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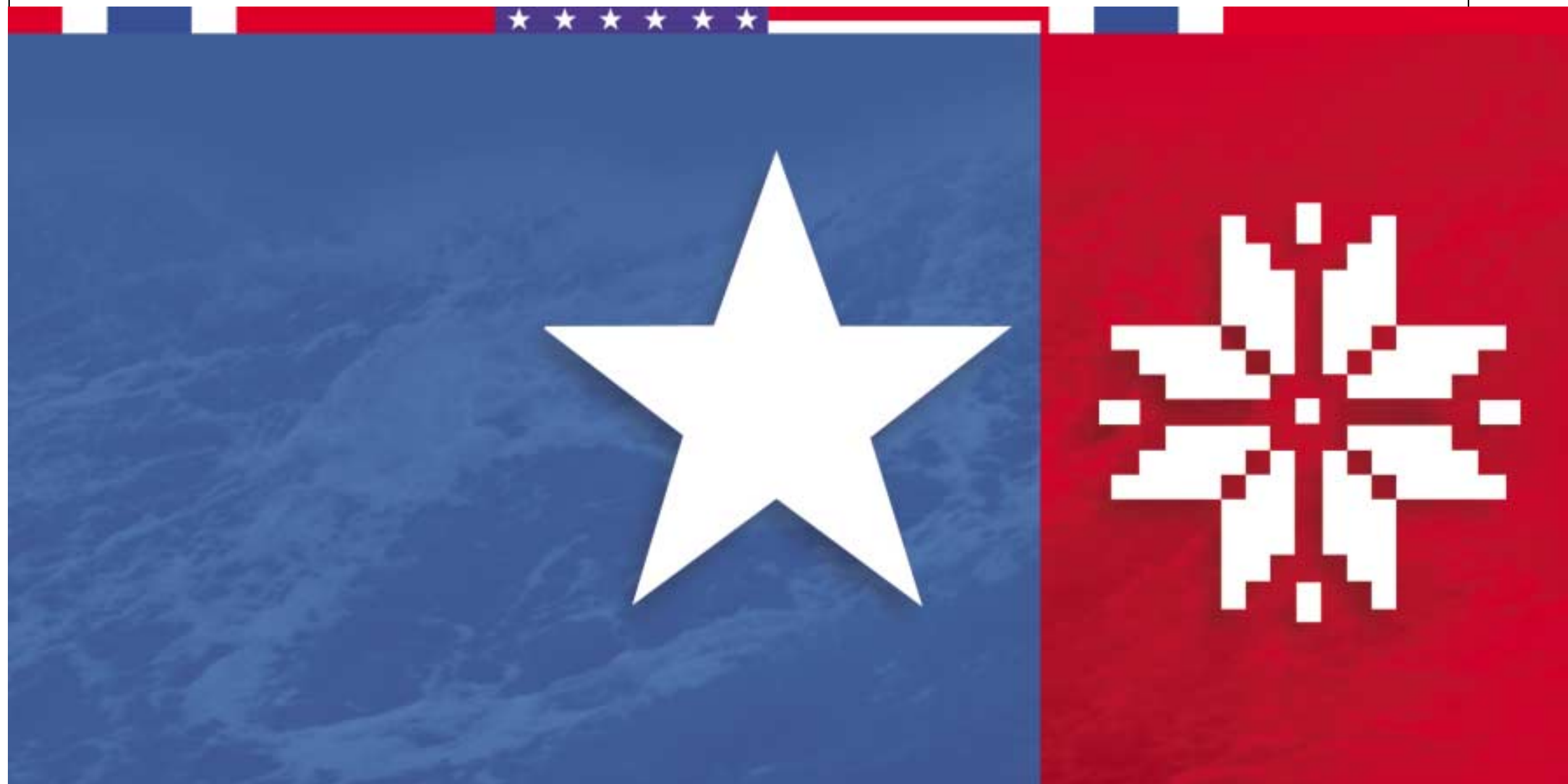
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Strong Bonds across the Atlantic

A Strategy for Norway's Relations
with the United States



Introduction

Norway has long had a special relationship with the United States. We have close historical ties and we share the same fundamental democratic values. The deep-rooted economic, political and security bonds have been strengthened by the numerous family ties between Norwegians and Americans of Norwegian descent. But these close relations must not be taken for granted. They must be nurtured and developed. They must also evolve and adapt to a new era in international cooperation.

Norwegian foreign policy interests are best safeguarded if we remain constantly aware of how we conduct ourselves in relation to the key players on the international scene, and strategically address how we can strengthen our bilateral relations. Norway's goal is to review the relationship with an aim to further developing our transatlantic ties in line with the expectations of future generations. Such an endeavor is based on the recognition that these transatlantic ties form one of the cornerstones of both Norwegian foreign and security policy.

