West. One of the three threats quoted in the General Section of the 1995 Field Manual as keystones to Finland's military defence planning was the use of Finnish territory for an attack on a third party, whereas in the 1997 government report "Security trends in Europe and the defence of Finland" this threat is classified under the general threat of a large-scale invasion. In the same way the government security and defence policy report of 2001 describes an attack on a third party as just one kind of large-scale attack that could be envisaged. Correspondingly, the concept of a transit attack is left out of the types of threat quoted in the General

---

[191] Report of the Third Parliamentary Defence Committee, Komiteanmietintö 1981:1 (1981), p. 44 (in Finnish).

Section of the 2007 Field Manual.[192] In spite of the changes in the war of territorial defence discourse, it should be noted that the Finnish image of war still deviates from the general western trend in that its nucleus consists of the notion of war as a matter of defence of the national territory.

Reliance on *universal conscription*[193] and a substantial body of reserves, and also *defence of the whole national territory*, have been typical features of Finnish defence thinking – during the Cold War and later, and it is partly on account of this that the 'Finnish defence model' may be said to have deviated in some respects from the view of war and the deployment of armed forces espoused in other countries. Universal conscription has been virtually sacrosanct in the context of Finnish security and defence policy debates, so that it has been well nigh impossible to question it. Apart from the fact that it has been perceived as serving an important social purpose in addition to the military training that it provides, conscription has been seen to be directly related to the exceptionally powerful *will to defend the homeland* that prevails among the Finnish population.[194] Where other countries have gone over to professional armed forces instead of conscript armies and have turned their attention away from their own territory and towards out-of-area military operations, Finland has maintained – although admittedly in a somewhat different form – a massed force typical of the Cold War period in readiness for repelling a large-scale offensive. It should be noted, however, that troop numbers have been reduced from the late 1990s onwards so that the

---

[192] Field Manual – General Section (1995), p. 24; Security trends in Europe and the defence of Finland, Government report to parliament 1/1997, 17.3.1997 (1997), p. 78; Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2001. Government report to parliament, 13.6.2001 (2001), section II; Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004. Government report 6/2004 (2004), p. 102; Field Manual – General Section (2007), p. 26.

[193] See, for example, Security in a changing world – guidelines for Finland's security policy. Government report to parliament 6.6.1995 (1995), pp. 31, 45; Security trends in Europe and the defence of Finland, Government report to parliament 1/1997, 17.3.1997 (1997), pp. 5,28, 54, 63-64, 67, 77, 79, 87-88; Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004. Government report 6/2004 (2004), pp. 8, 86, 97, 104, 112, 115; Security for the Future. Ministry of Defence Strategy 2025 (2006), p. 1. 16-17, 21; see also Kaskeala (2002a) "Universal conscription will *always* form the basis of our defence capability and support our security policy choices" (in Finnish, italics by the present author).

[194] Security trends in Europe and the defence of Finland, Government report to parliament 1/1997, 17.3.1997 (1997), p. 64; see also Laitinen (2005), pp. 10, 72, 85, 103-104; Nokkala (2005b), pp. 198-201, 203.

present-day wartime strength of the defence forces is 350,000 men, and that numbers are expected to drop further in the future.[195]

The above account of a massed army is nevertheless no more than partially true at best. The Finnish defence system has been developed in the direction of a form of territorial defence appropriate for the age of the information society, although more slowly than in the western countries as a whole. A traditional incursion by a massed force is still regarded as a possible military threat even today, but the motives assumed to be behind such an incursion and the sites to be defended have altered over the past fifteen years. It is evident that a possible adversary would not be interested in capturing and occupying tracts of Finnish forest but would be more likely to concentrate on certain sites of importance for the functioning of society, which would mean an increased emphasis on protection of the capital, Helsinki, on account of its central position in the country's administration and economy. Protection of the capital city has always received high priority among the duties of the defence forces, but recent developments have accentuated its significance and this effect is likely to be compounded in the future.

The area around the capital is not a site of essential importance in terms of defence on account of the *territory* involved, however, but rather on account of the various *functions* that are essential for the whole of Finnish society which are either located in that area or are dependent upon it. Thus the organizing of the defence of the capital region with due attention to its strategic importance does not necessarily imply the assignment of additional forces to this task in the context of wartime planning. In this sense, too, the pronounced development of military technology and its more intensive exploitation at the expense of traditional troop structures and weapons systems, as practised by others under US leadership, is beginning to make its appearance in Finland. In fact the commencement of work on the construction of a capability for network-enabled defence with the necessary intelligence, surveillance, command and control, and weapons systems in accordance with the 2004 government report is

---

[195] "The strength of the army may be reduced to 250,000 men" (2006) (in Finnish). Admiral Juhani Kaskeala, Commander of the Finnish Defence Forces, observed in an interview published (in Finnish) in the personnel magazine *Ruotuväki* with regard to the wartime strength of the defence forces in the 2010s that "a complement of 250,000 men will quite definitely be sufficient. It will be twice as many as that of all the other Nordic countries combined and one of the largest armies in Europe."

one clear indication of the changing character of Finland's territorial defence system. At the same time it enables us to say that the emphasis on a technology-based military capability that has been projected from the United States to Europe with a certain delay has now reached Finland as well.[196]

It should be noted that the General Section of the 2007 Field Manual describes the Finnish defence strategy in terms of a credible national defence capability and speaks of a national rather than a territorial defence system:

> "Finland's defence strategy is based on a credible national defence capability formed of military units commanded to perform specific tasks. The extent of this capability is determined in accordance with government security and defence policy decisions. … The country's military defence lies in *a national defence system* constructed on the principle of universal conscription, which makes it possible to cover the whole national territory."[197]

The General Section of the 2007 Field Manual does not reject the principle of territorial defence, however, as it still states that Finland's military defence is to be implemented *on the territorial principle*, but a change in direction is to be seen by comparison with the 1995 edition of the manual. In rhetorical terms, this is a transition from a territorial defence system to a defence system based on the territorial principle, and in this sense the more recent wording can be regarded as supporting the notion of a gradual decline in the significance of the discourse of a war of territorial defence.

A further principle on which the Finnish post-Cold War discourse of a war of territorial defence has relied, in addition to univer-

---

[196] In the United States emphasis has been placed throughout the post-Cold War era on the opportunities offered by information technology in present-day and future war arenas, whereas this viewpoint began to spread in a more concrete fashion in Europe only in the late 1990s and at the beginning of the new millennium. As far as Finland is concerned, an emphasis on technology could be detected at the level of official defence policy in the 2004 government report, although references to the western 'techno-war' trend can be seen in some documents outlining official defence policy about a decade earlier. On the technology-based western image of war, see Raitasalo (2005a).

[197] Field Manual – General Section (2007), p. 28 (in Finnish; italics by the present author).

sal conscription, a strong will to defend the homeland and defence of the whole national territory, is that of *military non-alliance*.[198] This is in part connected with Finland's efforts to break free of the country's problematic Cold War geopolitical position sandwiched between East and West. The abandonment of the previous policy of neutrality in favour of one of military non-alliance – combined with increasing military cooperation with the European Union, NATO etc. – has proved to be a relatively restrained means of altering the core of the Finnish defence system of the Cold War period, which remains linked to the notion of territorial defence even today.

One should not underestimate the influence of Russia on the continuity of the Finnish discourse of a war of territorial defence and the relatively minor changes that have taken place in this over the last couple of decades. Following the military 'collapse' of the early 1990s, the capability of the Russian armed forces in relation to those of Finland is still utterly overwhelming.[199] Also, Russia has set out on a reform of its armed forces from the late 1990s onwards with the intention of making this mighty military machine more flexible and efficient, and although it is still very much a massed army by comparison with the Finnish situation, a change is taking place towards western-style applications of advanced technology. Thus all the time military threats are evaluated in terms of the formula *Threat = Will x Potential*,[200] Russia will retain its significant influence on the development of the Finnish defence system. It can indeed be presumed that Russia's military potential will remain high relative to that of Finland for the whole of the foreseeable future and beyond.

All in all, the discourse of a war of territorial defence has declined in significance during the post-Cold War era as far as the Finnish image of war is concerned, and it has also taken on some new implications, particularly with the trend towards a more technological approach to the military capabilities of defence forces and

---

[198] See, for example, Security in a changing world – guidelines for Finland's security policy. Government report to parliament 6.6.1995 (1995), pp. 31, 39, 42, 45; Security trends in Europe and the defence of Finland, Government report to parliament 1/1997, 17.3.1997 (1997), pp. 4-5, 42, 45, 47-48, 91; Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004. Government report 6/2004 (2004), pp. 7, 87, 100; Security for the Future. Ministry of Defence Strategy 2025 (2006), pp. 1, 21.

[199] The Russian armed forces had a total strength of about one million men as of 2007, and also a sizeable strategic reserve that could be mobilized if necessary.

[200] Cf. Security for the Future. Ministry of Defence Strategy 2025 (2006), p. 11; Field Manual General Section (2007), p. 27.

the gradual waning of the emphasis on the defence of the national territory. It is true that the related techno-war discourse has partly been entered into on boundary conditions defined by the discourse of a war of territorial defence, but the former has also done much to redirect the latter – as noted in the 2004 government report on security and defence when it refers to the effect of techno-warfare in *reforming the territorial defence system*. On the other hand, continuity has been introduced into the representation of a war of territorial defence by factors connected with universal conscription, the strong will to defend the homeland on the part of its citizens in general, the principle of military non-alliance[201] and the potential military threat posed by Russia.
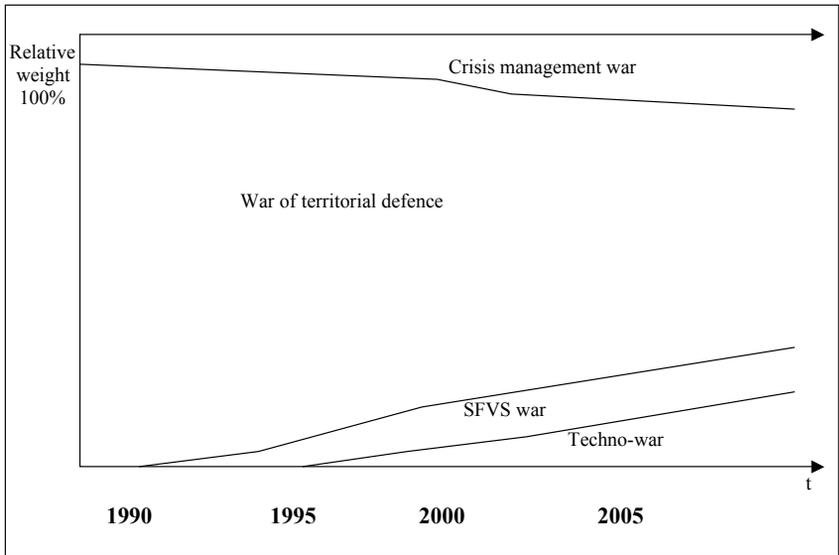

Figure 2. Diagrammatic representation of the decline in the importance of the discourse of a war of territorial defence for the development of the Finnish defence system in the post-Cold War era.

---

[201] The principle of non-alliance has characteristically involved a pronounced emphasis on the possession of a credible independent defence capability.

The discourse of a war of territorial defence has undoubtedly had a restraining influence on discussions in Finland over the benefits of professional defence forces, which have not been by any means as heated as in other western countries, and Finnish security and defence policy discussions of military crisis management and executive assistance provided to other authorities have similarly relied fairly heavily on the 'space for discussion' allowed by this discourse. Although the notion of a war of national defence has gradually declined in importance since the early 1990s, it has nevertheless served as a determinant of the agenda for developing the Finnish defence system – in the sense that it has always been necessary to link or relate any 'initiatives' regarding its development to the discourse of a war of territorial defence in the form in which it exists at that moment. The diagram in Figure 2 above attempts to illustrate the importance of the discourse of a war of territorial defence relative to the other, more recent discourses affecting the defence system during the post-Cold War era.

A crisis management war

"In addition to the national defence, Finland should create and develop capabilities for taking part in more militarily demanding and complex international peacekeeping and crisis management missions. Crisis management capabilities should increasingly be regarded as an integral part of the country's defence policy, a new security policy instrument and a means of strengthening our defence capacity."

> *- Security in a changing world – guidelines for Finland's security policy. Government report to Parliament 6.6.1995*

Gradually and by degrees, international military crisis management began to progress towards the core of the Finnish image of war in the course of the 1990s, although this, again, was a movement of fairly restrained proportions. Experiences of UN peacekeeping operations from the mid-1950s onwards formed a fairly 'natural' foundation, and it is on the strength of these that military crisis management activities have increased and become more demanding over the last 15 years. Practical manifestations of the discourse of a crisis

management war during the post-Cold War period can be identified in the following factors, at least:

- Participation in the NATO Partnership for Peace programme (1994) and the later Extended Partnership for Peace programme (1998) in addition to traditional UN peace-keeping.
- The commencement of international training for conscripts.
- Changes to the regulations governing the use of force as laid down in the law on peace-keeping operations (1995).
- Introduction of a law on military crisis management (2006) to replace the law on peace-keeping operations.
- Participation in European Union crisis management cooperation and the contribution of troops to the EU pool of forces (1999) and commitment to the provision of troops for two battlegroups in the EU Rapid Response Force (2004).
- Listing of participation in military crisis management operations as one of the three missions of the Finnish Defence Forces in the new law governing these forces that came into effect in 2008.

The diminution in the likelihood and significance of a war of territorial defence has made it possible for increased emphasis to be placed on international military collaboration, especially since the 'new wars' of the post-Cold War era and the wider public awareness of these[202] has increased the global demand for crisis management operations. The decline in the probability of a large-scale military offensive of a kind that could be linked with the discourse of a war of territorial defence has left room for the development of the Finnish defence system to be guided by other forms of logic. The discourse of international military crisis management has been closely associated both temporally and in terms of content with 1) the gradual decline in the significance of a war of territorial defence in Finland, 2) new, globally recognized security threats, and 3) the fact that this

---

[202] It should be noted in this connection that as far as the discourse of the new wars is concerned it is immaterial for the purposes of the present investigation whether or not such wars are really 'new' and whether or not the numbers of people in the international system dying in wars or as a consequence of large-scale acts of violence have actually increased over the post-Cold War period. The essential point in this connection is that the discourse of the new wars has become fairly generally 'accepted' in the west – and also in Finland.

is generally accepted as a legitimate use for armed forces. Also, 4) an opportunity to build up a Finnish identity as an integral part of the core of the western world has emerged during the post-Cold War era precisely because of the development of a military crisis management capability and participation in multi-national crisis management operations.

The increased importance of crisis management as one part of the Finnish image of war can thus be explained to a significant extent by the redefinition of military threats following the termination of the Cold War and the development of western military co-operation in the field of crisis management. As the threat of a direct military attack on Finland has abated, one of the main aims of Finnish security policy has been to define the military and non-military threats on the basis of which it is possible to develop the country's security and defence policy and defence system. The change in the threats lying behind Finnish defence planning between the early 1990s and the 2004 government report on security and defence policy reflects fairly well the reconstruction of the set of military threats in the post-Cold War period. The threats involving a direct military attack were quoted in the 2004 report side by side with a regional crisis occurring elsewhere with implications for Finland and various forms of political, economic and military pressure which may or may not involve the threat or limited use of military force.[203] Thus the scenarios governing defence planning and the development of the defence system have drifted during the last decade or so towards military threats that impinge less directly on Finland as such. The fairly powerful emergence of the discourse of a crisis management war in the decade following the Cold War is connected with a development and change in the threat scenarios associated with precisely this formulation of the country's security and defence policy.[204]

---

[203] Field Manual – General Section (1995), p. 24; Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004. Government report 6/2004 (2004), p. 102. The general section of the 2007 Field Manual has the same list of military defence threats as in the 2004 government report, i.e. political, economic or military pressure and the use of military force, which may take the form of a strategic strike executed either alone or preparatory to the occupation of an area of the country's territory. See Field Manual – General Section (2007), p. 26.

[204] 'Threat' and 'threat scenario' are used in this work as synonymous terms referring to fairly general descriptions of factors and/or actors that could pose a threat to the country's security. On differences in their use in official parlance, see Field Manual – General Section (2007), pp. 26-27.

In the terms of the crisis management war discourse, Finland can promote its own national interests and security goals as determined in its domestic political processes by helping to stabilize the international system in the face of the new threats to it. A more secure and less violent world is likely to enjoy economic growth, stability and more predictable conditions and to allow more room for Finland to pursue its own medium and long-term interests. Viewed from this perspective, new wars constitute a threat to global peace and security – and thus to the stability that would otherwise promote Finland's achievement of its security goals. In addition, the constantly increasing integration taking place among the western countries (including the EU and NATO contexts when viewed from a military perspective) and the increasing international interdependence (e.g. globalization, economic dependence relations and the maximizing of economic efficiency) will have the effect of increasing pressures on Finland *to participate in international crisis management operations as part of the normal run of events*.[205] The need of the developed, affluent (post)industrial nations to develop and deploy their military capabilities in order to solve global security problems has now become an obligation,[206] and it is certainly the case that military crisis management is now looked on in Finland in much the same light as the granting of development aid.[207] Military operations of a humanitarian nature became a firm part of the western identity

---

[205] Cf. Nokkala (2005b), p. 180 (in Finnish): "The pressure of European and American norms of action can be interpreted as having increased overall in matters of the formation of images of war and armed forces. This is particularly true of the transformations taking place in armed forces, and also of the sending of these on missions beyond the bounds of Europe in which the use of arms is highly probable – which is increasingly the case."

[206] Cf. "Foreign Minister Ilkka Kanerva Anxious to Strengthen the Finnish Presence in Afghanistan" (2007) (in Finnish).

[207] See Iivonen (2006). The perception of military crisis management from the viewpoint of development aid can be interpreted in a constructivist framework as a discursive attempt to redefine its reality. This viewpoint naturally enhances the legitimacy of the men posted abroad, even in the most demanding of missions, as development aid is intended specifically as aid where international crisis management in a military framework can have less legitimate aspects associated with it, such as the training of personnel in order to strengthen the national defence capability. Also, the development aid viewpoint – should it become more widely accepted in Finnish security and defence policy discussions - is likely to arouse less opposition at home to the idea of sending troops to operations reminiscent of combat situations, especially where more demanding assignments are concerned.

in the 1990s,[208] so that being a part of the West presupposed participation in western military crisis management operations – even though a consideration of the security viewpoint in the light of traditional political realism could scarcely reveal any strong justification for a Finnish contribution to a European Union battlegroup being sent to Africa, for instance.

Thus the gradual emergence of military crisis management at the core of the Finnish image of war may be traced back to the change in military threat scenarios following the termination of the Cold War and in some measure to the *pressure to participate in demanding multinational crisis management operations as a part of the West* which was aroused by the reconstruction of these scenarios. The general international – and especially western – trend for emphasizing the significance of crisis management operations as a determinant of the image of war has thus been transmitted to Finland with a certain time-lag and in a somewhat attenuated form. It may even be claimed that at the international level *the ability to take part in demanding military crisis management operations serves as a new measure of military power*. The possession of a high-tech military capability that can be deployed rapidly out-of-area has become one indicator of a relevant level of military power in the 21st century.[209]

Multinational military operations – a significant proportion of which are military crisis management operations – have become an important framework for assessing military might in the post-Cold War era, and particularly from a western perspective, the 'experiences' that have been gained of war[210] and the lessons learned have frequently been connected with military crisis management operations – understood in a broad sense.[211] The ability to provide technologically advanced, rapidly deployable forces for multinational operations has clearly become one measure of military capability and credibility. Inflexible troops, however massive, that are capable only

---

[208] See The Responsibility to Protect – Research, Bibliography, Background (2001).

[209] See Raitasalo (2005a).

[210] 'Experiences of war' should be taken here to mean in broad terms all situations in which one or more parties have resorted to the use of arms against one or more other parties in order to achieve political goals.

[211] From a western perspective, the wars that ensued on the break-up of the former Yugoslavia, especially in Bosnia in 1992-1995 and the subsequent IFOR and SFOR operations, in Kosovo in 1999 and the subsequent KFOR operation and in Macedonia, and also the wars in East Timor (1999), the Congo (2003) and Afghanistan (ISAF), are all examples of this.

of taking part in national operations have in this sense lost ground in the military stakes during the post-Cold War period. In a way the crisis management discourse has been intertwined with the techno-war discourse, since its operations require technologically advanced equipment and many defence forces will find themselves having to acquire such equipment if they wish to take part in operations, since the equipment already in store for 'traditional' home defence purposes (territorial defence based on the massed forces psychology of the Cold War period) will prove inadequate for the demanding crisis management operations of the present day. It should also be noted that the military resources for use in both NATO and EU crisis management operations are being developed in accordance with NATO standards.[212]

The transition from peace-keeping to crisis management in the course of the post-Cold War era meant more demanding military operations, and preparations for these are reflected among other things in an adjustment in Finnish military thinking to cope with the prospect of the loss of Finnish lives in connection with international crisis management operations. Also, these operations were looked on as requiring the availability of the best and most modern equipment that the Finnish Defence Forces have at their disposal. As the Chief of General Staff, Lt.-Gen. Tarvainen observed at the opening of the National Defence Course in spring 2006:

> "Situations in operational areas can develop very suddenly, and we have no chance of intervening rapidly from home. Thus *the troops must be equipped in advance with the best possible material*. It should also be remembered here in Finland that the best possible personnel have been sent to the area concerned and that they know what they have to do in each situation. … *The danger that Finnish soldiers could be killed in action in such an operation is a very real one and must be taken into account when making*

---

[212] See, for example, the evaluation of developments in military crisis management capacities presented in the 2004 government report on security and defence policy: "Development of interoperability and new types of forces will mean focusing on high technology, quality and highly specialized skills. … In addition to maintaining current capabilities, Finland will also allocate resources to developing niche capabilities and specialized units. … Specialization requires developing the material readiness of international readiness units…". Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004. Government report 6/2004 (2004), pp. 95, 101.

decisions. We cannot be migrant workers who are present in an area of operation only when things are peaceful. *We have to bear our joint responsibilities to the end, even if in the worst case we have to pay a high price for doing so.*"[213]

The discourse of a crisis management war has had the opposite impact on the discussion regarding professionalism in the defence forces to that of the discourse of a war of territorial defence, for where the latter concept has been based up to now on universal conscription and an extensive body of reservists, the ever more demanding crisis management operations are calling for increasingly high levels of professional skills on the part of the personnel sent on these missions.[214] The most recent demonstration of this has been the high proportion of professional soldiers among the troops assigned to the EU Rapid Response Force, particularly the EU battlegroups.[215] Similarly, the commander of the Finnish troops attached to NATO's ISAF operation, Lt.-Col. Pertti Pullinen, was of the opinion in an interview published in the daily newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* in 2006 that the fact that crisis management operations would become still more demanding in the future could well mean abandonment of the use of volunteer troops.[216] In practice such a step would mean the assignment of regular soldiers (officers, NCOs, officers in the special forces and contract soldiers) to crisis management operations, i.e. a transfer from mainly volunteers recruited from the reserves to the use of full-time professional personnel for this purpose.

The crisis management war discourse also comes to occupy an important position when we examine the Finnish image of war *from the perspective of change*, although it should be noted that in this

---

[213] "Finland is Moving to a New Era in Military Crisis Management" (2006) (in Finnish).

[214] For one exception to this trend, see Kaskeala (2004) (in Finnish), where the Commander of the Defence Forces draws a parallel between universal conscription, as the cornerstone of a war of territorial defence, and participation in crisis management operations: "Finland has for several years been making either the largest or the second largest contribution of any country to NATO operations relative to its population. Without an efficiently functioning conscription system we could never have achieved such a performance."

[215] Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004. Government report 6/2004 (2004), pp. 125-126.

[216] "Afghanistan Commander: Crisis Management May no Longer be Possible with Volunteer Troops" (2006) (in Finnish).

respect it has not posed any significant challenge to the discourse of a war of territorial defence. It is rather the case that the decline in the latter has allowed the crisis management war discourse to come to the fore. At the same time it may be said that *the notion of a war of territorial defence has served as a framework for the formation of the discourse of a crisis management war, a frame of reference on which the legitimacy of crisis management has been dependent.* This is so because participation in international crisis management operations and the development of military capabilities for this purpose have for the most part been considered in Finland from the viewpoint of supporting and supplementing the territorial defence. It has thus been suggested that the acquisition of new military crisis management capabilities will improve territorial defence resources in the form of new systems, better and more realistic training (including the experience of involvement in actual operations) and the possibility of receiving external assistance in the event of Finland becoming the object of a military offensive. The line adopted in the 2004 government report on security and defence policy with regard to the creation of a military crisis management capability for the Finnish Air Force is a good example of the power of the discourse of a war of territorial defence to delimit and direct that of a crisis management war:

> "Air forces are needed for the surveillance of no-fly zones and other air space as part of the protection for international military crisis management operations. From 2008 onwards, and by separate decision, the Finnish Air Force will have the capability to participate in international operations as part of a multinational flying unit. This requires among other things the creation of an air-to-air refuelling capability. *Air Force performance, enhanced in international operations, is an integral element in the overall development of national defence.*"[217]

Correspondingly, Finland's participation in the EU Rapid Response Force was advocated in a Ministry of Defence memorandum of 2004 in part from a national defence viewpoint – on grounds dictated by the discourse of a war of territorial defence:

---

[217] Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004. Government report 6/2004 (2004), p. 126 (italics by the author)

"The capabilities offered by Finland have also been select-ed so that they will benefit the development of the national defence."[218]

The emergence and strengthening of the discourse of a crisis management war during the post-Cold War era has thus been de-pendent on its subordination to the discourse of territorial defence, in addition to which its effect on the construction of a western iden-tity for Finland and its moral legitimation of the tasks of the armed forces (to serve as a 'force for good') have promoted its advancement to the core of the Finnish image of war.[219] Finland's moral need and duty to participate in international military crisis management in or-der to arrest and prevent large-scale human suffering – even in the increasingly demanding crisis management operations – has gradu-ally grown in emphasis as one part of the Finnish discourse of a crisis management war that has arisen in post-Cold War times. This means that alongside the strengthening of the national defence, an-other logical argument – albeit subordinate, at least at the present time – has been put forward for taking part in military crisis man-agement. This 'naturalization' of participation in military crisis man-agement operations is reflected in a fairly representative manner in the argument put forward by Liisa Jaakonsaari, a member of the Par-liamentary Foreign Affairs Committee, to justify the dispatching of additional Finnish troops to join the ISAF operation in Afghanistan in summer 2007 on account of the deterioration of the security situ-ation there:

"As Afghanistan is the greatest challenge facing the inter-national community at the present moment, it seems logi-

---

[218] Memorandum from the Defence Policy Department of the Ministry of Defence 8.12.2004 "Finnish Participation in European Union Battlegroups" (2004) (in Finnish).

[219] One indication of a change of attitude towards use of armed force during the post-Cold War years has been the positive line adopted by the Green Party with respect to the European Union's Rapid Response Force. According to a survey conducted by Taloustutkimus in 2004, only 36% of the Greens' supporters were opposed to this force – a degree of acceptance exceeded only among the sup-porters of the conservative Coalition Party. The reasons for this positive attitude undoubtedly include the change in the function of the armed forces that this represents and the increased accent on legitimate humanitarian duties. See "No Dispute over Battlegroups" (2004).

cal to me that Finland should accept its own part of the responsibility."[220]

Note should also be taken when assessing the influence exerted by the discourse of a crisis management war of the shift in emphasis in the evaluation of the use of military force within the international system towards the deployment of flexible and rapidly mobilized expeditionary capabilities. It is principally within the framework of military crisis management that Finland is able to construct such capabilities for itself, as it would seem apparent, given the current Finnish social and military climate, that no more active or aggressive use of military force out-of-area[221] is likely to arise, at least in the near future.

Participation in the EU battlegroup in particular is the kind of demonstration of a 'new' military capability created for the purposes of crisis management operations that can additionally be regarded as being of significance for a *credible*[222] national defence. Similarly, the Finnish government's announcement to NATO in summer 2007 that it was ready to consider participating in the NATO Response Force (NRF) can be interpreted as an indication of the increase in the credibility of the national defence capability to be achieved in this way in addition to a desire for involvement in military crisis management.[223] In effect, the ability to train, equip and exercise NATO-certified NRF troops and maintain these in a state of readiness would constitute a far greater military power than that implied by the 'official' capabilities of these troops, for these Finnish contributions to NATO's expeditionary operations would possess a considerable symbolic value in a constructivist sense given the post-Cold War international political

---

[220] "Korkeaoja: We are Aware of the Dangers in Afghanistan" (2007) (in Finnish).

[221] Cf. the participation of Danish and Estonian troops in operations forming part of the US war against terrorism in Iraq and Afghanistan.

[222] A credible defence capability is socially constructed, and credible military activity in the post-Cold War era is based on partly different criteria from those that prevailed in the Cold War age of massed armies.

[223] "Häkämies: Finland to Decide in Autumn on Participation in NRF Troops" (2007). Note how quickly the Finnish security policy elite came down on the side of potential NRF participation. It was only in the previous December that the President and Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Forces, Tarja Halonen, expressed a more reserved view of Finnish involvement in these forces. See, for example, "Sweden More Open-minded than Finland Regarding the NATO Response Force" (2006).

situation in which we are living in the latter years of the first decade of the new millennium. In the context of the Finnish public defence policy discussion of the benefits of participation in the NRF troops and the disadvantages of not participating, the national newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*, a known advocate of NATO membership, phrased its argument regarding the coincidence of crisis management and territorial defence considerations in a editorial in July 2007 precisely from the viewpoint of creating a militarily credible performance capability:

> "Opposition to NATO is nevertheless a poor reason for objecting to Finland's participation in [NRF] activities, as *these can be expected to develop our own defence capabilities to a significant extent* and will fit in well with the scale of Finnish crisis management. *The alternative would be a reactionary trend in military matters*."[224]

When considering the additional symbolic value accruing to the credibility of the Finnish defence system as a consequence of the NRF troops and their activities,[225] it is naturally necessary to take into account the small size of the detachment that would be sent from Finland. It is also clear that the national defence, which relies on the discourse of a war of territorial defence, cannot be built up exclusively on the symbolic value of the credibility granted by participation in the EU battlegroups and the NRF troops, in spite of the fact that the Finnish discourse of a war of territorial defence has altered since the Cold War and can be expected in the future to continue to shake off the shackles of that period.

---

[224] "A Place for Finland in the NATO Response Force" (2006) (in Finnish; italics by the present author).

[225] It should be remembered that in the constructivist context 'symbolic' is not synonymous with 'minor' or 'marginal'. The word 'symbolic' denotes the importance of credibility – a denominator of defence capacity that cannot be measured – in the construction of Finland's post-Cold War defence system. Credibility is built upon the possession and availability for use of military capabilities of a kind that at the given point in time are symbolic of efficient and modern military power. Practical evidence (e.g. in the form of actual wars conducted) plays an important role in defining the factors that symbolize military power at any given time, and practical evidence, together with the discourses of war that interpret it, makes it possible to evaluate the credibility of military activity on an international scale.

The issues of the development and maintenance of a credible military capability, the global technicization of armed forces and the strengthening of Finland's western identity by taking part in crisis management all converge as parts of the general problem of developing the material level of preparedness of the Finnish Defence Forces. The United States in particular, as the principle developer of high-tech weapons systems, is inclined to view arms purchasers in the light of factors such as the political support which they show for US policies. The newest and most advanced military systems will only be sold to partners that have been individually adjudged to be reliable and progressive. One criterion, of course, is membership of the NATO alliance, but it is not the only one. In the context of Finland's efforts to develop its defence system and the material capabilities of its defence forces, the United States has refused to supply some of the systems in which the Finns have shown an interest, e.g. long-range JASMM missiles. On the occasion of his visit to Finland in June 2007, the assistant director of the US Defence Security Cooperation Agency stated explicitly that sales permits for high-tech military systems were partially dependent on the nature and extent of the support received by the United States from the countries desirous of purchasing them:

> "The more cooperation exists between countries, the better the exchange of systems components will function. And this does not concern only weapons."[226]

Active participation in military crisis management, and particularly in operations which are important for the US such as the ISAF mission in Afghanistan, is one means of trying to facilitate the obtaining of sales permits for technologically more advanced military materials. Especially in connection with the war in Iraq (from 2003 onwards), the United States has made a point of 'rewarding' those countries that have taken part in the war both materially and politically, e.g. in the form of reciprocal visits by heads of state. The question of increasing the crisis management effort in Afghanistan as a means of expressing support for the United States was broached in Finland in summer 2007, when the justification for possibly sending additional material aid to that country and possibly increasing the

---

[226] "Ministry of Defence Continues Hornet Negotiations" (2007) (in Finnish).

numbers of Finnish troops there was the development of better US relations.[227]

Where the discourse of a war of territorial defence may be looked on as predominantly a continuity element in the Finnish defence system, the clearly subordinate discourse of a crisis management war has served as one of the most important impulses for change when developing that defence system, i.e. for reforming the territorial defence, in the post-Cold War world. The discourse of a crisis management war is also the element in the construction of the Finnish image of war at which the pressure of international – and especially western – norms for the development of the armed forces and the redirection of defence policy has been targeted.

An SFVS war[228]

The gradual diminishing of the threat of a large-scale military offensive directed against the land area of Finland has led to a shift in the focus of the country's military defence from territorial defence to the protection and maintenance of functions and sites of vital importance to society.[229] It is not only a mass mobilization of mechanized divisions crossing over the country's border, backed up by substantial fire power and airborne and naval support that is regarded as a military threat. With the acceptance from the late 1990s onwards of the notion of a strategic strike as a possible threat scenario and the recognition of the international trend towards technological warfare, the military threats directing Finnish defence policy and the development of the defence forces have moved towards attacks mounted by smaller forces employing precision weapons. At the same time the tasks of the defence forces have approached the field of activity of the security authorities – since the smooth functioning of society has traditionally been in the hands of other branches of the administration rather than the Ministry of Defence.[230] *The discourse of an*

---

[227] See "Lipponen and Tuomioja Disagree over Continuing the Afghanistan Operation" (2007).