This strategy paper focuses on Norway's bilateral relations, on cooperation with the U.S. in multilateral partnerships, and on the long-term consequences of the development of relations between the European Union, Russia and the United States. The final goal of the strategy is to provide a tool that can be used in the shaping of our foreign policy.

In its efforts to promote Norwegian interests with the United States the Norwegian government will emphasize the goals and priorities set out in this strategy.

October 5, 2001

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Part 1

International Challenges

1.1 Norway between the EU, Russia and the U.S.

Our relations with the United States are closely aligned with those with the EU and Russia. Also, the relationship between the U.S. and the EU, the U.S. and Russia and the EU and Russia affect Norway's ability to manoeuvre in its cooperation with the United States. The transformation of the EU from a regional to a global political player is creating new types of relationships with the U.S. that go beyond the traditional trade relations. The enlargement of the EU and the political and economic dynamics created by the Economic and Monetary Union and the Euro will strengthen Europe's position.

Since World War II, the western-oriented countries have shared a set of fundamental values which are the basis for their foreign and security policy interests. The disappearance of the threat posed by the Soviet Union has, to some extent, altered the foundations of our shared transatlantic values, even though NATO continues to stand for collective security and has been adapted to cope with new and complex security challenges. The significance of NATO's strategic concept of 1999 was particularly underscored by the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. In fact, it was in

response to terrorist concerns that Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty became operative.

NATO will in all probability continue to serve as the framework for dealing with security policy tensions that arise. However, the stronger role of the EU, and the development of the ESDP, combined with the fact that the political costs of transatlantic disagreement are smaller than previously may impose some long-term strain on this cooperation.

It is also feasible that the EU and the U.S. will begin to cooperate to a greater extent than before. If the EU were to coordinate its positions in a central organization like NATO, this could pose problems for Norway.

We must avoid having cooperation with the EU and the U.S. become an either/or situation. On issues where the United States and the EU have different positions, current developments are complicating our assessment of where Norwegian interests lie.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and subsequent crumbling of Russian military power have fundamentally altered Russia's significance to the U.S. Now a major Euro-Asian power, Russia has gone from being the



The Northern Areas



global rival and opponent of the U.S. to a cooperative partner in many contexts. Russia's position as a nuclear power, however, remains a dominating factor in U.S. assessments.

1.2 The Northern Areas

It is particularly important for Norway to encourage continued U.S. involvement in issues relating to the northern areas. The unresolved question of sovereignty with Russia and the high degree of military sensitivity that still exists mean that there are complex considerations to be taken into account. In this context, Norway must aim for transatlantic support which it will gain by strengthening the U.S. participation as observer and active contributor to the cooperation in the Barents Council and the Council of the Baltic Sea States. Norway should take full advantage of the Arctic Council to expand civil cooperation in the northern areas as both the U.S. and Russia are full members.

The altered geo-strategic situation does not mean that Norway's proximity to Russia has become less relevant to Norwegian-US relations. However, the significance of these neighborly relations has changed since the end of the Cold War. The polar areas continue to be of particular strategic interest between Norway and the U.S. Also, a number of new fields relating to Russia and the northern areas have developed as potential opportunities for cooperation between Norway and the United States, especially energy, the environment and scientific research. For Norway, avoiding a Norwegian-Russian bilateralization of northern area issues is a goal in itself.

Norway's proximity to Russia and its expertise on Russian matters, especially areas in northwestern Russia, are of significant interest to the U.S. For decades Norway has been developing specialized knowledge which is of great relevance today. One of the most important of these topics is *nuclear safety*. Another asset is the cooperation that has been built up with local bodies in northwestern Russia, which has the highest concentration of nuclear plants and objects in the world. The EU and the U.S. are important partners for Norway in the efforts to promote nuclear safety.

Both are key players in the negotiations on the agreement on the Multilateral Nuclear Environmental Program in the Russian Federation (MNEPR), and the U.S. is also part of the trilateral Arctic Military Environmental Cooperation (AMEC), together with Norway and Russia. Even if a satisfactory legal framework can be implemented, financing remains a major challenge. Given the extent of the problems, the involvement of both the EU and the U.S. will be important elements in solving these nuclear issues.

Cooperation on *polar research* may serve as an important framework for encouraging more research on Svalbard.

1.3 Multilateral Cooperation

For small countries like Norway, international law, binding people-to-people cooperation and strong multilateral institutions are essential for equal participation in the international community. Norway emphasizes international issues and conflicts should be resolved at a multilateral level and in accordance with international law.

The strength of multilateral institutions depends on major powers seeking solutions and safeguarding their interests within the framework of these institutions. It is especially important for the vitality and relevance of these institutions that the U.S. chooses a firm multilateral foundation for its foreign policy. An overall perspective of this kind, with an emphasis on strengthening the UN and the entire multilateral cooperation system, must be the basis of our cooperation with the U.S.