[228] SFVS is the accepted acronym for Securing Functions Vital to Society.

[229] See, for example, Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004. Government report 6/2004 (2004), p. 101.

[230] The coordinative role of the Ministry of Defence with regard to the overall national defence constituted the principal link between internal security and military defence in earlier times.

SFVS war has thus emerged during the post-Cold War era as another factor reshaping the Finnish image of war alongside crisis management. This change has become apparent both in the analysis of the international security environment carried out in Finland and in the development of the country's own defence policy and defence system.

It should be noted that the force behind the discourse of a SFVS war during the post-Cold War period has been derived from the fading probability of a war of territorial defence and changes in the projected nature of such a war – its scale, its implementation, the possible area of operation and the nature of the threat. Thus the discourse of a SFVS war, like that of a crisis management war, may be said to have grown up out of the gradually altering discourse of a war of territorial defence. In other words *the discourse of an SFVS war had initially been subordinate to that of a war of territorial defence and in many respects supportive of the latter.* The concept of an SFVS war has not posed any appreciable challenge to the Finnish tradition of a war of territorial defence, but rather its effect in altering the Finnish image of war has become visible in the form of new emphases within the latter. The characterization of the Finnish defence solution in the general section of the 2007 Field Manual reflects both the subordinate status of the discourse of an SFVS war with respect to a war of territorial defence and at the same time the increase in its significance that has taken place over the last decade or so:

> "The principal defence objectives are to guarantee the nation's independence in all situations, to ensure adequate conditions in which its citizens can live their lives and to allow its leadership room in which to function freely. The securing of functions that are vital to society and the developing of military crisis management capabilities are means of providing support for the defence of Finland. … *The focus in the planning of the national defence should be on the prevention or interception of a strategic strike.*"[231]

---

[231] Field Manual – General Section (2007), p. 28 (in Finnish; italics by the author) For almost identical definitions of a strategic strike, see also Security trends in Europe and the defence of Finland, Government report to parliament 1/1997, 17.3.1997 (1997), p. 78; Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2001. Government report to parliament, 13.6.2001 (2001), section II; Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004. Government report 6/2004 (2004), p. 103.

A strategic strike is defined in the general section of the 2007 Field Manual as a military manoeuvre implemented with a reinforced detachment of troops otherwise intended for deployment under normal conditions which aims by virtue of an element of surprise "to force the country's leadership into taking certain desired measures by paralysing the activities of sites and functions that are vital to society and the country's defence system."[232] This raising of the threat of a strategic strike to the focus of Finnish defence planning is a concrete reflection of the fairly rapid development of the discourse of an SFVS war to become a crucial part of the Finnish image of war and one of the most significant points of departure for the development of the country's defence system.

The emergence and strengthening of the discourse of an SFVS war also reflects a cautious merging of the fields of activity of the defence forces and the other security authorities. This development in the responsibilities of the defence forces has been connected with the alteration in military threats and the extension – or more correctly the extending – of the concept of security.[233] The Minister of Defence at the time, Seppo Kääriäinen, described this movement towards the field of activity of the security authorities in his speech at the opening of the 173rd National Defence Course in 2005 as follows:

> "*The defence administration has a great deal of knowhow and equipment that could be employed for many other purposes as well as military crisis management*. The Defence Forces are nowadays a significant provider of assistance around the clock and on every day of the year. *They are prepared to take on still more responsibilities for combating threats of new kinds in an executive assistance role*, and it is to be hoped that the persistent dividing lines between branches of the government administration will not hamper this, and that society at large will be ready to accept it."[234]

---

[232] Field Manual – General Section (2007), p. 105 (in Finnish).

[233] The notion of an "extended concept of security" serves better than a "broad concept of security" to refer to the fact that the Finnish attitude towards security has been shaped by national foreign and defence policy *decisions* over the last 15 years, i.e. it has not just been a matter of reacting to objective changes in the security environment.

[234] Kääriäinen (2005) (in Finnish; italics by the current author).

The above gradual change in the field of activity of the Defence Forces does not yet mean, however, that they are to be assigned duties of the kind that have traditionally belonged to the police. It alludes rather to a need for increased cooperation between the authorities at times of crisis (including war). The possibilities for the Defence Forces to provide extended forms of executive assistance have been improved by introducing the relevant legislation,[235] and the intention is to improve their performance in SFVS duties under peacetime conditions, in a state of emergency and when at war during the 2010s:

> "Defence Forces personnel, troops and material will be used even more effectively for executive assistance in both normal and various exceptional situations."[236]

The idea of using provincial forces composed of reservists for internal security purposes has also been raised in recent security policy discussions in Finland.[237] This again reflects a tendency towards the merging of the fields of operation of the Defence Forces and the other security authorities and at the same time the development of a capacity for implementing the extended executive assistance role of the Defence Forces. The adoption of this notion of extended executive assistance – *the provision of executive assistance to the police*

---

[235] See Government bill for a change in §4 of the law on executive assistance to be provided by the Defence Forces to the police, HE 187/2004 (2004) (in Finnish), for a detailed justification: "…the police shall be entitled to receive executive assistance requiring the use of force from the Defence Forces in order to prevent or intercept an act of terrorism as defined in section 34a of the Criminal Law."

[236] Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004. Government report 6/2004 (2004), p. 104. See also p. 109: "The Army must be able to defend Finland's entire territory, *protect vital targets, provide executive assistance to other authorities*, and prevent and repel military attacks supported by the other services."

[237] On the Defence Forces as an internal security reserve, see "Finland in the Forefront of Network Defence Development" (2006). See also Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004. Government report 6/2004 (2004), pp. 124: *"Voluntary defence activities supporting military defence will be reorganized to facilitate collaboration between authorities at all levels.* For this purpose, *local defence troops* will be formed which will belong to the Defence Forces' wartime forces. … To make voluntary activity more efficient, the possibility of forming a nationwide network of centres to serve the various branches of government will be studied. Buildings, facilities and training areas earmarked by Defence Forces units, emergency authorities, municipalities or organizations could be used as these kinds of centres." (italics by the current author)

in the form of the use of force for the prevention and interception of terrorist crimes and executive assistance provided abroad under the EU solidarity clause – and also the development of local forces and the 'internal security tasks' to be entrusted to them, aroused vociferous opposition in Parliament during the discussion of the new law governing the Defence Forces and the law on voluntary defence training. The possibility of contractual voluntary reservists being used for executive assistance purposes was criticized as an attempt to reintroduce a Civil Defence Corps or the use of detachments of "Rambos and gun fanatics" for auxiliary purposes. Correspondingly, when drawing up the new law governing the Defence Forces, the Parliamentary Constitutional Committee insisted that their duties should be restricted to the use of military force against external threats directed at Finland.[238]

The threat posed by global terrorism has also increased the emphasis placed on this factor traditionally assigned to the sphere of internal security in the Defence Forces' agenda, not because of any direct danger of a terrorist strike in Finland, but rather as a response to the US-led "war on terrorism" – i.e. the use of military means to combat terrorism – the repercussions of which have been visible in places such as Afghanistan (from 2001 onwards) and Iraq (from 2003 onwards).[239] Although Finland has not made plans at any stage to send forces on operations connected with the war on terrorism, it has been essential for the Defence Forces to take account of possible repercussions of this war, as embodied in the dispatch of a Finnish Detachment and Finnish soldiers to join the NATO operation in Afghanistan, acknowledgement of the threat of a terrorist strike against troops engaged in crisis management operations and the alteration made to the law governing executive assistance provided by the Defence Forces to other authorities to allow the provision of "extended executive assistance" in the event of the hi-jacking of an aircraft, for instance.

---

[238] "Dispute in Parliament over Defence Forces' executive assistance" (2006); "Use of Regional Forces for Executive Assistance Still Rankles" (2007); "Committee maintains that army should use force only against external threats" (2007); see also Statement by the Parliamentary Constitutional Committee to the Parliamentary Committee on Defence 51/2006 (2006) (in Finnish).

[239] On the gradual drift of anti-terrorism operations into the sphere of defence, partly as a consequence of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, see Lintonen and Pursiainen (2003), p. 290.

The increased significance of an SFVS war for the Finnish image of war became evident from the threat scenarios listed as the bases for defence planning in the 2004 government report to Parliament, where, in addition to the actual threats, i.e. political, economic and military pressure, a regional crisis and the deployment of military force, mention was made of the danger of asymmetric warfare:

> "Preparedness to prevent or limit any use of asymmetric warfare against the society in cooperation with other authorities is also included in defence planning. … Terrorism and sabotage, the proliferation and use of weapons of mass destruction, and information warfare are considered the main asymmetric threats."[240]

It should be noted that the global threat posed by terrorism and the participation of Finnish troops in international crisis management operations have together brought about changes in the overall duties of the Finnish Defence Forces, although admittedly on a fairly limited scale so far. The European Union has introduced a "solidarity clause" under which the member states undertake to provide each other with all available assistance in the aftermath of a terrorist strike, for instance, including military assistance. In addition, it approved in connection with its security strategy published in 2003 an addition to its range of crisis management tasks (the "Petersberg Tasks") in the form of a potential obligation to provide support for third party countries in the combating of terrorism.[241] Thus as well as the threat scenarios and the dangers posed by asymmetric warfare, Finnish defence planning in the new millennium has also been influenced by the threats of terrorist strikes, natural disasters and large-scale accidents facing the other EU countries, all of which makes it more and more difficult to draw a line between internal and external security issues – not merely in Finnish security policy and defence policy discussions but also as part of the global trend.

"In addition, the preparedness to support other authorities as required by the European Union solidarity clause will be taken into account in defence planning. … Assistance can be given by all available means, including military resources."[242]

---

[240] Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004. Government report 6/2004 (2004), pp. 102, 104.
[241] A Secure Europe in a Better World – European Security Strategy (2003), p. 12.
[242] Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004. Government report 6/2004 (2004), p. 102.

Factors that are closely associated with the discourse of an SFVS war could be detected in Finnish defence policy thinking even in the last days of the Cold War, as there was already some speculation in 1990 that lower categories of threat than actual war would be likely to increase in importance in the future, and protection of the vital functions of society was being mentioned alongside defence of the national territory in the same year.[243] Similarly the Cold War threat scenario of a surprise Soviet offensive (on the 'Czech model') gradually evolved into something more of a *coup d'état* aimed at paralysing the national leadership and gaining control over the administration and crucial areas of the country. The gradual increase in the emphasis on the threat scenario of a strategic strike, and thereby on protecting functions and sites of vital importance to the nation, that occurred in response to the changes in the international security environment that took place in the 1990s formed the focal point at which the powerful discourse of a territorial war inherited from the Cold War period began to change – as part of the emergence of the discourse of an SFVS war. Against the background of the changes in the international security environment, at least the rising interest in techno-warfare (chiefly through the 'star wars' concept espoused by the United States), the threats posed by terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the emergence of the 'new wars' served to promote the strengthening of the discourse of an SFVS war in Finland. This movement began as a subordinate part of the discourse of a territorial war, but became partly detached from this in the first years of the new millennium, chiefly on account of the threat of terrorism, and most especially in the light of the repercussions for Finland of international counter-terrorist military action.[244]

From the perspective of the discourse of an SFVS war, the techno-war trend has been significant in shaping the Finnish military threat scenario. Although it is not envisaged that the West under US leadership would attack Finland in the foreseeable future, it is possible to detect the influence of the Gulf War of 1991 and the Bos-

---

[243] See the evaluation of the current state and capabilities of the Defence Forces and the statement of opinion on development plans and the defence budget in the Report of the Parliamentary Advisory Committee on Defence, 1990:57 (1990), pp. 36, 59.

[244] The concept of 'international anti-terrorist military action' is used in this connection to underline the fact that the military threat arising from terrorism should not be interpreted exclusively from the starting point of the 'war against terrorism' instigated by the United States.

nian War of 1995 behind the threat of a strategic strike. In addition, numerous experiences of the growing importance of the rapid deployment of military forces (especially under the auspices of crisis management) and of the use of military capabilities against high-precision targets at increasing great distances from home have been instrumental in shaping the threat scenario of a surprise *coup* into that of a strategic strike. At the same time the assumption that Russia intends to modernize its armed forces at least in part on the lines of the western techno-war trend has had the effect of emphasizing a strategic strike within the set of threats governing Finnish defence planning.

The emphasis on the threats arising from *terrorism and weapons of mass destruction* within the post-Cold War international system has tended to shift the focus in the duties of the armed forces further towards areas belonging to internal security. Terrorism in particular has become internationally a factor for change in the duties of armed forces and the principles governing their use in the first years of the new millennium, with the consequence that Finland, too, has had to place counter-terrorist military action on its security and defence policy agenda and on that for the development of its defence system, even though no significant revisions have been made to the duties of the Defence Forces with a view to combating terrorism. It should be noted, however, that the use of military force for suppressing acts of terrorism is possible nowadays. Furthermore, as a member state of the European Union, Finland has a stake in European security and defence policy, one dimension of which is the development of suitable military capabilities for anti-terrorist purposes. Finland's obligations under the EU solidarity clause are also coming to the fore as a factor in defence planning, although admittedly clearly subordinate to the territorial defence and crisis management discourses.

The significance of Russia for the development of the Finnish discourse of an SFVS war can be estimated best from the perspective of the internal structure of that discourse and the points of emphasis within it. The potential threat of a military offensive is reflected in an emphasis on the strategic strike scenario as a part of this discourse, for together with the techno-warfare trend, the potential threat posed by Russia serves to highlight the defence of areas and functions of vital importance to society. As for the risks that are of particular concern to those responsible for internal security, sabotage and information warfare, both connected with asymmetric warfare,

are the principal threats involved in the discourse of an SFVS war that can be associated with Russia.

One factor besides Russia that has helped to sustain the role of the discourse of a war of territorial defence is *the tradition of total defence inherited from the Cold War period*, and the discourse of an SFVS war is closely connected with this concept.

> "Protection of the vital functions of society calls for broad-based collaboration between ministries, branches of the administration and the private sector. The concept of total defence provides a wide selection of means for coordinating such activities."[245]

The concept of total defence that gained momentum during the Cold War period was indeed one of the foundations on which the discourse of an SFVS war was developed, but at the same time this discourse, as it emerged, led to a re-formulation of the idea of total defence, a form of evolutionary conceptual maturation in the post-Cold War world. At least two incipient trends can be detected in this development. On the one hand, the increased importance of an SFVS war served to emphasize the procedural model of total defence as already propounded during the Cold War period, in which the aim was to achieve broad-based prevention or interception of threats through the combined action of various branches of the administration. One central theme in the discourse of an SFVS war came to be a reduction of the significance of the traditional – large-scale – military threats within Finnish security and defence policy thinking. Thus the discourse of an SFVS war can be also interpreted from the viewpoint of the concept of total defence inherited from the Cold War period, as a revision of this concept – and thereby as part of the reorganized Finnish territorial defence system. In this sense the idea of an SFVS war may be seen as having gradually shaped the concept of total territorial defence inherited from the Cold War period and the implementation of that concept. Speaking in 2006, the Chief of Defence described the change in the total national defence in relation to that which had occurred in warfare in general in the age of the information society in the following terms:

---

[245] Council of State decision in principle regarding protection of the vital functions of society (2003), p. 52 (in Finnish).

"The total defence of the nation is not only a question of the ability of the Defence Forces to cope with information warfare, but *it is a matter of broader collaboration between various authorities in order to prevent and combat threats.* The development of diversified forms of cooperation between the authorities and the arranging of joint operations with the Defence Forces are concrete ways of responding to the challenges of modern-day networking and information technology."[246]

On the other hand, the development in the discourse of an SFVS war from large-scale military threats during the Cold War period to new, partly non-military or semi-military threats has meant a gradual decline in the importance of repelling military threats as an element in the concept of total defence.[247] This line of development – a change in the set of threat scenarios guiding the planning and implementation of the country's total defence – may well mean in the longer term changes in practices regarding the activities of the different authorities connected with the implementation of collaboration between various branches of the administration and the private sector. This will be the case at least in the event of a continuation of the present trend for a gradual decline in the importance of a war of territorial defence and a gradual strengthening in the discourse of an SFVS war. It should nevertheless be remembered that the 2003 strategy for protecting the vital functions of society still gives the Ministry of Defence the responsibility for coordinating the country's total defence. In addition, the 2003 SFVS document defines the tasks belonging to this concept of total defence as compris-

---

[246] Kaskeala (2006b) (in Finnish; italics by the present author)

[247] It should be noted that the increase in the significance of the new threats did not necessary lessen the overall security role of the Defence Forces, see, for example, Kääriäinen (2006a) (in Finnish): "The main message of the revisions in legislation as far as society in general is concerned is that the Defence Forces – their knowhow and equipment – exist for the benefit of society. It is the wide variety of new threats in particular that has aroused the need to devote all the capabilities that can be acquired with tax revenues more precisely than ever for safeguarding the security of our society. The new decision-makers will be faced with a complex jigsaw puzzle in the form of the Finnish defence system, and the basic questions in addition to budgetary and military alliance ones will concern what is the principal task of the Defence Forces. Is it the defence of this country or international operations? And should we in general accept the principle that the Defence Forces and their knowhow and equipment can be used in support of the security of the whole of society?"

ing the safeguarding of Finland's independence and the ensuring of the security and living conditions of the people in the face of all possible threats. It is indeed required in accordance with the definition given in this document that the concept of total defence shall also be applicable to the suppression of internal threats where these are directed at the country's independence or the security and living conditions of its people:

> "Coordination of the total defence of the nation shall belong to the responsibilities of the Ministry of Defence. … Total defence implies all the military and civilian actions taken to ensure Finland's independence as a state and the security and living conditions of its citizens *against an external threat posed by another state or any other threat*."[248]

It should further be noted that the gradually changing concept of total defence provides Finland with an opportunity to construct an identity for itself as a front-line actor in the mission of combating new security threats, since even during the Cold War the majority of the branches of the government administration were harnessed for the purposes of defence in one way or another. Now that the concept of national defence is in the grip of change throughout the globalizing international system – along with the spread, especially in the western countries, of the *homeland security* and *inter-agency cooperation* doctrines, both of which call for extensive collaboration between administrative sectors – Finland's total defence tradition and the minor changes that have been made to it in the years following the end of the Cold War and the 9/11 tragedy have created a foundation for demonstrating in practice the potential of collaboration between authorities for eliminating the new security risks. Thus it is that protection against the new threats and the 'spread' of the total defence approach can assist Finland in constructing a western identity for itself by influencing the perspective adopted in the western countries towards military and non-military security. *The concept of total defence can therefore be regarded as one potential symbolic instrument by which Finland can develop an identity as one of the foremost western countries.*

---

[248] Council of State decision in principle regarding protection of the vital functions of society (2003), app. 1 (in Finnish; italics by the present author); see also the corresponding definitions in Strategy for Protecting the Vital Functions of Society. Decision in principle by the Council of State, 23.11.2006 (2006), pp. 6, 70 (in Finnish).

A techno-war

> "The capability of our defence system comprises both the capacity for using new technology and the capacity for rapidly adjusting our ways of working to conform to the demands of the information age. Neither technology nor alterations in our ways of working will be sufficient on their own in this transition, but rather we need both of them in order to be credible abroad and in the eyes of our own citizens."
>
> *Admiral Juhani Kaskeala,*
> *Commander of the Finnish Defence Forces, 2006*

The discourse of a techno-war has affected the Finnish image of war, and thereby also the principles underlying the development of the Finnish defence system, through the medium of at least three trends during the post-Cold War era. In the first place, the idea of achieving a transformation in military forces through investments in information technology which developed in the international system during the 1990s, especially under the influence of the United States, has now caught on firmly in Europe. *The discourse of a techno-war developed in Finland from the late 1990s onwards, as a description both of a more general change in the nature of warfare and of the improvement achieved in the military capabilities of the Russian armed forces by modernizing the massed armies of the Cold War era through the introduction of advanced military technology*. It has been argued that the high-tech Russian armed forces could pose a potential threat to Finland in the future, since one cannot rely on the permanence of the political, economic and military changes that have taken place in Russia since the Cold War.

Secondly, *the discourse of a techno-war has potentiated a change in the discourse of a war of territorial defence, which has gradually been challenged during post-Cold War times*, *and thereby in the Finnish defence system, which has also been challenged*. The country's revised territorial defence system has begun to be constructed around intelligence, surveillance and command and control systems equipped with partially network-centric operational capabilities. The Chief of Defence , Admiral Juhani Kaskeala, described the changes in the defence system in the following terms in 2006:

> "It has become common to refer to the manner of conducting warfare in the age of the information society as 'informa-

tion warfare', which is taken to cover all areas of impact from data network warfare to psychological warfare. The Defence Forces are reacting to these by developing a network defence model. … This network-enabled defence will be based on real-time situational awareness covering the whole country, which will make it possible to mount joint operations involving all branches of the armed forces as a part of our territorial defence system. Our integrated intelligence, surveillance and command and control systems will create an entirely new dimension for the Defence Forces in responding to the challenges of information warfare."[249]

Likewise, the Minister of Defence, Seppo Kääriäinen, touched upon the significance of modern technology when describing Finland's future defence solution in 2006, demonstrating at the same time the relevance of the techno-war discourse to the changes taking place in the territorial defence system inherited from the Cold War period:

"…we are now building up an army for the whole nation that is equipped with modern technology. … In the name of the credibility of the system and in response to the constantly changing demands of the security environment, we are committed to purchasing new defence materials at prices that are soaring at a bewildering rate."[250]

Kääriäinen mentioned three forces for change in the Finnish defence system in his speech. Firstly, the notion of a massed military force (the 'quantitative focus') that had prevailed during the Cold War and the idea of a territorial defence system which was based on it are losing their credibility in the present-day international security environment. Secondly, a high rate of exploitation of modern military technology is emerging as the new criterion for credible military activity. A state engaged in generating a credible military force for itself must have armed forces with a capability for network-centric warfare (in the case of Finland, networked defence or network-enabled defence). The standards and lines of development for these techno-forces of the modern world are defined mainly in the United

---

[249] Kaskeala (2006b) (in Finnish).
[250] Kääriäinen (2006a) (in Finnish).

States, and as far as the renewal of the Finnish defence system is concerned they reach Finland though the medium of the NATO standards. Thirdly, attempts to follow the techno-war trend will lead to problems unless changes are made in the military defence goals upon which the defence system is based. The rapid rise in the prices of defence materials mentioned by Kääriäinen, for instance, will force changes in the wartime organization of troops and in ways of operating and will necessitate implementation of the national military defence with smaller volumes of both troops and equipment. In Kääriäinen's own words, "With the current resources and given the recent trend in prices, we have no chance of maintaining our Defence Forces at the 2006 level. If we go on the way we are in all respects, the Defence Forces will gradually shrink until the situation becomes impossible."[251]

The development of techno-warfare capabilities and the acquisition of high-tech weapons systems and control and command systems is an expensive business compared with the creation of massed forces that took place in the age of the industrial society – especially if one intends to develop or acquire such troops and systems on the same scale as before. In fact the intention is precisely to exploit the advantages of techno-warfare *in order to create improved military capabilities for the new tasks facing the Defence Forces with a smaller wartime complement and a smaller number of systems*. The creation of such techno-warfare capabilities is directly connected with the restructuring of the Defence Forces and the fairly substantial reductions in the volume of wartime troops that began in the late 1990s, since the systems applicable to the information technology age, being appreciably more expensive in terms of unit prices, require the achievement of economies elsewhere and the above-mentioned concentration on the forces' key functions. The reductions in peacetime functions (e.g. in service depots and the network of garrisons) and in the numbers of troops deployable in the event of war (from over half a million soldiers to the present level of 350,000 and possibly further to around 250,000 in ten years' time) and the simultaneous increase in partnership programmes are all measures designed to achieve cost-effectiveness and to permit the acquisition of more expensive systems. Thus cost-effectiveness, concentration on key functions and management by results have become the 'tools' by

---

[251] Ibid. (in Finnish).

128

which Finland intends to move from the massed army of the Cold War period to the armed forces of the techno-warfare age. It should be noted in this connection, however, that the change has been a fairly moderate and slow one in Finland compared with that in many other western countries which have explicitly announced their intentions to implement a transformation in their armed forces. As practical manifestations of the 'tools' referred to above, the Defence Forces have outsourced some of their functions, e.g. specialized medical services, data management services and basic pilot training for the Air Force, and have entered into partnership agreements in order to achieve cost-effectiveness in matters such as equipment maintenance and provisioning.[252]

It should be remembered, however, that techno-warfare systems involve other challenges as well as their expense. In particular, higher levels of expertise are needed on the part of the staff operating and servicing them than is the case with the conventional equipment used by massed armies. This means that the Defence Forces must go through a process of professionalization in parallel with that of creating a techno-warfare capability. *An increasing proportion of the capability of the Defence Forces will in the future be in the hands of regularly employed personnel*.

The investments to be made in techno-warfare capabilities will mean that the materials budget will remain high in relative terms for some time to come. At the present moment about a third of the defence budget is spent on equipment, which is a fairly high proportion by international standards[253] – although the sum concerned is small in absolute terms. It should also be noted that the ever more expensive technological systems will have to compete with the constantly progressing professionalization process for the same resources, i.e. proportions of the national defence budget. The higher the performance of the systems, the better trained those operating them will have to be, so that it can be expected that pressures of rising material costs will be accompanied by corresponding pressures derived from personnel costs, at least in relation to the numbers employed. One of the aims in the restructuring of the Defence Forces, of course, was

---

[252] See "Defence Forces Seek Industrial Partners for Equipment Maintenance" (2006); also Kääriäinen (2006a).

[253] See Kaskeala (2002b) (in Finnish): "Finland spends a third of its defence budget, or about half a billion euros a year, on material acquisitions, which places us in fourth position within the EU on a per capita basis."

to reduce the payroll, especially by cutting down on the number of garrisons and the network of military depots, but the processes of professionalization on the one hand and outsourcing on the other, which will affect both the military staff and the civilians employed in servicing and maintenance, will see to it in the future that the costs per employee will rise considerably. Thus, although the transition from a massed army to the armed forces of the information age will enable a reduction in staff, it would seem that no significant economies in personnel costs can be achieved by adopting a network-centric approach.

The third effect that the discourse of a techno-war has had on the development of the Finnish defence system is connected with the *western identity* that Finland has been building up for itself throughout the post-Cold War era. Given that any credible and relevant military state in the modern world will need to acquire armed forces with a capability for network-centric warfare, those wishing to define themselves as 'western' are also required to adapt this capability to the demands of combined military action under US leadership. Thus the information age approach, with its revolution in military affairs and network-centric warfare, has become a part of the identity of an advanced western country. In the case of Finland this means that the twin tasks of building up an internationally widely acceptable and credible military capacity and a western identity have created a powerful normative pressure to reconstruct the defence system in accordance with the tenets of network-centric warfare. This trend is already discernible in the 1997 government report "Security trends in Europe and the defence of Finland", while the discourse of a techno-war emerges especially strongly – and to an increasing extent – in the security and defence policy reports of 2001 and 2004.

The concepts of the revolution in military affairs, information warfare and network-centric warfare together formed one of the dominant themes in the western strategic discourse of the 1990s and early 2000s, and the Finnish concepts of network-enabled defence and information warfare, which form part of the discourse of a techno-war, have entered the agenda for the development of the military capabilities of the Defence Forces precisely on account of the influence of these international – and especially western – discourses. It must be admitted, however, that the concept of information warfare, which lays emphasis on the importance of data management and

utilization, has proved to be a somewhat fragmentary and inconsistent construct, so that a wide variety of concepts have come to the fore in Finnish discussions on the subject.[254]

The development of network-enabled defence in Finland, which is closely connected with the theme of the revolution in military affairs, has been approached, especially within the Defence Forces, in a manner which is designed to facilitate the provision of SFVS support for the security authorities, which means that the targets for the development of this network-enabled defence and their implementation have also been linked to the changing duties of the Defence Forces in general. Thus preparations are being made for deploying techno-warfare capabilities – interpreting techno-warfare in a broad sense – both against an assailant military force and, where necessary, as part of the internal security back-up to be provided for the security authorities. It is already possible to provide support for other government authorities using the Defence Forces' existing equipment and by assigning the necessary personnel.[255] Admittedly, as noted in connection with the discourse of an SFVS war, the idea of the Defence Forces providing support for other authorities does not always meet with universal approval.[256]

Another major ingredient in techno-warfare alongside the concept of network-enabled defence is the creation of an information warfare capability. Although information warfare is rather fragmentary as a concept, it is clear that what lies at its core is the management and use of data alongside military force. Identified as one part of the development of network-enabled defence, information warfare can be described in essence as one aspect of information age crises, as in the words of the Commander of the Defence Forces, Admiral Juhani Kaskeala, in spring 2006:

"In the case of information warfare, limitation of the impact of an adversary's actions by armed intervention alone is problematical. … The battle on the information front is fought with words, pictures and images, and he who wins out on this front is very close to winning the whole war. Information warfare can

---

[254] See, for example, Huhtinen (2003), pp. 52-62; Huhtinen (2005); Huhtinen and Rantapelkonen (2002).

[255] See "Finland in the Forefront of Network Defence Development" (2006) (in Finnish).

[256] See, for example, Kääriäinen (2006a).

be a major challenge for the strategic leadership of both the state and the Defence Forces."[257]

Considering the long-term influence of the discourse of a techno-war on the development of the Finnish defence system, we can estimate that the conceptual and material factors associated with a techno-warfare capability will inevitably imply *a re-evaluation of the concepts of a traditional war of territorial defence and of the material investments made by the Defence Forces*. A critical reappraisal will have to be made of existing ideas on the numbers and effectiveness of weapons systems, command and control systems, potential combat scenarios, sites to be protected, the possible theatres of war and the relations between the various branches of the armed forces. Similarly the relations of the Defence Forces to the other security authorities and to society in general and the distinction between the concepts of information crime and information warfare will have to be rethought. Thus a defence policy aimed at the creation of a techno-warfare capacity is not restricted to the procurement of new peacetime and wartime equipment for the Defence Forces but also implies recognition of the significant change that has taken place in the international security environment and of the need to analyse how the Defence Forces are to perform the tasks assigned to them in the future – as part of a broader network of government authorities – and what are in fact the tasks to be assigned to them.

The emergence and strengthening of the discourse of a techno-war in the late 1990s not only meant a questioning of the traditional discourse of a war of territorial defence but at the same time pointed to an opportunity to construct a new discourse of territorial defence for the post-Cold War era. *Techno-warfare does in fact offer one possibility for maintaining credible territorial defence* in the modern information age, when many countries are abandoning the defence of their own territory as far as the duties of their armed forces are concerned. By adopting the internationally widely accepted trend

---

[257] Kaskeala (2006b) (in Finnish); in the same speech Kaskeala had the following to say about the pressures exerted by the information age on development of the defence system: "The capability of our defence system comprises both the capacity for using new technology and the capacity for rapidly adjusting our ways of working to conform to the demands of the information age. Neither technology nor alterations in our ways of working will be sufficient on their own in this transition, but rather we need both of them in order to be convincing abroad and in the eyes of our own citizens."

for developing an information warfare capability for its armed forces, Finland is 'buying time' for the traditional pillar of its defence system, territorial defence, in a situation where the corresponding Cold War concept is losing credibility in international terms. The 'price' for maintaining a territorial defence is nevertheless that its content has to be altered – the process referred to in the 2004 government report on security and defence policy as a 'revised territorial defence system'. This change is to be accomplished through the medium of network-enabled defence, which, it is believed, will be capable of constructing a new credible territorial defence system within the changing international security environment.

Apart from the construction of an effective and credible military capability, the adoption of the techno-war trend in Finland is connected with the building of a western identity for the country through changes in organization, methods and equipment within its Defence Forces. The identity policy factors relevant to the development of the Finnish defence system are naturally connected with the principles of material efficiency and operational credibility in a military context. All three of the above elements in the basic logic of the development of military capabilities support the focus on network-enabled defence in the Finnish defence system. Indeed, it is through the concept of network-enabled defence that the identity policy factors come to associate Finland with the western security policy reference group to which the country has aspired to belong throughout the post-Cold War era. On the other hand, as we examine the identity policy aspects of the development of the armed forces and their activities, we are led to ask whether network-enabled defence will necessarily be an effective solution for the Finnish defence system, given that it is modelled on network-centric warfare capabilities developed especially for out-of-area operations, often of an offensive nature. How well such capabilities are suited for the defence of one's home territory (which could admittedly include offensive operations) is undoubtedly one of the questions that should be examined more closely in the future in the course of the work of developing the Finnish network-enabled defence system. It can nevertheless be established with certainty even at this very early stage in the development work that it would not be worthwhile for Finland, as a small country, to develop its defence forces or defence system on the model of the leading military superpower, the United States.

The Finnish discourse of a techno-war, derived from the con-

cepts of network-enabled defence and information warfare, has clear connections not only with the discourse of a war of territorial defence but also with that of an SFVS war, as can be perceived in the arguments for the development of a network-enabled defence system, which lay stress on collaboration with other authorities, and in the closer than ever association of this system, as a part of the defence system of the 2010s, with the protection of functions and sites that are of essential importance to the community. For its part, a connection between the techno-war discourse and that of a crisis management war is manifested most forcibly where the creation of internationally compatible (i.e. NATO-compatible) military capabilities, the strengthening of Finland's western identity and the international criteria for the reconstruction of military forces in the post-Cold war era are concerned.