The political, foreign and cultural policies of the U.S. are relatively independent of other countries. Norway sees this unilateralism manifest itself in U.S. foreign policy. The end of the Cold War may have meant that in some situations the U.S. has felt less need for multilateral solutions, especially in light of the limits that multilateral agreements set for the country's room for manoeuvre. However, since the terrorist attacks of September 11, the United States has taken certain significant and very promising steps in the opposite direction, and is in the process of resuming its leading position in the multilateral sphere.

The EU member countries are bound by treaty to act as a single unit, especially in the economic area, because they are expected to have more impact if they act jointly. For example, the EU countries' OECD delegates are not allowed to express disagreement with the European Central Bank or the European Commission. The applicant countries have in practice the same positions as the member countries. This means that in economic matters Norway is one of the few "independent" European countries in the OECD.

Similarly, there are clear signs in UN agencies that the EU is becoming increasingly unified and speaks with one voice in the General Assembly, in ECOSOC and in related world arenas. This means that the focus of the negotiations is becoming increasingly concentrated on the views of G-77 and the EU. Other countries tend to be marginalized unless they can act in accordance with the main positions agreed on by the EU and G-77. Reversibly this trend means that Norwegian views are becoming more visible, and thus, more important to the U.S.

The development of the EU's security and defense policies will also result in more coordination of conflict management and peace operations in both the UN and NATO. This may increase the importance of maintaining Norway's ties with the U.S.

The U.S. is the most important and influential member of the UN Security Council. One of Norway's main foreign policy goals is to strengthen the UN's role in international conflict management. By virtue of its status as a permanent member and its overwhelming political and military strength, the U.S. has a strong influence on which matters are raised in the Council and what role the Council is assigned in the solution. In our bilateral contacts Norway seeks to ensure that the U.S. supports the Council's role in taking primary responsibility for securing international peace and security. It is important for Norway to cooperate closely with the U.S. in the Council during Norway's period of membership, *inter alia* in connection with peace processes where Norway is directly involved.

However, the combination of the large and increasing influence of the U.S. in the Security Council and its tendency to be overshadowed by the EU in other UN contexts may result in a narrowing of the U.S.' multilateral focus, which is not in Norway's interest and should be counteracted.

Multilateral Development Policy

In spite of its relatively modest development assistance in terms of percentage of GNP, the U.S. is a key player in multilateral humanitarian aid and development assistance because of its size. The country plays an especially influential role in the World Bank and the regional development banks. Norway should persuade the U.S. to avoid further bilateralization of its development assistance. In the longer term Norway's overriding goal should be to seek to ensure the continuation of U.S. participation in the change of direction currently taking place in international development assistance. The multilateral institutions must play a key role in this change.

Human Rights

The U.S. is an important player in the human rights arena including in the UN. Human rights is a central topic in the country's internal debate on international issues. Although the U.S.' approach to human rights issues does not always coincide with Norway's, the two countries usually have similar views on the progress of human rights in the various countries concerned, and they cooperate on this basis. It serves Norwegian interests and goals when the U.S. pursues an active multilateral human rights policy while retaining its central position in the UN Commission on Human Rights.

The U.S. has not abolished the death penalty. Norway has raised this issue in bilateral contacts and as a matter of principle in such bodies as the UN and the OSCE. It is important to make Norwegian views on this subject known, and also to continue the dialogue with the U.S. on a bilateral level. The most realistic possibility for Norway to make headway is for it to align itself with the EU's approach.

1.4 Norway as a Global Player

As mentioned in subsection 1.3, if a small country like Norway is to safeguard its interests it must seek to strengthen multilateral cooperation and rules. In this regard, Norway should maintain a high global profile.

Norway has proved an important player in the *Balkans* through its participation in UN-, OSCE- and NATO-led operations, its support to democratic forces in Yugoslavia, and its efforts in police affairs. Norway's ability to contribute seed money for projects supported by the international community has made the country an especially attractive partner for the U.S. Even though their numbers are not large, Norwegian experts on the Balkans are in constant dialogue with the U.S. This dialogue should be further developed.

Norway's involvement in the *Middle East conflict* is complementary to the role of the main external player, the U.S. The U.S. maintains close, regular contact with Norway when shaping its Middle East policy. The critical developments in the region mean that the close cooperation, between Norway and the U.S., in the efforts to achieve peace needs to continue. Correspondingly, Norway's peace and reconciliation efforts in *Colombia, Sri Lanka, Guatemala* and *Sudan* have made a considerable contribution to its reputation as a peace broker and have provided an entry to American political circles.

Norway's active role in international development policy, in human rights, in crisis management and peace and reconciliation efforts, is helping to make it more vital and indispensable. This applies at both the multilateral and the bilateral level, especially in relation to the U.S., the EU and Russia. Norway's peace and reconciliation efforts in particular have given us political capital and enhanced our status as a global player and dialogue partner.