Challenges for post-Cold War development of the Finnish defence system

The challenges facing the development of the Finnish defence system during the post-Cold War era have arisen indirectly, out of the changes that have occurred in the international security system. The present research has identified as mediators of this extensive global change the altered western image of war and related changes which are now affecting the Finnish image of war. In addition, evaluations of the current situation in Russia and alternative paths for its future development provide further inputs into the planning of the Finnish defence system. On the strength of the analysis of the Finnish image of war and the factors affecting the development of the Finnish defence system performed here, at least the following six factors can be identified as challenges for the development of that system during the post-Cold War era:

1.   Territorial defence has declined in significance both worldwide and especially in the western countries since the Cold War. This has meant a gradual undermining of the credibility of the Finnish defence solution and system, which have been inherited from the Cold War period.
2.   The western countries have made significant reductions in the strength of their armed forces and have at the same time shifted

the emphasis in the development of these forces towards expeditionary operations to be conducted as a part of multinational troops.

3. International pressure on Finland to participate more extensively in demanding military crisis management operations has been on the increase since the late 1990s.

4. The transformation of armed forces in the western countries has been based on the increased use of high technology and the reduction in service personnel. Compulsory conscription has been abandoned, or is to be abandoned in the near future, in many western countries.

5. Finland continues to have a military great power, Russia, as its next-door neighbour, and there are many uncertainties attached to developments in that country.

6. The United States has exerted great pressure on the western countries since autumn 2001 to participate in its anti-terrorist military activity carried out in the name of the 'war on terrorism'. Terrorism has indeed emerged as one of the most significant security risks facing the western nations in the early years of the 21st century, and many western countries have been prepared to mobilize their armed forces against this threat.

As a consequence of these challenges, the post-Cold War development of the Finnish defence system has taken place for the most part under the influence of four discourses associated with changes in the image of war. The *discourse of a war of territorial defence* is the most significant factor inherited from the Cold War period that has tended to introduce an element of *continuity* into the development of the defence system. It represents a certain inertia in the country's military defence, a shadow of history which became ossified in the course of the Cold War as a taken-for-granted perception of how Finland could defend itself against an armed offensive, indeed the 'only conceivable' way in which this could be done. The fact that this remains the most significant factor guiding the development of the Finnish defence system even today renders the country somewhat exceptional relative to its security and defence policy reference group, the western security community. The paradoxical point about the notable role that a war of territorial defence continues to play in the maintenance and development of the Finnish defence system is that, at the same time as the country has been making a serious at-

tempt to build up a western identity for itself in terms of security and defence policy, as in other ways, and has very largely succeeded in doing so, it has distinguished itself sharply from the western nations precisely on account of its continued adherence to the strong tradition of territorial defence. Even so, the discourse has proved susceptible to change in some ways, at least when the changes take place gradually and with due respect to certain fundamental principles of this tradition, such as total defence of the national territory, universal male conscription and a strong public will to defend the homeland.

The focus of the discourse of a crisis management war has emphasized the change in the security environment, Finland's connections with the West and the creation of new military capabilities. *It is closely associated with the change which has come about in interpretations and understandings of the international indicators of military power and of what constitutes a credible military defence capacity*. In addition, Finland's more active participation in international crisis management has represented on the one hand a positive response to the international pressure for the western nations to recognise their 'responsibilities' for intervening in humanitarian crises on a more or less global scale and on the other hand a conscious effort to construct and foster a western identity. After all, the pressure to participate in these operations is precisely a question of a western identity. It is essential for Finland to take part in more operations of this kind, and in more demanding ones, in order to be at the core of the western security community. In this sense participation in crisis management operations can also be regarded as *an opportunity to defuse the 'identity crisis' with respect to the western community caused by Finland's continued adherence to a strong territorial defence tradition*.

The discourse of an SFVS war has altered the emphasis within Finnish territorial defence – and at the same time the discourse of a war of territorial defence – from the country's boundaries to the sites and functions that are vital to its society. In addition, it has followed the international trend in bringing the activities of the defence forces closer to those of the other authorities responsible for internal security – naturally mainly from the perspective of the administrative jurisdiction of the Ministry of Defence. This closer link between internal and external security, to the extent that it has become more difficult than ever to make a clear distinction between them, has nevertheless been perceived to be problematic, as it implies that

any strengthening and expansion in the discourse of an SFVS war will require a re-appraisal of the principles of action that the various authorities have inherited from the Cold War era and the division of labour between them. If we look on politics in the constructivist sense as a struggle over meanings, then *the potential strengthening of the discourse of an SFVS war can be regarded as leading sooner or later to a struggle between various branches of the administration over a 'new' Finnish definition of security and the associated redistribution of resources and hierarchical command relations*. He who exercises control over the dividing line between internal and external security and defines their mutual importance will also be able to control the allocation of resources between the branches of the administration responsible for security. It is important to realise, however, that the potential strengthening of the discourse of an SFVS war will not necessarily lead to competition for resources between the various ministries involved, as Finnish security policy is very largely shaped nowadays as a part of that of the western security community within a globalizing international system, and a more general definition of security and dividing line between internal and external security can be expected to be laid down in the future by a consensus achieved by state-level actors in the international system, so that national security policy decisions will take place on this basis.

The discourse of a techno-war has provided legitimacy for a revision of the Finnish territorial defence over the last decade, implying at the same time a relaxing of the historical grip of the Cold War over the Finnish defence solution of the information age. Techno-warfare represents the modern trend in the development of armed forces in the West, so that it is quite natural that it should have been introduced into the Finnish defence policy discussion and have become one of the guiding principles for the development of the defence system, in spite of the fact that Finland is something of a 'black sheep' within its western reference group on account of its retention of universal male conscription, its territorial defence system and the strong will of its population to defend their country. Thus the creation of a wartime techno-warfare capability within the defence forces can be looked on not only as a means of developing military efficiency but also as *one possibility for normalizing Finland's somewhat exception defence solution in the eyes of its western reference group*. In this way Finland is in a sense 'buying itself into' the West as it sets out both to develop the appropriate capabilities for international crisis

management operations and to invest in techno-warfare capabilities for its own national defence.

The challenges posed by the international security environment for the development of the Finnish defence system and the discourses directing that development that have arisen on the basis of these challenges have meant as far as the Finnish defence system is concerned a maintenance of the territorial defence system throughout the post-Cold War era, although in a constantly changing form as its content has been gradually adjusted in response to the slow decline in the military credibility of this territorial defence system inherited from the Cold War period. These adjustments are manifested in the following factors, for example:

1. The relative importance of defending the national territory has declined at the same time as the protection of sites and functions that are vital to society has increased in importance in the development of the Finnish defence system.
2. The numbers of troops deployable at times of war have been reduced considerably, while standards for the training of the remaining troops have been raised and at least the units with the highest military capabilities have become more professional.
3. International crisis management collaboration has been combined with development of the territorial defence system as part of the drive to improve military credibility, and the possibility of receiving outside assistance in the event of Finland being involved in a crisis situation has been brought to the fore as one of the goals of collaboration in crisis management and indirectly as a factor contributing to the credibility of the defence system. In addition to the aspirations for increasing the credibility of the national defence, international military cooperation in crisis management also served as an operational logic existing alongside territorial defence – although admittedly subordinate to it – in the uncertain and somewhat unpredictable international political situation that followed the termination of the Cold War.
4. Greater emphasis has been placed on the role of the Defence Forces in providing support for the authorities responsible for internal security as new threats have increased in significance as security policy factors. The increase in the importance of these SFVS tasks may be seen as an operational logic existing

alongside territorial defence – although admittedly subordinate to it – in the situation in which the threat of a large-scale military offensive against this country is – at least for the present – far less conspicuous.

5. Advanced technology has become the main factor governing the development of the defence forces within the present decade. Network-enabled defence has become a central concept denoting the renewal of the territorial defence system and the seeking of international legitimacy for it.

As the concept of a war of territorial defence has declined in importance globally during the post-Cold War era, so the emerging discourses of a crisis management war, an SFVS war and a techno-war that have contributed to the Finnish image of war have proved to be those which bind the development of this country's defence forces most closely with the western security community. Likewise, the tradition of territorial defence, which continues to be strong in Finland, has altered over this same period under the influence of the crisis management war, SFVS war and techno-war discourses. Maintenance of the credibility of the Finnish defence system – as part of the western security community – has called for the gradual phasing down of the significance of territorial defence and the adjustment of its content. Thus we are in a situation where a crisis management war, an SFVS war and a techno-war, as discourses constructing the Finnish image of war – and thus forming the foundation of the Finnish defence system – have made it possible to develop the defence forces in accordance with the general principles applying to armed forces in the West at the same time as the Finns' interpretations of their country's geostrategic position and the lessons learned from their historical experiences have underlined the significance of the tradition of territorial defence and the necessity for ensuring its continued existence.

The alteration in the image of war that has occurred in the globalizing world of the post-Cold War era and the western trend for attaching greater significance to expeditionary military operations have gradually emerged as factors casting doubts on the Finnish defence system as inherited from the Cold War period. One response to this pressure for change exerted on the logic of Finnish military activity by the external operational environment has been the decision to develop the troop interoperability required for internation-

al military crisis management, following which the requirements placed on these troops and their capabilities have gradually been raised in accordance with the global trend. By following this line of development towards international crisis management and expeditionary operations, Finland has begun to boost the credibility of its defence forces in a situation in which the global credibility of an extensive army based of the mobilization of reservists for the repulsion of a mass military incursion has been gradually declining. Participation in multinational crisis management operations has thus made it possible to develop military cooperation with the West (including the western identity aspect) and to maintain the credibility of the country's own territorial defence system by integrating the experiences acquired and lessons learned from crisis management operations into the development of troops for territorial defence purposes. It should also be noted that as the discourse of a war of crisis management has gradually gained in strength these operations have taken on a 'natural' or 'self-evident' character. It is now taken for granted in the first decade of the new millennium that Finland will participate in crisis management operations. These are an everyday part of the work of the Defence Forces and an element in building up Finland's western identity in the military sector. Also connected with this trend are the many opinions put forward on how essential it is for Finland to take part in more demanding crisis management operations ever further away from home in order to relieve human suffering.

As discourses involved in the construction of the Finnish image of war, and thereby in the development of the Finnish defence system, both the discourse of a crisis management war and that of a techno-war have served to alter and to reduce the significance of the tradition of a war of territorial defence during the post-Cold War era. These two discourses are indeed the main ones affecting the Finnish discourse of war that have done most to re-shape the tradition of a war of territorial defence, by placing emphasis on troops capable of operating out-of-area and reforms in terms of weapons systems, command and control systems and a new operational culture. Furthermore, the crisis management war and techno-war discourses have served to integrate the international trends of reducing troop sizes and favouring greater professionalism among personnel and more advanced technology in military equipment into the revised territorial defence system. The discourse of an SFVS war has altered the Finnish tradition of a war of territorial defence mainly

from an internal perspective, by shifting the focus of defence to sites and functions of vital importance to society and emphasizing collaboration between all the relevant authorities in order to prevent and eliminate the new threats that have emerged.

The claim that Finland's defence system has remained stable and unchanged during the post-Cold War era still raises its head, however, from beneath a surface composed of innumerable small changes and emergent trends, but a more detailed examination reveals that the territorial defence system inherited from the Cold War period persists unaltered only at a general conceptual level – and that even the concept of territorial defence is subject to considerable pressure for change.

The aim of this work has been to explain the formation of the principles governing the development of the Finnish defence system in the post-Cold War era in terms of the international security environment, the western image of war, the Finnish image of war and the Finnish security policy discourse centred on Russia. This examination from the perspective of change conducted within a constructivist theoretical framework has demonstrated that there have been a number of factors connected with the development of the Finnish defence system during the post-Cold War era, the emergence and development of which as forces for practical changes in the defence system has been restrained by the general temporal inertia associated with the maintaining of a military defence. The construction of a new military capability can often take decades to complete, so that the abandoning of existing capabilities requires a thorough long-term analysis of the security environment and the ability to predict military threat scenarios. In the case of Finland, it is the difficulty of evaluating and predicting developments in Russia that has meant that the changes in the defence system have been relatively moderate by comparison with the average situation in the western countries. It would be justifiable to speak of minor changes and the continued existence of the relatively strong tradition of military-based territorial defence established during the Cold war period.

Military alliances – the construction of a western identity as reflected in the development of the defence system

Certain factors began to appear in the formulation of Finnish security and defence policy around the mid-1990s that could be interpreted from a constructivist perspective as implying either reconstruction of

the Finnish identity or transformation of the identity inherited from the Cold War period. This reconstruction was manifested especially clearly in an emphasis on western connections in the development of Finnish security policy and an effort to make a break with the implicit sphere of influence of the Soviet Union/Russia soon after the Cold War had come to an end. A fairly clear desire for a change in Finnish identity, and indeed some actual change from the point of view of Finland's security policy and the development of the Defence Forces, can be perceived in the 1995 security policy report:

> "Following the end of the East-West dichotomy, the policy of neutrality that Finland pursued during the Cold War is no longer viable. … Under these new conditions Finland's approach should be one of active participation in international political and security policy cooperation in order to resolve security problems and prevent new ones from arising. …"
> "With the change in the operational environment, Finland has been able to relieve itself of the position that it occupied internationally during the Cold War, the principal element in which was the Agreement of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance concluded with the Soviet Union, and has set about establishing a new, equal relation with Russia in accordance with OSCE principles. …"
> "With the end of the political division of Europe, Finland is no longer situated between East and West in terms of security policy. …"
>
> "A substantial change has taken place in Finland's international status now that it has become a member of an influential alliance of nations, the European Union. …"
> "The Finns' world-view in the new Europe includes a great deal more international responsibility and solidarity. …"
>
> "Membership of the European Union has clarified and strengthened Finland's position by linking the country to the core of the European democracies."[258]

The aim in the construction of Finland's identity from the early

---

[258] Security in a changing world – guidelines for Finland's security policy. Government report to Parliament 6.6.1995 (1995), pp. 39-44 (in Finnish).

1990s onwards was to convert this 'borderland' overshadowed by the Soviet Union or 'buffer state' between East and West into an inseparable part of the core of the western world. This implied a symbolic rejection of the Cold War identity – which as far as security policy was concerned meant the policy of neutrality and the Agreement of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance in particular. It also meant the creation and promotion of new symbols, customs and narratives indicative of a western identity, of which membership of the EU, cooperation with NATO and the emphasis placed on a more active role in international security initiatives and European solidarity and responsibility were conspicuous indicators.

The discussion concerning military alliance, i.e. possible membership of NATO, has been going on practically throughout the post-Cold War era, although it should be noted that during the 1990s it characteristically started out from the assumption that there was no great need for any such alliance. The 1995 government report had this to say about NATO membership:

> "Unlike the countries of Central Europe, Finland is not applying for membership of NATO. Finland has a smoothly functioning defence solution and does not experience any security deficit. If any essential change should take place in the security situation in Europe, Finland will evaluate its own security situation and related solutions in the light of such a development."[259]

A fairly cautious attitude towards NATO membership was also evident from the observation in the 1997 report that "Finland will evaluate the relative benefits and drawbacks of non-alliance and military cooperation in the event of an alteration in the security set-up in Europe and as a part of the development of the European Union." Mention was made here, however, of a credible defence capability as an essential part of the development of this country's security policy. Application for NATO membership as such made its appearance as an implicitly acknowledged option towards the end of that decade, and it was noted in the first government security and defence policy report of the new millennium that military non-alliance was regarded as the most suitable policy for Finland "under the prevailing conditions". By 2004, however, the idea had matured a little further, and it was stated that "Finland is continuously moni-

[259] Ibid., p. 34 (in Finnish).

toring the changes occurring in NATO, the development of its ca-
pability and the organization's international significance. Applying
for membership of the alliance will remain a possibility in Finland's
security and defence policy also in the future."[260]

It can also be seen from this gradual maturing of opinion re-
garding NATO membership over something like a decade that *the
military alliance question was mainly invoked within Finnish security
and defence policy discussions in support of the discourse of a war of ter-
ritorial defence* – or at least the discussion was entered into from the
perspective of a war of territorial defence, with the accent placed on
the need to maintain a credible national defence even when acting
as part of a military alliance.[261] Thus *the discussions over NATO mem-
bership have not challenged the tradition of a war of territorial defence
within Finnish security and defence policy to any significant extent*.
On the other hand, both the discourse of a crisis management war
and that of a techno-war have played a part in raising the question
of NATO membership. The connection between NATO and a crisis
management war is concealed in the transformation of the former
that took place after the termination of the Cold War, when crisis
management became the most visible task undertaken by the al-
liance, leading to the present situation in which it is also the most
important task. In addition, Finland's increased stake in the devel-
opment of international crisis management cooperation has been
achieved to an ever more prominent extent as a part of NATO op-
erations. The techno-war discourse, for its part, has been connected
with the NATO discussion particularly on account of the problems
arising from the exceptionally high costs of acquiring modern mili-
tary equipment and the question of international interoperability.[262]

The replacement of Finland's policy of neutrality with one of
military non-alliance as part of the project of constructing a western
identity has been one of the stumbling blocks as far as the defini-

[260] Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2001. Government report to parliament,
13.6.2001 (2001), section II; Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004. Govern-
ment report 6/2004 (2004), p. 82.

[261] See Kaskeala (2002b); Kääriäinen (2006b) (in Finnish): "Even in the event of
NATO membership the main task of the Defence Forces would be to defend
Finland itself. The saving of money must not be a criterion for applying for
membership, and NATO Finland should still be prepared to increase its defence
budget. The defence of Finland will in any case still be primarily the responsibil-
ity of Finnish forces, whether we are part of an alliance or not."

[262] See Kääriäinen (2006b).

tion of the country's security and defence policy in the post-Cold War era is concerned. On the one hand, the transition from neutrality to non-alliance marks one step towards a western identity, especially since abandonment of the neutrality policy has stood as a metaphor for escape from the difficult position that Finland occupied in international politics during the Cold War. On the other hand, many countries that previously belonged quite explicitly to the eastern block (the Baltic States, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Hungary etc.) have taken considerable steps towards the West and many have joined the European Union and particularly NATO. As the above quotations from the 1995 government report indicate, as far as its alliance policy was concerned Finland did not belong to the group of Central European countries which initiated a powerful drive for rapid integration with the West in all aspects of society once the dissolution of the Soviet Union became a reality. In fact, from the identity perspective, the achieving of NATO membership immediately after the end of the Cold War would have had the effect of associating Finland with that group of 'westernizing' eastern block countries, which, having spent the whole of the Cold War period on the brink between East and West, Finland was not prepared to countenance. On the other hand, Finland's 'late awakening' to the possibility of NATO membership, has raised the question of what reference group the country in fact belongs to at the present time, as many of the current Partnership for Peace countries are located on the borders of Europe or beyond, and the only ones among them that meet the criteria for western status are Sweden, Austria, Ireland, Switzerland and Finland. It should also be noted that even joining NATO after the former eastern block countries may pose a problem for Finland's identity, as in spite of having regarded itself for decades as in part a western state, it may well end up in the same reference group as these former East European countries as far as security and defence policy is concerned.

"The Partnership for Peace cooperation is facing major new challenges. Originally it was mainly intended for the countries seeking NATO membership but which the alliance was not prepared to adopt immediately. For those countries and the countries that were not applying for membership it provided an opportunity to cooperate with NATO and to carry out reforms in their defence and security sectors. Most of the states that

were seeking to join NATO are now members of the alliance, while the remaining partnership countries have become an increasingly heterogeneous association. It comprises the five militarily non-allied countries of Western Europe (Austria, Finland, Ireland, Sweden and Switzerland) and countries in the Western Balkans, the Caucasus and Central Asia. New partnership candidates are Serbia and Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina, which have already submitted PfP applications."[263]

The question of NATO membership is a relevant one in Finland nowadays in connection with problems arising from both the development of the defence system and the construction of a western identity. Membership might well have the effect of making it possible to develop the defence system in a more cost-effective manner, but at the same time it could in part link Finland in terms of identity with the group of East European countries that had been within the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union and, in fear of Russia, rushed at full speed to NATO in search of security guarantees under Article V. Finland is not desirous of adopting that kind of identity at the present moment, nor does it wish to do anything that would precipitate such a situation.

The highly controversial security and defence policy question of NATO membership thus certainly cannot be decided exclusively on the result of a cost-benefit analysis based on instrumental rationality, but rather it will inevitably include elements of both normative rationality and communicative-expressive rationality. The factors in NATO membership that carry an element of normative rationality will be focused especially on how Finland, as a member of an alliance regarded in the West as legitimate, would be able to facilitate the shaping of the international security environment in accordance with normative international pressures by playing an active part in the ever more demanding military crisis management operations. As a member, Finland would, in accordance with western expectations, be redeeming its place among the western nations, as it were, by taking part in military action defined in a legitimate manner by western standards (cf. the shift in NATO activity from the defence of its own area towards a global crisis management role). The communicative-expressive factors linked to NATO membership are con-

---

[263] Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004. Government report 6/2004 (2004), p. 62.

nected in particular with the opportunity for Finland, as a member of the most important military organization as far as building up a western identity is concerned, to demonstrate that it belongs to the West in defence policy terms as well as in other ways. For the present – while not a member of NATO – Finland has attempted to fill the 'communicative gap' left in its western identity by participating in progressively closer cooperation with NATO (from the early 1990s onwards) and developing its own national defence system to be NATO-compatible, or as the 2004 government report puts it, "In order to ensure international military cooperation, the Defence Forces' operational and material interoperability will be developed according to NATO standards and norms."[264]

One problematic question from the perspective of normative rationality concerns the global legitimacy of NATO: Are its military interventions sufficiently widely accepted, even by non-members? It they are not, membership may prove awkward for Finland in spite of the fact that it may entail certain practical advantages as far as territorial defence is concerned. The strident Russian criticism of NATO will certainly be one important factor to be taken into account when evaluating the alliance's global legitimacy, and NATO's growing role in anti-terrorist military operations and the connections between these and the US war on terrorism and that country's military hegemony in general could well mean considerable normative disadvantages in terms of the global legitimacy of NATO and the repercussions of Finnish membership.[265]

---

[264] Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004. Government report 6/2004 (2004), p. 101; it should be noted that the decision to develop the equipment possessed by the Finnish Defence Forces to be compatible with NATO standards and norms means that many existing systems will have to be replaced entirely with NATO-compatible ones at the latest at the stage when the current equipment reaches an age at which it would need modernization to increase its service life any further. The existing wartime organization and peacetime equipment maintenance and training organizations will have to be revised in connection with the acquisition of new western missile equipment, which will naturally involve substantial costs.

[265] Cf. Laitinen (2005), p. 75 (in Finnish): "The war on terrorism in particular has led to the globalization of US security policy, as did the Cold War in its time, and this has meant a change in the role of NATO and a need for other US allies in Europe and elsewhere to consider their positions and roles. The possibility of Finnish membership of NATO and the related discussion on the formation of professional rapid deployment troops or an increase in their numbers are also connected with this overall situation.

5. Conclusions

The broad issue that this work set out to examine, as formulated in Chapter 1, may be summarized in the following manner: *How has the Finnish image of war changed since the end of the Cold War, and how has that change affected the principles for the development of the Finnish defence system?* In order to proceed towards an examination of these matters, three more precise questions were put forward in that chapter, the first of which was *How has the Western image of war changed since the end of the Cold War?* An answer to this question was sought in Chapter 2, in which the conclusions were reached in the form of six discourses of war that can together be estimated to account for a significant proportion of the change that has taken place in the western countries. These discourses were concerned with:

1. The termination of the Cold War and the rise of globalization as a representation of the significant change in the security environment that led to the need for a reinterpretation of the use of the force of arms.
2. The revolution in military affairs – a proposed change in the nature of armed forces and the reality of war brought about by the adoption of advanced technology – implemented under United States leadership, which has led to a transformation of the armed forces of the Cold War era towards those required in the new security environment. Crucial elements in this change have been a high degree of utilization of modern technology, network-centric systems, high technical quality, strategic mobility, long-distance operations, precision impact and information warfare.
3. The privatization of warfare – a process connected with the revolution in military affairs   among western military forces which has had the consequence of reducing the manpower employed in those forces. Correspondingly, doubts have gradually come to be cast upon the military credibility of a force that relies on the mobilization of extensive reserves.
4. New wars – a trend associated with the changing security environment which has altered the reality of warfare and calls for new methods and doctrines regarding the deployment of military forces on the part of the western countries.

5. Military crisis management and humanitarian interventions – the post-Cold War western response, particularly to the emergence of new wars. Crisis management has also become one of the new yardsticks for assessing military power. The capability for taking part in demanding crisis management operations out-of-area as part of a multinational force constitutes a demonstration of military power in the post-Cold War world.
6. The war on terrorism – a political choice made by the United States in connection with the militarization of the threat posed by terrorism, which has influenced the judgements and/or practical actions regarding the use of military force of all the state-level actors in the international system.

Under the influence of these discourses, the following have been among the issues touched upon by the themes of change that have dominated the western image of war in the post-Cold War era:

1. The scale of war has been reduced – encounters between large armed forces have become a rarity and the threat of a large-scale nuclear war has gradually receded. One consequence of the latter, however, has been that various new threats in the form of terrorist groups, 'rogue states', etc. have increased in importance as factors to be considered with respect to nuclear weapons and the related technology.
2. The gradual transfer of warfare to the 'sub-state' level that was already visible during the Cold War has continued. Non-state actors are becoming more frequently involved in the wars that ravage the international system.
3. The development of armed forces has been largely directed by investments in advanced technology and the need for professionalization. This has meant reductions in the size of armed forces and an increase in the significance of international military cooperation.
4. Multinational military interventions have become more common and the use of force has emerged during the post-Cold War period as much more of an instrument of foreign policy.

Answers were sought in Chapter 3 to the second question, *How has the Finnish image of war changed since the end of the Cold War?* It

was observed that the Finnish image of war tended to follow that in the western countries as a whole in a"reticent"[266] manner, chiefly on account of Finland's historical experiences and geostrategic position. The trends observed in the western image of war for a reduction in the scale of wars, the increased importance of military crisis management, the transformation of armed forces (defence forces) with a greater accent on technology, and the need for increased cooperation with other authorities could also be identified in the post-Cold War change in the Finnish image of war.

The fate of the Finnish image of war during the post-Cold War era can be described in terms of its fragmentation and attenuation. *Fragmentation of the image of war* may be seen in the transition from a war of territorial defence towards a more diverse and complex overall concept. Finnish interpretations of war have undergone a change in scale, so that the principal threat scenario in today's world is no longer that of a major offensive by massed mechanized troops. *Attenuation of the image of war*, for its part, implies specifically a progressive reduction in the threat of a military offensive directed at Finland since the Cold War. The danger of a military incursion into Finnish territory, and likewise that of an attack upon sites and functions of vital importance to society, an aspect which has gained in emphasis in recent times, is perceived to have diminished, and correspondingly, the country's defensive capabilities – naturally seen in relation to the dangers presenting themselves at any particular time – are felt to be at an unprecedentedly high level.

The post-Cold War fragmentation and attenuation of the Finnish image of war has implied a certain pressure for change in the country's defence system and development of its defence forces. The principal of a territorial defence system based on universal conscription and a strong will among the people to defend their homeland has gradually been challenged as the majority of the western nations have transformed their armed forces, which has meant significant changes in their duties, composition and operating principles. There is nevertheless one clear element of continuity in the Finnish image of war that has served to reproduce the military threat scenario inherited from the Cold War period throughout the post-Cold War

---

[266] The word 'reticent' should not be understood here as carrying any negative connotations. It largely reflects just a change that is taking place slowly. The slow reform of the defence system is not looked on in this connection as either an especially negative or especially positive thing.

era even though new threats have otherwise risen to occupy a central position in the country's security policy, and this is Russia – on account of its vast military potential and the unpredictability of its future development. Russia has played a significant role in bringing about the situation in which Finland has followed a more static line in its military development than has been common in the West as a whole.

Answers to the third and last question, *How has the change in the Finnish image of war affected the development of the country's defence system in the post-Cold War era*, were sought in Chapter 4. The discussion in Chapter 4 led to the identification from among the factors contributing to changes in the Finnish image of war of four discourses which were of significance from the point of view of the development of the defence system, namely:

1. The discourse of a war of territorial defence – a powerful common understanding inherited from the Cold War period of what types of military threat could be directed at Finland now and in the future and what kind of war Finland should be prepared for and how it should prepare itself.
2. The discourse of a crisis management war. When the prominent position of a war of territorial defence was challenged in the course of the 1990s as a result of developments in the global security environment and changes in armed forces, military crisis management began to grow in importance within the Finnish defence system.
3. The discourse of an SFVS war – a description of a model of preparedness for facing the new military threats that grew up out of the discourse of a war of territorial defence and represented an adaptation to the post-Cold War international security environment.
4. The discourse of a techno-war, which has come to the fore as one major tool for implementing changes in the Finnish defence system. It is this discourse that has enabled the gradual advance of changes in the principle of territorial defence that remained so powerful throughout the Cold War period and has allowed new focuses of emphasis to be introduced into it.

One of these four discourses that have influenced the development of the Finnish defence system – that of a war of territorial de-

fence – is a legacy from the days of the Cold War and is unquestionably the leading discourse even today. It is indeed significant that throughout the post-Cold War era *all discussions of the development of the Finnish defence system and implementations of decisions in this respect have taken place within a 'permitted' forum defined by the discourse of a war of territorial defence*. The tradition of a war of territorial defence has continued to dictate the agenda for developing the defence system even under post-Cold War conditions – although this discourse has admittedly been subject to gradual changes in the course of time. The other three discourses affecting the development of the Finnish defence forces, which have emerged since the Cold War, have thus had to take their place within the forum defined by that of a war of territorial defence. These discourses of change – those of a crisis management war, an SFVS war and a techno-war – have nevertheless effected changes in the tradition of a war of territorial defence as time has passed.

Russia is the principal reason why the reform of the Finnish defence system has proceeded in a rather "reticent" manner, at least relative to the situation in other western countries. Russia has not been felt to have constituted a threat to Finland during the post-Cold War era, but the potential military threat that it represents – a danger that could possibly be realized at some time in the future – has guided the reform of the Finnish defence system on a fairly moderate path. Without the influence of Russia's military potential, the changes implemented by the Finns in accordance with their western reference group might easily have taken place more quickly.

One could very well say that Finland has been 'trapped' since the end of the Cold War between two competing logics for directing the development of its defence system. The military might of Russia has served to maintain a logic of territorial defence – albeit in a gradually altering form, and one which has been moving to some extent towards the western logic of techno-warfare as the modernization of the Russian armed forces has proceeded. On the other hand, the construction of an identity for Finland as a part of Europe and the West has meant that efforts have been made to 'implant' a western defence philosophy. This has been manifested above all in the growing military crisis management and technological development trends as parts of the reconstructed territorial defence system. Correspondingly, both international crisis management operations and network-centric systems based on advanced technology have

increased in importance in the development of the Finnish Defence Forces during the post-Cold War era.

In spite of the notable influence of Russia, the findings of the present work suggest that the western image of war has been 'transferred' to Finland in the form of small changes accomplished with only minor time-lags. This alteration in the image of war and the resulting changes in the Finnish defence system have not been restricted to the instrumental logic governing that system – in the form of an objectively detectable improvement in the efficiency of the country's defence – as the aims of the defence system and the goals directing the development of the Defence Forces are now very largely constructed on social criteria. The pressure of international norms regarding the development and deployment of armed forces is reflected in a change in the Finnish identity and in the influence of the reconstruction of this identity on the duties, material readiness and modes of operation of the Defence Forces. The operational capabilities of the Defence Forces are not to be constructed on the strength of present and future threat scenarios alone, but will also be developed as a part of the broader, more long-term process of change in advanced western societies. Perhaps the most striking examples of this at present are the increased importance attached to international military crisis management cooperation and the gradual steering of defence forces towards an internal security frame of reference. Naturally, both of these processes have been influenced by the reconstructed threat scenarios, but the western nations, which have been important as a reference group for the fostering of a Finnish identity, have also had an influence of their own both on security and defence policy and in the field of domestic policy in other respects.

Given that the discourses of a war of territorial defence, a crisis management war and an SFVS war that direct the development of the Finnish defence system are those that determine the principal *tasks* of the Defence Forces, it is the discourse of a techno-war that determines the means by which those tasks are to be successfully carried out. *Thus the discourse of a techno-war can be regarded in a sense as a comprehensive concept of how the capabilities of the Defence Forces should be developed with a view to their future tasks. This discourse is indeed becoming established as a new developmental imperative for the Defence Forces – an instrument in the transition from the tradition of a war of attrition to that of manoeuvre warfare.* An influ-

ential background factor in the development of the core of Finland's techno-warfare capacity, its network-enabled defence, has been the discourse of the revolution in military affairs that has spread among the western countries. Networking of sensors with weapons systems and command and control systems will give rise to the information warfare systems by means of which the Defence Forces will be capable of discharging their tasks in a wide variety of future scenarios: a war of territorial defence, a crisis management war or an SFVS war. Thus techno-war as such, lying at the core of the Defence Forces' new operational logic, is able to provide support for territorial defence, crisis management operations and SFVS defence.

As well as being a new imperative constructing and maintaining the credibility of the Defence Forces in the 21st century, the discourse of a techno-war is an instrument capable of influencing the reconstruction of Finland's defence system. The Defence Forces should be developed – at least in part – in accordance with this western discourse, so that Finland, with its 'exceptional' defence system, and the Defence Forces, as the military actors in that system, should be capable of maintaining a military credibility in the eyes of the world at large. The gradually increasing emphasis laid on military crisis management during the post-Cold War period is connected with this process of constructing the credibility of the Defence Forces, and it is clear that a strengthening of the discourses of a techno-war and a crisis management war and the effects of these on the post-Cold War development of the Defence Forces, will enable Finland in the future to demonstrate a capacity for expeditionary warfare – if it is deemed politically desirable to do so – and in that way to lay claim to a command of the internationally respected 'new' military capabilities. The decision to take part in the European Union battlegroups and the powerful political pressure to contribute to the NATO NRF force are good examples of this construction of a military credibility at the point where the discourses of a techno-war and a crisis management war coincide.