Norway's status outside the EU may, in some cases make the country more visible and give it a unique position. It also provides the opportunity to play an independent or supplementary role in dialogue and cooperation.

1.5 Terrorism and the New Security Policy Challenges

The acts of terrorism perpetrated on New York and Washington on September 11 were attacks not only on the U.S., but also on the entire international community and on fundamental human and democratic values. In situations like this it is important that Norway strongly and clearly expresses support for the U.S., not least in order to show that transatlantic solidarity is reciprocal.

The terrorist attacks included bombs and hijacked planes but their significance extended far beyond this. They constitute a crime against humanity. As a consequence, they constitute an armed attack to which the rules of self-defense under international law apply. The United States' right to individual and collective self-defense is justified by Article 51 of the UN Charter. This was clearly and unanimously confirmed in the Security Council Resolution 1368. At the same time the Security Council stated unequivocally that there exists a threat to international peace and security as recognized by the UN Charter.

The decision by the North Atlantic Council that, if it is determined that the attack was directed from abroad, we and our allies will regard it as an action covered by Article 5 of the Washington Treaty, in accordance with this and is based on Article 51 of the UN Charter.

The U.S. authorities and the entire international community are fully entitled under international law to implement countermeasures to safeguard their security. Terror and its perpetrators and supporters must be met with firmness and determination.

Norway supports the U.S. in the fight against terrorism, and will continue to cooperate closely on this issue, both bilaterally and multilaterally in NATO and the UN.

Part 2

Bilateral Challenges

Norway and the U.S. have many bilateral points of contact. The main ones are defense and security policy, trade and shipping, education, research and development, and energy and the environment.

The U.S. is the world's leading nation in education and research and development. Because of Norway's many points of contact with the U.S. in these fields, they represent a cross-sectoral theme with considerable potential for further bilateral cooperation.

2.1 Defense and Security Policy

During the Cold War the U.S. occupied a unique position as the main guarantor for Norway's security and freedom. The cooperation between the two countries covered the United States' obligation to provide military reinforcements to Norway in the event of a crisis or war. It also included exercise and training activities, pre-positioned U.S. supplies, intelligence, and defense cooperation. This was closely linked with the fact that Norway's neighboring areas were of strategic interest to the U.S., given the threat that Soviet military force represented for NATO. Cooperation with the U.S. has been a cornerstone of Norway's security and defense policy ever since the war, and this state of affairs will continue into the future.

In order to maintain the American interest in close security policy relations with Norway, it is important that Norway demonstrates its relevance as an ally in today's world. This means that Norway must continue to demonstrate its willingness to undertake its own defense and to exercise sovereignty. It will also require a willingness to give priority to efforts to carry out the Alliance's core tasks through a relevant and functional military capacity and forces that can be deployed in a flexible manner in international operations.

A main objective for Norway is to help maintain the United States' Atlantic orientation. One of the ways Norway safeguards its transatlantic ties is through a comprehensive security and defense policy dialogue with the U.S., in which military cooperation is a central element. Continued development of Norway's strategic partnership with the U.S. is of great importance.

United States forces have been conducting exercises in Norway for a long time. Over the last few decades allied exercises have been carried out regularly in Norway, and U.S. forces have generally played a significant role. The exercises in Norway are unlike those carried out anywhere else and often take place under extreme climatic conditions. It is of utmost importance that they are continued on a sizeable scale.

U.S. military obligations relating to Norway represent an important dimension of Norway's security and defense policy. The quality and volume of the pre-positioned U.S. military equipment and the bilateral reinforcement agreements will continue to be indicators of the credibility of the security and defense policy links between Norway and the U.S. It is especially important that the NALMEB (Norwegian Air Landed Marine Expeditionary Brigade) concept, which is based on prepositioned equipment in Norway, is continued and developed. Both parties benefit and gain experience from this cooperation.

Annual civilian and military security and defense policy consultations are held. In addition to international security and defense policy issues, regular discussions are held on bilateral military topics, including exercises, reinforcement plans and the prepositioning of U.S. equipment and supplies in Norway. This comprehensive bilateral dialogue between Norway and the U.S. should be continued in order to safeguard the close civilian and military ties that exist between the two countries.

It is important that Norwegian officers are well represented in educational institutions in the United States. Norwegian military personnel have been trained in the U.S. for many years in a number of different fields. This applies especially to pilots, navigators and flight instructors. Personnel from all three armed services are also sent to U.S. staff colleges every year.

American military training in Norway.
Photo credits: Arne Flaaten, FMS (Forsvarets Mediesenter, Norway)



It is of great importance for Norway that these educational opportunities continue to be offered for the sake of close bilateral contact.