The Finnish defence system, *Quo vadis?*

Significant changes have taken place in the international security environment since the days of the Cold War, and their repercussions are to be seen in the Finnish image of war that can be understood

as directing the development of the defence system and the Defence Forces. If the image of war is in the grip of change, then it is inevitable that the basic logic guiding the development of the defence system and the Defence Forces will also be subject to change. It is in this that the great challenge for the development of the defence system and the construction and maintenance of the capabilities of the Defence Forces is concealed. The question of what new or adjusted basic logic will suit the long-term development of the Finnish defence system best and how this new logic will affect the military capabilities that the Defence Forces has been building up over a number of decades will undeniably be high on the agenda in Finnish defence policy discussions and decision-making. The maturation of the basic logic behind the development of Finland's post-Cold War defence system up to now had been incremental in character, advancing step by step along the path of change. The cornerstones of the Cold War defence system are still for the most part in existence today, or are at least visible in the revised territorial defence system as it is constructed. If trends in the international security environment and in the development of the western armed forces continue as they have so far since the end of the Cold War, it is likely that the need will arise for a detailed analysis of the more long-term challenges facing the Finnish defence system. This analysis will no doubt be carried out in a continuous manner in both the Ministry of Defence and the Defence Forces. In addition, the defence policy decision-making elite will have an opportunity to compile a comprehensive synthesis of the basic logic of the defence system every four years in the form of a security and defence policy report to be submitted to parliament.

It should be noted, however, that the government security and defence reports to parliament represent the prevailing political will rather than an objective analysis of Finland's security environment, and that one cannot use them to derive decisions for the optimization of the country's security policy situation by processes of instrumental rationality. The analysis of the security environment contained in such a report and the decisions taken with respect to the development of Finland's defence system are based on socially constructed 'facts'. The analytical tool employed in this work for the interpretative task involved is the concept of the image of war, which is a socially construed composite entity constructed in Finland under the influence of the international security environment.

As it would be impossible to attain an objective analysis of the

security environment, and as the development of a country's defence forces must inevitably depend on 'sub-optimal' political decisions, the public discussion of defence policy that has taken place in Finland will be of major significance for the future of both the defence system and the Defence Forces. It is for this reason that academic debate and public discussion regarding the analysis of the international security environment and the principles for the development of the Defence Forces are of the utmost importance. A chorus of mixed voices on this question, which is so central to Finnish security and defence policy would appear to be more of a virtue than a vice. The present work should be viewed as one part of that discussion.

REFERENCES

Abramsky, Sasha (2007) "Defining the Indefinable West", *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, March 23, pp. B6-B8.

Adler, Emanuel ja Barnett, Michael (1998) (ed.) *Security Communities*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

"Afghanistan Commander: Crisis Management May no Longer be Possible with Volunteer Troops" (2006). "Afganistan-komentaja: Kriisinhallintaa ei ehkä voi toteuttaa vapaaehtoisvoimin" (2006). *Helsingin Sanomat* 24.10.2006.

Amendment to the Law on Executive Assistance Rendered to the Police by the Defence Forces 522/2005 (2005). *Laki puolustusvoimien virka-avusta poliisille annetun lain muuttamisesta, 522/2005* (2005). [www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/alkup/2005/20050522 / 10.6.2008]

Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defence (1995)-(2004). [www.defenselink.mil/execsec/adr_intro. html / 11.4.2006].

Arreguín-Toft, Ivan (2001) "How The Weak Win Wars", *International Security* vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 93-128.

Behnke, Andreas (2007) *Re-presenting the West – NATO's Security Discourse After the End of the Cold War*, Stockholm Studies in Politics 120, Stockholm: Stockholm University.

Booth, Ken (1998) "Cold Wars of the Mind" in Booth, Ken (ed.) *Statecraft and Security – The Cold War and Beyond*, pp. 29-55, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brahimi, Lakhdar (2006) "United Nations Peace Operations in the 21st Century: A Few Personal Thoughts" in Ojanen, Hanna (ed.) *Peacekeeping - Peacebuilding: Preparing for the future*, pp. 13-19, Helsinki: Ulkopoliittinen Instituutti.

Bush, George W. (1999) "A Period of Consequences", *Speech at the Citadel*, 23 September 1999. [www.citadel.edu/pao/addresses/ pres_bush.html / 15.1.2006]

Cassidy, Robert (2003) "Prophets or Praetorians? The Utopian Paradox and the Powell Corollary", *Parameters*, Autumn 2003, pp. 130-143.

Charter of Paris for a New Europe (1990), Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, 1990 Summit, 19-21 November 1990. [www.osce.org/docs/english/1990-1999/summits/paris90e.htm / 1.12.2004]

Clausewitz, Carl von (1989) *On War,* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Conclusions and Plan of Action of the Extraordinary European Council Meeting (2001), Brussels, 21 September 2001. [http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/140.en.pdf / 10.4.2006].

"Contractors Provide Vital Services to Deployed Forces but Are Not Adequately Addressed in DOD Plans" (2003). *Unites States Government Accountability Office Report to the Subcommittee on readiness and Management Support, Committee on Armed Services, U.S. Senate,* GAO-03-695, June 2003. [www.gao.gov/new.items/d03695.pdf / 19.2.2007]

Council of State Decision in Principle Regarding the Ensuring of the Vital Functions of society (2003). *Valtioneuvoston periaatepäätös yhteiskunnan elintärkeiden toimintojen turvaamisesta* 27.11.2003 (2003). [www.defmin.fi/chapter_images/2515_1687_Yhteiskunnan-elintArkeiden-toimintojen_turvaamisen_strategia%5B1%5D.pdf / 14.4.2006].

van Creveld, Martin (1991) *The Transformation of War*. New York: The Free Press.

Declaration on European Military Capabilities (2004) 22 November 2004, Brussels. [http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/misc/ 82761.pdf / 15.1.2006]

Declaration on Solidarity against Terrorism (2004) Brussels, 25 March 2004. [www.eu2004.ie/templates/document_file.asp?id=10762 / 10.4.2006].

"Defence Forces Seek Industrial Partners for Equipment Maintenance" (2006). "Puolustusvoimien materiaalin kunnossapitoon etsitään kumppaneita teollisuudesta" (2006). *Puolustusvoimien tiedote* 12.9.2005. [www.mil.fi/paaesikunta/tiedotteet/1477.dsp / 27.3.2006].

Defense Department Special Briefing on Announcement of New Locations for the Active Duty Army's Modular Brigade Combat Teams (2005). [www.defenselink.mil/transcripts/2005/tr20050727-3521.html / 10.8.2005].

"Dispute in Parliament over Defence Forces' Executive Assistance" (2006). "Armeijan virka-avusta tuli kiistaa eduskunnassa" (2006). *Helsingin Sanomat* 23.11.2006, s. A9.

Field Manual – General Section (2007). *Kenttäohjesääntö – Yleinen osa*, *Puolustusjärjestelmän toiminnan perusteet* (2007), Helsinki: Pääesikunnan suunnitteluosasto.

Field Manual – General Section (1995). *Kenttäohjesääntö – Yleinen osa* (1995), Helsinki: Pääesikunnan operatiivinen osasto.

Field Manual – General Section (1958). *Kenttäohjesääntö – Yleinen osa* (1958), Helsinki: Pääesikunnan ohjesääntötoimisto.

Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004. Government report 6/2004 (2004). Suomen Turvallisuus- ja puolustuspolitiikka (2004), Valtioneuvoston selonteko VNS 6/2002. Helsinki: Valtioneuvoston kanslia.

Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2001. Government report to parliament, 13.6.2001 (2001). *Suomen Turvallisuus- ja puolustuspolitiikka* (2001), Valtioneuvoston selonteko eduskunnalle 13.6.2001, VNS 2/2001. Helsinki: Valtioneuvoston kanslia.

"Finland in the Forefront of Network Defence Development" (2006). "Suomi on eturivin maa verkostopuolustuksen kehittämisessä" (2005). Amiraali Juhani Kaskealan puhe 174. valtakunnallisen maanpuolustuskurssin avajaisissa, *Puolustusvoimien tiedote* 19.9.2005. [www.mil.fi/paaesikunta/tiedotteet/1499.dsp / 27.3.2006].

"Finland is Moving to a New Era in Military Crisis Management" (2006). "Suomi on siirtymässä uuteen vaiheeseen sotilaallisessa kriisinhallinnassa" (2006). *Kenraaliluutnantti Esa Tarvaisen tervehdyspuhe 177. valtakunnallisen maanpuolustuskurssin avajaisissa* 9.3.2006. [www.mil.fi/paaesikunta/tiedotteet/1959.dsp / 27.3.2006].

"Foreign Minister Ilkka Kanerva Anxious to Strengthen the Finnish Presence in Afghanistan" (2007). "Ulkoministeri Ilkka kanerva haluaa vahvistaa Suomen läsnäoloa Afganistanissa (2007). *Helsingin Sanomat* 21.7.2007, s. A5.

Franzen, Henning-A. (2002) "'Proper War' and 'War In Reality' – The Changing Concept of War, *IFS Info 6/02*, Oslo: Norwegian Institute for Defense Studies.

Garden, Timothy ja Ramsbotham, David (2004) "About Face: The British Armed Forces – Which Way to Turn", *RUSI Journal*, vol. 149, no. 2, pp. 10-15.

Gates, Robert (2007), *Speech at the 43rd Munich Conference on Security Policy 02/11/2007.* [www.securityconference.de/konferenzen/ rede.php?id=192&sprache=en& / 19.2.2007]

Government Bill for a Change in §4 of the Law on Executive Assistance to be Provided by the Defence Forces to the Police, 187/2004 (2004). *Hallituksen esitys Eduskunnalle laiksi puolustusvoimien virka-avusta poliisille annetun lain 4§:n muuttamisesta*, HE 187/2004 (2004).

Government Bill to be Placed Before Parliament for a Law on Military Crisis Management and Certain Related Laws 5/2006 (2006). *Hallituksen esitys Eduskunnalle laiksi sotilaallisesta kriisinhallinnasta ja eräiksi siihen liittyviksi laeiksi, HE 5/2006* (2006).

*Gulf War Air Power Survey – Summary Report (*1993), Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Guzzini, Stefano (1998) *Realism in International Relations and International Political Economy*, London: Routledge.

Harle, Vilho ja Moisio, Sami (2003) "Muuttuva geopolitiikka" teoksessa Harle, Vilho ja Moisio, Sami (toim.) *Muuttuva geopolitiikka*, s. 7–16. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Hast, Susanna (2006) "Euroopan unionin toimijuus ja diskurssi Venäjästä", *Kosmopolis* vol. 36, 3/2006, s. 7-26.

"High-Level DOD Action Needed to Address Long-Standing Problems with Management and Oversight of Contractors Supporting Deployed Forces" (2007). *Unites States Government Accountability Office Report to Congressional Committees*, GAO-07-145, December 2006. [www.gao.gov/new.items/d07145.pdf / 19.2.2007]

Huhtinen, Aki-Mauri (2005) *Sanasota – Johdatus sodan ja sodanjohtamisen filosofiaan*, Lahti: Elan Vital.

Huhtinen, Aki-Mauri (2003) Keinosota – *Taistelu vastaanottajista*, Lahti: Elan Vital.

Huhtinen, Aki-Mauri ja Rantapelkonen, Jari (2002) *Imagewars – Beyond the Mask of Information Warfare,* Helsinki: Marshal of Finland Mannerheim's War Studies Fund.

Häkämies, Jyri (2007) "Finland: Similar Yet Different", *speech at CSIS in Washington DC of issues regarding Finland's security policy* 6.9.2007. [www.defmin.fi/?661_m=3333&printer=1&s=270 / 10.9.2007]

"Häkämies: Finland to Decide in Autumn on Participation in NRF Troops" (2007). "Häkämies: Suomi päättää syksyllä osallistumisesta Naton NRF-joukkoihin (2007). *Helsingin Sanomat*, s. A5, 5.5.2007.

Iivonen, Jyrki (2006) "Rauhanturvatyö on kehitysapua", *Helsingin Sanomat, Vieraskynä-palsta*, 3.8.2006.

"Ilmavoimien kansainvälinen toiminta" (2007). *Ilmavoimien internet-sivusto* 22.7.2007 [www.ilmavoimat.fi/index.php?id=69 / 22.7.2007]

"Improving the Combat Edge Through Outsourcing" (1996). *Defense Issues*, Vol. 11, no. 30.

Jouko, Petteri (2006) "Periaatteista toteutukseen – alueellisen puolustusjärjestelmän kehittäminen", *Kylkirauta* 3/2006, s. 6-9.

Järvenpää, Pauli (2007) "Nato – oppiva organisaatio". [www.defmin.fi/?677_m=30288s=271 / 27.2.2007]

Kaldor, Mary (2001) "Beyond Militarism, Arms Races and Arms Control", *kirjoitus, the Nobel Peace Prize Centennial Symposium*, Dec 6-8, 2001. [www.ssrc.org/sept11/essays/kaldor.htm / 11.6.2004].

Kaldor, Mary (1999) *New & Old Wars – Organized Violence in a Global Era*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Kanninen, Ermei (1994) *Suomen puolustus*, Helsinki: Otava.

Kaskeala, Juhani (2007) *Puhe 180. maanpuolustuskurssin avajaisissa* 22.1.2007. [www.mil.fi/puolustusvoimainkomentaja/2703.dsp / 24.1.2007]

Kaskeala, Juhani (2006a), radiohaastattelu Washingtonissa 6.3.2006. [www.yle.fi/radiopeili / 10.4.2006].

Kaskeala, Juhani (2006b) "Informaatiosota ja maanpuolustustahto - haasteita Suomen puolustusjärjestelmälle", *puhe MTS:n 30-vuotisjuhlasemi-naarissa* 31.5.2006. [www.mil.fi/puolustusvoimainkomentaja/2120.dsp]

Kaskeala, Juhani (2004) "Onko Suomella tarve muuttaa omintakeista puolustusjärjestelmäänsä?", *puhe 171. maanpuolustuskurssin avajaisissa* 8.3.2004. [www.mil.fi/paaesikunta/tiedotteet/377.dsp / 11.7.2007]

Kaskeala, Juhani (2002a) "Euroopan turvallisuuspoliittinen muutos ja Suomen puolustus ", *Studia Generalia -luento Jyväskylän yliopistossa* 21.3.2002 [www.mil.fi/puolustusvoimainkomentaja/182.dsp / 10.7.2007]

Kaskeala, Juhani (2002b) "Sodan ajan joukot pienenevät - puolustuskyvystä ei tingitä", *puhe Oulun Maanpuolustusyhdistyksessä 22.10.2002*. [www.mil.fi/puolustusvoimainkomentaja/138.dsp / 19.6.2007]

Kaskeala, Juhani (2001) "Turvallisuusympäristö muuttuu, puolustusvoimien kehittäminen jatkuu", 1.11.2001. [www.mil.fi/asiointi/tiedotus/tiedotteet/2001/20011101_1757_1.dsp / 10.7.2007]

Katainen, Jyrki (2006) *Jyrki Kataisen Haastattelu Helsingin Sanomissa* 29.11.2006 "Katainen sanoo kyllä NRF-joukoille, Vanhanen ei". [www.hs.fi/kotimaa/artikkeli/Katainen+sanoo+kyll%C3%A4+NRF-joukoille+Vanhanen+ei/1135223336904 / 27.2.2007]

Kilpinen, Asko (2007) "Suomen turvallisuuspoliittiset realiteetit ja maamme asema ulkopuolisin silmin tarkasteltuna", *Rannikon puolustaja* 2/2007. [www.rannikonpuolustaja.fi/rp207/kilpinen.htm / 10.6.2008]

Klenberg, Jan (2007) "Suomen sotilaspoliittinen asema kylmän sodan aikana", *Rannikon puolustaja* 2/2007.

"Korkeaoja: We are Aware of the Dangers in Afghanistan" (2007). "Korkeaoja: Afganistanin vaarat olleet tiedossa" (2007). *Helsingin Sanomat* 26.6.2007, s. A4.

Kääriäinen, Seppo (2006a) *Puhe Maanpuolustuskurssiyhdistyksen vuosikokouksessa* 1.11.2006. [www.defmin.fi/index.phtml?2971_m=2807&s=349]

Kääriäinen, Seppo (2006b) *Puhe 179. maanpuolustuskurssin avajaisissa Säätytalolla Helsingissä* 6.11.2006. [www.defmin.fi/?661_m=2816&s=270]

Kääriäinen, Seppo (2005) *Puhe 173. Maanpuolustuskurssin avajaisissa*, Säätytalo 4.4.2005. [www.defmin.fi/print_page.phtml?menu_id=467&lang=1&chapter_id=2455&fs=11 / 15.4.2006]

Law on Military Crisis Management 211/2006 (2006). *Laki sotilaallisesta kriisinhallinnasta, 211/2006* (2006). [http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/alkup/2006/20060211 / 10.6.2008]

Laitinen, Kari (2005) "Suomalainen asevelvollisuus – Historiallinen kaari, kehitys ja kansallinen olemus", *Puolustusministeriön julkaisuja* 1/2005, s. 7-118, Helsinki: Puolustusministeriö.