It is also very important to further develop the cooperation on the Defense Capabilities Initiative (DCI). This cooperation is important because of its synergy and because it will serve as an opening for future Norwegian-U.S. cooperation in connection with standardization and the improvement of capacity. The U.S. attaches great importance to the DCI because of its value in adapting the NATO countries' order of battle to the new strategic concept. The relations between the U.S. and Europe are unbalanced in regards to advanced military capacity. As a small nation, Norway has limited means available for costly structural components.

On the other hand, the U.S. recognizes Norway as a leading expert on concept development and experimentation in connection with the DCI. The DCI is important because it represents a method for achieving the same development tempo as those of the U.S. defense forces. The Norwegian and European focus on concept development and experimentation can therefore prevent the transatlantic capacity gap from growing wider.

Norway supports the initiatives for global alliance-building in order to deal with the new threats exemplified by the terrorist attacks on September 11.

Strong bonds between the US
and the Norwegian shipping industries
Photo credits: Husmo



2.2 Trade and Shipping

At the bilateral level there are generally relatively few problems with regards trade with the United States. However, there is a tendency towards American protectionism that is an obstacle to Norwegian exports in areas such as shipping, shipbuilding, and the sale of defense goods and farmed salmon. Ensuring access to the U.S. market in these areas for Norwegian companies is thus an important short- and long-term goal.

The U.S. and Norway share many interests in the multilateral trade policy agenda. This applies, in particular, to the overriding goals of promoting the further liberalization of world trade and strengthening the multilateral trading system. With its political and economic importance, the U.S.A plays a key role in the efforts to start new multilateral trade policy negotiations.

Norwegian trade policy goals can best be achieved by further developing multilateral trade policy rules through a broad negotiation process in the WTO. It is therefore important that the U.S. continues to support the multilateral trading system. Norwegian trade policy will increasingly have to relate to the trade policy relations between the United States and the EU, since most of Norway's trade legislation is adapted to that of the EU. Thus an open bilateral dialogue with the U.S. is paramount. Formal consultations in the WTO may be an appropriate course of action in such matters.

Regarding Norwegian *whaling policy*, it will be essential to continue the frank and constructive dialogue with the U.S., both bilaterally and within the framework of the International Whaling Commission.



Shipping

The U.S. is the single most important market for Norwegian shipping and is a very influential player in international shipping policy cooperation. It is important to maintain and expand the broad range of contacts we have with the maritime sector in the U.S. Norway's own large maritime sector means that it can cooperate with the U.S. as equals.

There is general agreement between Norway and the U.S. on most shipping policy issues. However, the U.S. is not expected to liberalize its protectionist cabotage regime in the foreseeable future and seems unwilling to include maritime services in the WTO negotiations. The U.S. has a tendency to set its own national rules at the expense of global rules adopted by the IMO. The United States' position as a maritime nation has been weakened, especially in connection with container/liner traffic, but its position as a user of shipping services has been strengthened. This may result in a divergence of U.S. and Norwegian interests, for example in connection with the regulation of competition in liner traffic.

It is important for Norway to maintain and expand its contact with the U.S. shipping authorities (the Maritime Administration, the Federal Maritime Commission, the U.S. Coast Guard and Congress) through active network building and exchanges of visits.

Norway should also cooperate with other relevant countries on engaging in a shipping policy dialogue with the U.S. and its appropriate U.S. organizations including the Cotton Club, Consultative Shipping Group and the OECD/Maritime Transport Committee.

Norway should also cooperate more closely with the U.S. on global IMO rules to improve shipping standards, reduce emissions to air, deal with ballast water and impose labor and environmental standards in connection with the recirculation of ships.

It is also necessary to expand Norway's contacts with non-governmental maritime circles in the U.S., including specialty firms, special interest and lobbying groups, environmental organizations and other experts, in order to keep abreast of new issues and facilitate mediation with corresponding circles in Norway.

As regards research, it is important to inform partners in the U.S. about the sound maritime research being done in Norway at the Marine Technology Center at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, and to mediate contacts with relevant research institutions in the U.S.

Shipping should be an integral part of the U.S. image of Norway. The significance of Norwegian shipping to the U.S. should be highlighted with an emphasis on quality and safety.

2.3 Education

The figures for the last few years show that there are now fewer Norwegians studying in the U.S. than in either Britain or Australia. This trend shows a decline in numbers in spite of the fact that the total number of Norwegian students abroad has increased considerably during the same period. A large number of Norwegian students would help ensure that Norwegian academics have a network in the U.S.

Many American educational institutions have high standards and are the best in the world in research and education in their particular fields. It is therefore important that Norwegian students are encouraged and given the opportunity to study at such institutions.

Norway has no educational cooperation programs in the U.S. similar to Socrates and Leonardo in Europe where Norway participates.

All four Norwegian universities and many Norwegian colleges have co-operative agreements with one or more educational institutions in the U.S. Such agreements make it easier for Norwegian students to study for short or long periods at U.S. universities as part of a Norwegian educational program.

The main challenges are to increase awareness of and access to the information available on educational opportunities in the U.S., and also to improve the information available in the U.S. on Norwegian educational institutions and higher education programs. Norway should ensure that there is a practical and economic framework in place that will make it possible and attractive for Norwegians to study in the U.S.

2.4 Research

The United States occupies a leading position in a great many research areas. This country has always been the single most important country for Norwegian research cooperation, especially in basic research. For a small knowledge-based society like Norway, it is important to have close links with the best international research communities.

The efforts to enhance research cooperation with the U.S. must be focused on basic research. Cooperation with research institutions and U.S. researchers is particularly important for the natural sciences, medicine and the social sciences.

Cooperation between Norwegian and U.S. research institutions should be enhanced through training, researcher exchanges and project cooperation. Research cooperation should involve an increase in mobility among researchers, between universities and colleges and also across academic and commercially oriented research institutions in the two countries. Norwegians are not taking full advantage of the opportunities to benefit from visits to key U.S. research

and educational institutions. This mobility should also include doctoral students.

Cooperative agreements and networks between Norwegian and U.S. research institutions and think tanks should be systematically expanded. In the social sciences close ties have been formed over many years which serve as a basis for further development.

Comprehensive technological cooperation at an advanced level has been developed between Norway and the U.S., and is a priority area involving close collaboration with the public and private sectors. Contact with the most prominent U.S. research communities should be intensified, with a special focus on the polar regions, the energy sector, environment, resource management and new technologies information and communication technology, biotechnology and medicine.

The following are examples of areas with great potential.

Polar research has great potential due to Norway's geographical location and proximity to geophysical processes that are of great significance for the global climate. Other key elements are research infrastructure, and Norwegian researchers' expertise in a number of important fields related to the Polar Regions.

Fisheries-related research is another area where cooperation with the U.S. can be expanded. Norway and the U.S. have some of the world's best researchers in the fisheries and aquaculture sector and such cooperation will form a basis for a more coordinated environmental and natural resource policy.

Exchanges and cooperation should also be encouraged in sectors such as information and communication technology, oil and gas activities, commercially-oriented biotechnology and medicine/health. Since Norway is a leading shipping nation it is important that Norwegian maritime research institutions expand their contacts with corresponding research institutions in the U.S.

Norwegian oil rig in the North Sea
Photo credits: Husmo



2.5 Energy and the Environment

Energy policy is high on the agenda in the U.S., the EU and Russia. The growing synergy in the U.S.-EU-Russia triangle in energy and the environment is a major foreign policy challenge for an energy supplier like Norway. This is a consequence of the close ties with the U.S. formed during the development of the Norwegian continental shelf, relations with other producer countries and the reciprocal dependence on the EU, which is a recipient of Norwegian natural gas.

For several decades there has been considerable contact and communication between Norwegian and U.S. companies and research communities. A number of U.S. companies have established branches on the Norwegian continental shelf, and there is close research cooperation between U.S. companies and Norwegian industry. Energy producers, exporters and

consumers have a long-term interest in stable and predictable energy markets. As one of the world's largest exporters of oil and gas, Norway is in a strong position for conducting an energy dialogue with the United States.

Norwegian and U.S. oil companies face many of the same challenges regarding the development of technology for the extraction of oil and gas from deep-water fields. Research cooperation with the U.S. should be further expanded as part of the efforts to enhance and develop Norwegian expertise in this area.

Norway cooperated closely with the U.S. during the climate negotiations, and should continue to work for a multilateral framework that includes the U.S.

Part 3

The Main Elements of a New Norway – U.S. Policy

The United States continues to be the single most important player that Norway has to relate to in the international community. Most of Norway's U.S. policy is not subject to change. In the field of security and defense policy it is important that Norway maintains its good relations with the U.S. and further develops the cooperation by finding new answers to the new challenges. The new cooperation for combating terrorism is an area to which we must devote a good deal of attention in the years to come.

One of Norway's main challenges is to involve the U.S. in matters and processes that are of significance to Norway and Norwegian interests. It is especially important to ensure that the U.S. continues to be involved in issues relating to the northern areas. At the same time, Norway will continue to depend on international issues being regulated multilaterally. One of Norway's main goals is to seek to ensure that the U.S. chooses a firm multilateral foundation for its foreign policy.

The EU is becoming increasingly important globally, multilaterally and in relation to our neighboring areas. It is possible that this may happen at the expense of countries that are not part of the Union. In this context it is especially important for Norway to amass political capital among key decision-makers and foreign policy players in the U.S.