Lehti, Marko (2003) "Geopoliittisen mielikuvituksen tutkimus: tilan ja ajan hallinnan politiikka" teoksessa Harle, Vilho ja Moisio, Sami (toim.) *Muuttuva geopolitiikka,* s. 110-129. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Lintonen, Raimo ja Pursiainen, Christer (2003) "Terrori-iskut Yhdysvalloissa" teoksessa Forsberg, Tuomas ja Pursiainen, Christer ja Lintonen, Raimo ja Visuri, Pekka (toim.) Suomi ja Kriisit – Vaaran vuosista terrori-iskuihin, s. 283-313, Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

"Lipponen and Tuomioja Disagree over Continuing the Afghanistan Operation" (2007). "Lipponen ja Tuomioja eri mieltä Afganistanin operaation jatkosta" (2007). *Helsingin Sanomat* 20.7.2007, s. A5.

Luoma-aho, Mika (2003) "Valtio geopolitiikan ruumiillistumana: aatehistoriallinen johdatus metaforien geopolitiikkaan" teoksessa Harle, Vilho ja Moisio, sami (toim.) *Muuttuva geopolitiikka,* s. 57–73. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Memorandum from the Defence Policy Department of the Ministry of Defence 8.12.2004 "Finnish Participation in European Union Battlegroups" (2004). *Puolustusministeriön puolustuspoliittisen osaston muistio* 8.12.2004 "Suomen osallistuminen Euroopan unionin taisteluosastoihin" (2004).

Memorandum from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee "On the Possibility for Partnership Countries to Join in the Activities of the NATO Response Force, 13.12.2006" (2006). "Kumppanimaiden osallistumismahdollisuus Naton nopean toiminnan valmiusjoukon toimintaan" (2006). *Ulkoministeriön muistio eduskunnan ulkoasiainvaliokunnalle*

13.12.2007. [http:/7217.71.145.20/TRIPviewer/temp/ TUN-NISTE_UTP_32_2006.fi.html / 27.2.2007]

"Ministry of Defence Continues Hornet Negotiations" (2007). "Puolustusministeriö jatkoi neuvotteluja Horneteista" (2007). *Helsingin Sanomat* 27.6.2007, s. A6.

Ministry of Defence Review of Future Prospects (2006). *Puolustusministeriön tulevaisuuskatsaus* (2006). [www.defmin.fi/files/693/ Tulevaisuuskatsaus_PLM.pdf / 14.2.2008]

Moisio, Sami (2003). "Geopolitiikka kamppailuna" teoksessa Harle, Vilho ja Moisio, Sami (toim.) *Muuttuva geopolitiikka,* s. 93–109. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

The National Security Strategy of the Unites States of America (2002), The White House, September 2002, Washington.

National Security Strategy for a New Century (1999), The White House,
December 1999, Washington.

Nato (1999) "The Alliance's Strategic Concept Agreed by the Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Washington D.C. on 23rd and 24th April 1999". [www.nato.int/docu/pr/1999/p99-065e.htm / 1.12.2003].

Nato (1991) "Declaration on Peace and Cooperation issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council, Rome 8 November 1991". [www.nato. int/docu/basictxt/b911108b.htm / 16.11.2004].

Nato Press Release (2004) "Istanbul Summit Communiqué – Issued by the Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council", Press Release (2004) 096, 28 June 2004.
[www.nato.int/docu/pr/2004/p04-096e.html / 10.4.2006].

Nato Press Release (2001) "Statement by the North Atlantic Council", Press Release (2001) 124, 12 September 2001. [www.nato.int/docu/pr/2001/p01-124e.htm / 10.4.2006].

Nato's Military Concept for Defence against Terrorism (2003). [www.nato.int/ims/docu/terrorismi.htm / 28.11.2003].

Neumann, Iver (2002) "Returning Practice to the Linguistic Turn: The Case of Diplomacy", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 31, no. 3, pp. 627-651.

"No Dispute over Battlegroups" (2006). "Taistelujoukoista tuskin tapellaan" (2006). *Vihreä lanka* 3.12.2004, no. 49/2004. [http://arkisto.vihrealanka.fi/2004/49/artikkeli.shtml / 9.7.2007]

Nokkala, Arto (2005a) "Suomen sota 2000-luvun vaihteessa" teoksessa Raitasalo, Jyri ja Sipilä, Joonas (toim.) *Muuttuva Sota*, s. 173-195, Helsinki: Kustannusosakeyhtiö Suomen Mies.

Nokkala, Arto (2005b) "Suomalainen asevelvollisuus ja puolustusvoimien henkilöstörakenne kansainvälisissä muutospaineissa", *Puolustusministeriön julkaisuja 1/2005*, s. 119-237, Helsinki: Puolustusministeriö.

Operation Active Endeavour (2007). [http://www.afsouth.nato.int/JFCN_Operations/ActiveEndeavour/Endeavour.htm / 19.6.2007]

Parliamentary Defence Committee, 1971:A18 (1971). *Parlamentaarisen puolustuskomitean mietintö* – Komiteanmietintö 1971:A18 (1971). Helsinki.

"A Place for Finland in the NATO Response Force" (2006)"Naton Valmiusjoukoissa on paikka Suomelle" (2006). *Helsingin Sanomien pääkirjoitus* 2.7.2007, s. A2.

"Precautions to be taken in the event of social disturbances or states of emergency" (1999). "Varautuminen yhteiskunnan häiriötilanteisiin ja poikkeusoloihin" (1999) *Muistio*, Puolustusneuvosto, Helsinki: Edita oy. [www.defmin.fi/chapter_images/675_varautuminen.pdf / 19.2.2006].

Presidency Conclusions – Seville European Council Meeting (2002) 21 and 22 June 2002. [http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/ 72638.pdf / 10.4.2006].

Private Military Companies: Options for Regulation (2002) Return to an address of the honourable the House of Commons dated 12th February 2002 for a paper, HC 577, London The Stationary Office.

Pyykönen, Juha (2006) "Sotilaallinen kehitys Suomen lähialueella" teoksessa *Tietoja Suomen kokonaismaanpuolustuksesta*. Helsinki: Maanpuolustuskorkeakoulu. [www.mil.fi/perustietoa/julkaisut/kokonaismaanpuolustus/ index.html / 4.7.2007]

Pyykönen, Juha (1998) "Kriisistä konfliktiin – Sotilaallinen voimankäyttö kylmän sodan kriisinhallinnassa ja uuden ajan konfliktinhallinnassa". *Helsingin yliopiston yleisen valtio-opin laitokselle tehty lisensiaatintutkimus*, huhtikuu 1998.

Quadrennial Defense Review Report (2006), Department of Defense, February 2006. [www.comw.org/qdr/qdr2006.pdf / 15.7.2006].

Quadrennial Defense Review Report (1997), Department of Defense, May 1997. [www.defenselink.mil/pubs/qdr / 15.1.2006].

Raitasalo, Jyri (2006a) "From Pax Americana to Bellum Americanum – A Framework for Analysis Concerning European Foreign and Security Policy in the post-Cold War Era" in *New Dimensions of European Security – The ESDP and the Baltic Region*, p. 47-81, Vilna: Lithuanian Military Academy.

Raitasalo, Jyri (2006b) "Yhteiskunnan elintärkeiden toimintojen turvaaminen suomalaisessa sodan kuvassa kylmän sodan jälkeisellä ajalla", teoksessa Huhtinen, Aki-Mauri ja Rantapelkonen, Jari (toim.) *Sirpaleita sotilaskulttuurin rajoilta*, s. 188-216, Maanpuolustuskorkeakoulun johtamisen laitoksen julkaisusarja 2, No. 17, Helsinki: Maanpuolustuskorkeakoulu.

Raitasalo, Jyri (2005a) *Constructing War and Military Power after the Cold War – The Role of the United States in the Shared Western Understandings of War and Military Power in the Post-Cold War era*, Helsinki: National Defence College.

Raitasalo, Jyri (2005b) "Läntinen sodan kuva kylmän sodan jälkeen" teoksessa Raitasalo, Jyri ja Sipilä, Joonas (toim.) *Muuttuva sota,* s. 101-125, Helsinki: Kustannusosakeyhtiö Suomen Mies.

Raitasalo, Jyri (2004) "Taistelu sodasta – Yhdysvaltojen vaikutus läntiseen sodan kuvaan kylmän sodan jälkeen", *Tiede ja Ase,* vol. 62/2004, s. 16-40, Helsinki: Suomen Sotatieteellinen Seura.

Raitasalo, Jyri (2002) "Sotilaallinen voima ja strategia kylmän sodan jälkeen", *Ilmatorjunnan vuosikirja 2002-2003*, s.12-31, N:o 18. Tuusula: Ilmatorjuntaupseeriyhdistys ry.

Raitasalo, Jyri ja Sipilä, Joonas (toim.) (2005) *Muuttuva Sota*, Helsinki: Kustannusosakeyhtiö Suomen Mies.

Raitasalo, Jyri ja Sipilä, Joonas (2004a) *Sodan Määrittelystä – Käsitykset sodasta sodankäynnin taustalla*. Maanpuolustuskorkeakoulun laitoksen julkaisusarja 4, No. 18, Helsinki: Maanpuolustuskorkeakoulu.

Raitasalo, Jyri ja Sipilä, Joonas (2004b) "Reconstructing War after the Cold War", *Comparative Strategy*, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 239-261.

Raunio, Ari (2002) "Suomen sotilaallinen uhkakuva kylmän sodan aikana 1944-1990" teoksessa Raunio, Ari (toim.) *Suursotien vuosisata – sodan ja taistelun kuva 1900-luvulla*. s. 149-179, Maanpuolustuskorkeakoulun sotahistorian laitoksen julkaisusarja 2, No. 8, Helsinki: Maanpuolustuskorkeakoulu.

"Rebuilding Iraq – Reconstruction Progress Hindered by Contracting, Security, and Capacity Challenges" (2007). *Unites States Government Accountability Office testimony before the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, House of Representatives*, GAO-07-426T, 15 February 2007. [www.gao.gov/new.items/d07426t.pdf / 19.2.2007]

Report of the Parliamentary Advisory Committee on Defence, 28.2.1990 (1990). *Arvio Euroopan turvallisuuspoliittisesta tilanteesta ja sen kehitysnäkymistä sekä niiden vaikutuksista Suomen puolustuspolitiikkaan* – Parlamentaarisen puolustuspoliittisen neuvottelukunnan raportti 28.2.1990 (1990), Helsinki.

Report of the Parliamentary Advisory Committee on Defence, 1990:57 (1990). *Arvio puolustusvoimien tämänhetkisestä tilasta ja suorituskyvystä sekä kannanotto puolustusvoimien kehittämisen suunnitelmiin ja puolustusmäärärahoihin 1990-luvulla* – Parlamentaarisen puolustuspoliittisen neuvottelukunnan komiteamietintö 1990:57 (1990), Helsinki.

Report of the Security Policy Monitoring Group (2004). *Turvallisuuspoliittisen seurantaryhmän raportti* (2004), Valtioneuvoston kanslian julkaisusarja 9/2004. [http://www.vnk.fi/julkaisukansio/2004/j09-turvallisuuspoliittisen-seurantaryhman-raportti/pdf/fi.pdf / 10.6.2008]

Report of the Working Group for Revision of the Law of Peacekeeping Missions (2005). *Rauhanturvaamislain uudistamistyöryhmän mietintö* (2005). Helsinki.

The Responsibility to Protect – About the Commission (2007). [www.iciss.ca/progress-en.asp / 20.2.2007]

The Responsibility to Protect – Research, Bibliography, Background (2001). Supplementary Volume to the Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, December 2001, Ottawa: International Development Research Centre.

Salminen, Pertti (1995) *Puolueettomuuden nimeen – Sotilasjohto Kekkosen linjalla ja sen sivussa 1961-1966*, Helsinki: Kustannus Oy Suomen Mies.

Searle, John (1995) *The Construction of Social Reality*. New York: Free Press.

Second Parliamentary Defence Committee, 1976:37 (1976). *Toisen parlamentaarisen puolustuskomitean mietintö* – Komiteanmietintö 1976: 37 (1976). Helsinki.

A Secure Europe in a Better World – European Security Strategy
(2003) Brussels, 12 December 2003.
[http://ue.eu.int/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf / 30.11.2004]

Security for the Future. Ministry of Defence Strategy 2025 (2006). *Turvallisesti tulevaisuuteen – Puolustusministeriön strategia 2025* (2006), Helsinki: Puolustusministeriö.

Security in a changing world – guidelines for Finland's security policy. Government report to parliament 6.6.1995 (1995). *Turvallisuus muuttuvassa maailmassa – Suomen turvallisuuspolitiikan suuntalinjat. Valtioneuvoston selonteko eduskunnalle 6.6.1995* (1995). Helsinki: Valtioneuvoston kanslia.

Security trends in Europe and the defence of Finland, Government report to parliament 1/1997, 17.3.1997 (1997). Euroopan turvallisuuskehitys ja Suomen puolustus – Valtioneuvoston selonteko eduskunnalle VNS 1/1997, 17.3.1997 (1997), Helsinki: Valtioneuvoston kanslia.

Senate Joint Resolution 23 (2001).
[usgovinfo.about.com/library/bills/blsjres23.htm / 23.3.2005]

Siren, Torsti ja Puistola, Juha-Antero ja Raitasalo, Jyri ja Takamaa, Kari ja Tavaila, Arvi (2004) *Turvallisuuspoliittisten vaihtoehtojen Suomen puolustusjärjestelmälle aiheuttamia vaikutuksia*, Maanpuolustuskorkeakoulun Strategian laitoksen julkaisusarja 2, no. 26. Helsinki: Maanpuolustuskorkeakoulu.

Statement by the Parliamentary Constitutional Committee to the Parliamentary Committee on Defence 51/2006 (2006). *Perustuslakivaliokunnan lausunto puolustusvaliokunnalle 51/2006* (2006) "Hallituksen esitys puolustusvoimalaiksi ja eräiksi siihen liittyviksi laeiksi" [http://www.eduskunta.fi/faktatmp/utatmp/akxtmp/pevl_51_2006_p.shtml / 9.7.2007)]

Strategy for Protecting the Vital Functions of Society. Decision in Principle by the Council of State, 23.11.2006 (2006). Yhteiskunnan elintärkeiden toimintojen turvaamisen strategia – Valtioneuvoston periaatepäätös 23.11.2006 (2006). [www.defmin.fi/files/815/YETT_2006.pdf / 22.2.2008].

"The Strength of the Army May be Reduced to 250,000 Men" (2006). "Armeijan vahvuus voi pienentyä 250 000 sotilaaseen" (2006). *Ruotuväki - Puolustusvoimien uutislehti* 02/06.

"Sweden More Open-minded than Finland Regarding the NATO Response Force" (2006). "Ruotsi suhtautuu Suomea avoimemmin Naton Nopean toiminnan joukkoihin" (2006). *Helsingin Sanomat*, s. A5, 9.12.2006.

Takamaa, Kari (2005) "Sodankäyntiä järjestävän kansainvälisen oikeuden muutos – onko mikään muuttunut?" teoksessa Raitasalo, Jyri ja Sipilä, Joonas (toim.) *Muuttuva Sota,* s. 55-99, Helsinki: Kustannusosakeyhtiö Suomen Mies.

Third Parliamentary Defence Committee, 1981:1 (1981). *Kolmannen parlamentaarisen puolustuskomitean mietintö* – Komiteanmietintö 1981:1 (1981), Helsinki.

Toffler, Alvin and Toffler, Heidi (1993) War and Anti-War. Survival at the Dawn of the 21st Century. Toffler, Alvin ja Toffler, Heidi (1994) *Sodan Ja Rauhan Futurologia – Miten Selviydymme Hengissä 2000-luvulla,* Keuruu: Otava.

Traynor, Ian (2003) "The Privatization of War", *The Guardian*, 10 December 2003.

Tucker, David (2006) *Confronting the Unconventional: Innovation and Transformation in Military Affairs*, U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute.

"Use of Regional Forces for Executive Assistance Still Rankles" (2007). "Maakuntajoukkojen käyttö virka-apuun hiertää yhä" (2007). *Helsingin Sanomat* 9.2.2007, s. A6.

"Valiokunta: Armeija saa käyttää aseita vain ulkoiseen uhkaan" (2007). *Helsingin Sanomat* 17.1.2007.

Visuri, Pekka (1998) *Puolustusvoimat itsenäisyyden turvana*, Tuusula: Puolustusvoimien Koulutuksen Kehittämiskeskus.

Visuri, Pekka (1997) *Turvallisuuspolitiikka ja strategia*, Juva: WSOY.

Väyrynen, Raimo (1987) "Asevarustelun teoria ja todellisuus" teoksessa Ruhala, Kalevi (toim.) *Aseidenriisunta Kansainvälisessä Politiikassa*, s. 173-191, Helsinki: Ulkopoliittinen Instituutti.

Weekly Compilation Of Presidential Documents (1995)-(2006). [www.access.gpo.gov/nara/nara003.html].

Weiss, Thomas ja Collins, Cindy (2000) *Humanitarian Challenges & Intervention*, Boulder: Westview Press.

Wendt, Alexander (1999) *Social Theory of International Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

FINNISH DEFENCE STUDIES