Canada

Norwegian bilateral interests with the U.S. can also be promoted and safeguarded by cooperation with third countries and by building alliances with other countries. Canada's position as closest neighbor and cooperation partner with the U.S. makes it a logical strategic partner for Norway. Canada is an important country with which Norway has much in common. Among other things Canada has as much interest as Norway in U.S. involvement in issues relating to the northern areas and in the Arctic cooperation. Like Norway, Canada has close contacts with Russia and cooperates with the latter in many fields relating to the northern areas. There is great potential here for a fruitful tripartite cooperation involving Norway, Canada and the U.S. regarding Russia. Given the close ties between the U.S. and Canada, it will often be



Left: Crown Prince Haakon graduating from Berkeley University
Right: Ambassador Vollebæk and children celebrating Norway's Constitution Day

advantageous for Norway to employ a regional perspective. This means viewing Canada and the U.S. together in connection with business policy, press, cultural and research matters.

3.1 Network Building

The royal family, members of the government, senior officials in different sectors and at different levels, the Storting, political parties, NGOs, and academic and cultural communities can all contribute to greater contact and cooperation between Norway and the U.S. that will enhance our bilateral relations. This will require a considerable degree of cooperation between departments and desks within the ministry, between ministries and with research institutions and the private sector.

The government and civil service should strive to have the same agenda in relations with the U.S. To achieve this, exchanges of information on personal contacts, positions and follow-up should take place across sectors and at different levels within the various sectors. This will be important for a coherent approach.

The programs for visits by government members, state secretaries and senior officials should be coordinated to prevent overlapping.

Contacts should be established that can be useful in the event of a crisis and that can also provide regular assessments and information about internal processes and views in the complex U.S. decision-making system. In addition to contacts at U.S. government and senior official level, it is important to have contacts with Members of Congress, academic communities, think tanks, the media and individuals connected with the U.S. authorities. The contact network should reflect a political balance that makes it relevant regardless of the political party of the administration.

In connection with the establishment of new contacts, long-term efforts should be made to enhance Norwegian expertise on the U.S. More time should be spent on studying American political philosophy.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has the coordinating responsibility in Norway. The embassy in Washington, which by reason of its staff is an interministerial center of expertise, will have a key operative role, and must also give priority to analysis.

It is also important to maintain a broad range of contacts with Norwegian American circles. This will help to maintain these groups as an influential political resource that we can draw on. The Norwegian caucuses in Congress are important cooperation partners here.

Both the consulates general and the honorary consulates have broad contacts in their communities. They are in a good position to establish contact networks, disseminate information and foster interest in Norway. They also help preserve the transatlantic ties.

3.2 Press, Cultural Relations and Information

Except in areas with many Norwegian Americans, most Americans know little about Norway. Interest in Norway and knowledge of Norwegian society should continue to be given priority through targeted information to the media and by arranging visits for decision-makers and opinion-formers in politics, business and cultural life.

In this work it is important to project an image of Norway as a modern and creative nation that takes an active part in the international community.

Press, cultural relations and information activities should be linked more closely with political priorities and integrated with the Foreign Service missions' other activities. Larger and more long-term projects should be carried out, including presentations of Norwegian foreign policy combined with cultural and information events, including press trips.

The media are an important means for reaching U.S. decision-makers. Contact with the media about culture, politics, research and business can help counteract a two-dimensional presentation of Norway, for example in connection with whaling, and will allow Norwegian views to be presented even on controversial issues.

Media priority should be given on Norwegian efforts in the northern areas and possibilities for Norwegian and U.S. cooperation in the areas of the environment, climate problems and nuclear safety.

Americans of Norwegian descent must be kept up to date on modern Norway and on current political issues. This is a considerable challenge, which requires fresh efforts from each new generation. Both information and cultural activities are important here.

The major annual events promoting Norway in the U.S. should be given further support. These include Norsk Høstfest in Minot, North Dakota; Nordic Fest in Decorah, Iowa; Norway Day in Minneapolis, "Union Station" in Washington D.C., Norway Run in New York; Norway Day in San Francisco and the large number of local 17th of May (Constitution Day) arrangements. Each Foreign Service mission in the U.S. should have one such arrangement as a flagship for its presentation of Norway.

Arranging more cross-disciplinary seminars should expand cooperation with institutions that teach Norwegian, for example.

Part 4

Overview of Priority Measures

3.3 Education and Research

The educational cooperation between Norwegian and U.S. universities and colleges should be enhanced. A working group should be set up for this purpose with representatives from the Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other Norwegian institutions and organizations. The group should focus on facilitating and coordinating information on study programs in the United States, sending information to the U.S. on Norwegian higher education, measures to increase the number of graduate and undergraduate exchange students to and from the U.S., and measures to make it easier for Norwegian students to prepare for a stay in the United States and to improve Norwegian educational institutions' networks and their possibilities for entering into bilateral agreements with U.S. institutions.

Greater emphasis should be given to exchange agreements between institutions to encourage more American students and teachers to come to Norwegian educational institutions. Priority should be given to cooperation agreements between Norwegian universities and colleges and the best U.S. universities. Cooperation with the "Norwegian" universities in the U.S. should be further developed.

One-year exchange programs for high school students are an important way of maintaining our good relations with the United States. A large number of Norwegian students take part every year in such exchanges, which are mediated by both non-profit and commercial organizations. The numbers of U.S. pupils taking part are smaller, and greater participation in such exchanges should be encouraged.

"Roving scholars" come to Norway through the Fulbright program, and they hold seminars in connection with continuing education and provide information to secondary school students. Better use should be made of this opportunity especially for lower secondary school students. Fulbright summer grants are also given for four to six Norwegian English teachers at the middle school level to spend a summer studying in the U.S. Norway should consider having this extended to include upper secondary school teachers and teachers of social studies.

It is important to expand and strengthen the cooperation between American and Norwegian research through researcher networks and researcher exchanges. In this connection funds should be allocated to enhancing research cooperation in order to encourage U.S. researchers to come to Norway.

Funds should also be allocated to enhancing Norwegian research and expertise on the U.S.

A Norwegian forum for research should be established in the United States, and the Norwegian embassy in Washington should be given operative responsibility for developing and implementing this project. One of the main goals would be to obtain more posts for Norwegians at key research institutions and well-known educational institutions in the U.S.

A working group should be established for the various research communities in Norway to consider ways of enhancing cooperation with research institutions and think tanks in the U.S. with a view to improving the exchange programs.

3.4 Organizational Follow-Up

A U.S. group should be established, headed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which should be responsible for coordinating the follow-up to this paper, including making proposals for specific measures and projects.

Security and Defense Policy

Cooperation on acquiring and developing complementary and compatible defense systems within the framework of the Defense Capabilities Initiative, should be intensified.

The multinational planning capacity for military forces and operations should be further developed.

Education and Research

A working group should be established for improving the information about study opportunities in the United States with representatives from the relevant authorities, institutions and organizations. The group should concentrate on facilitating and coordinating information on the programs available in the U.S., measures to increase the number of applicants at both graduate and undergraduate levels, and measures to improve the networks of Norwegian educational institutions and their possibilities of arranging bilateral agreements with American educational institutions.

A Norwegian forum for research in the U.S. should be established, with the operative responsibility assigned to the embassy in Washington. The forum should seek to promote exchanges and network building between Norwegian and American research communities, institutions of higher learning and think tanks.

A working group for the various research communities in Norway should be established to consider ways of enhancing cooperation with research institutions and think tanks in the U.S. with an objective to improving the exchange programs.

The resources devoted to enhancing Norwegian research and expertise on the United States should be increased.

Network-building

As part of the efforts to establish new contacts, a long-term plan should be implemented for enhancing expertise on the U.S. in Norway and for increasing knowledge and understanding of the thinking of American decision-makers in both the Democratic and Republican parties. The embassy in Washington will play a central role in these efforts.

Trade and Business Relations

Norway should seek to participate in the Transatlantic Business Dialogue and the Transatlantic Economic Partnership.

The annual WTO consultations between Norway and the United States should be re-introduced.

Press, Cultural and Information Activities

Norway should expand and better target the visitor program for decision-makers and opinion-formers in politics, the business community, the media and cultural life. The program should take into account the political priorities.

Norway should seek to establish more direct channels between Norwegian and American cultural institutions in each of the areas served by a Norwegian foreign service mission with a goal of expanding cultural exchanges and making them more systematic.

Targeted efforts must be made to keep the United States informed about modern Norwegian society and current political issues. This should involve giving further support to the major annual events promoting Norway in the U.S. Each of the missions in the U.S. should adopt an annual Norwegian-American event as the flagship for its presentation of Norway.

Organizational Measures

A U.S. group should be established, headed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which should be responsible for coordinating the follow-up to this paper, including making proposals for specific measures and projects.

Useful web-sites

Norwegian Embassy Washington, D.C.
www.norway.org

US-Norway Forum
www.norway.org/education/

Norway Caucuses in the U.S. Congress
www.norway.org/politics/

Norwegian Trade Council in North America
www.ntcusa.org

Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce
www.norway.org/nacc/

Norwegian-American Foundation
www.nor-am.org/

Norwegian Seafood Export Council
www.seafoodfromnorway.com.

Norwegian Tourist Board, US Office
www.norway.org/travel

Norwegian Mission to the UN
www.norway-un.org

US Embassy, Oslo
www.usa.no

Norway's Royal Family
www.kongehuset.no

Stortinget (the Norwegian parliament)
www.stortinget.no/english

Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs
www.odin.dep.no/ud/engelsk

ODIN (the Norwegian Government website)
www.odin.dep.no/odin/engelsk

Vesterheim Museum
www.vesterheim.org

Norge.no
(public sector information and services on the Internet)
<http://english.norge.no>

Nobel Peace Prize
www.nobel.no

How to trace your ancestors in Norway
<http://homepages.rootsweb.com/~norway/>