



Parahyangan Catholic University

Faculty of Social and Political Sciences

Department of International Relations

Accredited A

SK BAN –PT NO: 3095/SK/BAN-PT/Akred/S/VIII/2019

**Utilization of NATO's Collective Defence by Norway to
protect its national interests in the Arctic during Russia's
militarization of the region**

Thesis

By

Najla Zeta Sulaiman

2017330087

Bandung

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Hereby assert that this thesis is the product of my own work, and it has not been previously proposed by any other parties in order to attain an academic degree. Any idea and information gained from other parties are officially cited in accordance with the valid scientific writing method. I declare this statement with full responsibility and I am willing to take any consequences given by the prevailing rules if this statement was found to be untrue.

Bandung, 10th of January 2021



Najla Zeta Sulaiman

ABSTRAK

Nama : Najla Zeta Sulaiman

NPM : 2017330087

Judul Skripsi : Utilisasi Pertahanan Kolektif NATO oleh Norwegia dalam melindungi kepentingan nasional nya di Arktik ditengah upaya militerisasi Rusia

Penelitian ini memiliki tujuan untuk menganalisa utilisasi pertahanan kolektif NATO oleh Norwegia dalam melindungi kepentingan nasional nya di Arktik ditengah upaya Russia untuk memiliterisasi wilayah tersebut. Dalam penelitian ini, penulis menggunakan teori Neo-Realisme Kenneth Waltz, konsep kepentingan nasional, ancaman, militerisasi & pertahanan kolektif. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif yang dilakukan melalui studi pustaka dan literatur yang kemudian akan digunakan untuk analisis dan menjawab pertanyaan penelitian. Penelitian ini telah menganalisa bahwa Norwegia telah memanfaatkan pertahanan kolektif NATO melalui 3 cara yaitu peningkatan latihan militer di wilayah Norwegia, pengembangan instrumen militer melalui kerjasama anggota NATO dan melalui penempatan pangkalan militer permanen. Aktivitas ini dilakukan untuk melindungi kepentingan Norwegia di Arktik yaitu untuk menjaga keamanan dan stabilitas wilayah ditengah upaya militerisasi oleh Rusia.

Kata Kunci : Norwegia, Rusia, NATO, Militerisasi, *self-help*, *balance of power*, kepentingan nasional.

ABSTRACT

Name : Najla Zeta Sulaiman
NPM : 2017330087
Thesis Title : Utilization of NATO's Collective Defence by Norway to protect its national interests in the Arctic during Russia's militarization of the region

This research has an objective to analyze how Norway is utilizing NATO's principle of collective defence to protect its national interests in the Arctic during Russia's militarization attempt of the region. In this research, the writer will use the theory of Neo Realism by Kenneth Waltz along with the concept of national interests, militarization, threat and collective defence. Moreover, this research will be using qualitative method which is focusing on literature studies which will be use for analyzing and answering the research question. With that being said, this research has analyzed that Norway is utilizing NATO's Collective Defence through joint military exercises, development of military instrument through cooperation between member of the alliances and stationing of the alliance's permanent bases. These activities have an objective to protect Norway's national interests in the Arctic which are keeping the security and stability in the middle of Russia's militarization in the region.

Key words : Norway, Russia, Militarization, self-help, balance of power, national interests.

FOREWORD

In the name of Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa, the thesis titled “Utilization of NATO’s Collective Defence to protect Norway’s national interests in the Arctic during Russia’s militarization of the region” is finally completed. This thesis was done for the purpose of obtaining a bachelor degree in political science in the Department of International Relations, Parahyangan Catholic University, Bandung. This research has aim to explain how Norway is protecting its national interests in the Arctic during Russia’s militarization of the region by utilizing NATO’s principle of Collective Defence from 2014 to 2019. The author acknowledges that this research is still far from perfect. Therefore, the author sincerely apologizes if there is any error, inaccuracy, and misinterpretation within this research.

Bandung, 10th of January 2021

Najla Zeta Sulaiman

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

NATO : North Atlantic Treaty Organization

RAP : Readiness Action Plan

TRJE18 : Trident Juncture Exercises

LIVEX : Live Field Exercises

CPX : Command Post Exercises

VJTF : Very High Readiness Joint Task Force

JWC : Stavanger Joint Warfare Centre

DCI : Defence Capabilities Initiative

NDPP : NATO Defence Planning Process

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Militarization of the Arctic increased greatly due to the growing pace of global warming in which it melts the ice that covers most of the region in a rapid pace and opening more access to new seabed energy resources and new shipping routes.¹ The rapid climate change is seen by Russia as an opportunity to secure the region and seek more enforcement to control and take over a larger portion of its Arctic region. Moreover, the rapid pace of militarizing the region is also supported by the states' national interests to secure the region through increasing its capabilities. With that being said, the state is strengthened through the Arctic Patrol Operation especially in the region surrounding the Kola Peninsula which extends towards the Barents and Norwegian Sea, the main strategy in this area is the "Bastion Defence Strategy" which will be emphasizing the use of sea-based nuclear assets.²

Russia who actively increase their capacity in militarizing the region has created a security dilemma for other coastal states who are surrounding Arctic such as Norway, United State and Canada which perceived the behaviour as a threat toward the region's security and stability although it is mentioned in Russia's foreign policy that their interest on the Arctic remain solely on economic

¹ "Arctic Matters : The Global Connection to Changes in the Arctic", (National Research Council

² Lassi Heininen, Alexander Sergunin and Gleb Yarovoy, "Russian Strategies in The Arctic : Avoiding New Cold War" (Moscow, September 2015.)

sectors & protection of the region.³ In recent years, military bases from the Soviet era were reopened and 500 new military bases were created which supports the attempt of militarization. Russia is also implementing “Northern Fleet Joint Strategic Command” which will coordinate all military instruments in the Arctic.⁴ Several access to shipping routes are closed for other states as it is stated that the area is under Russia’s jurisdiction, however closing the shipping route is considered a violation to the international law as it is interrupting the process of international business.⁵

Norway which owns 96,225 km² area of Arctic and has direct borders with the Federation in the Barents and Svalbard Sea stated that their main focus in the region remains on two important things which are avoiding any conflicts that could endanger security of the region and increasing cooperation with potential partners⁶. As the five coastal states, Norway is legally entitled to the ownership of several areas and believes that the development and security is an important matter that needs to be prioritized in its foreign policy. One of the main aims is to ensure that the Arctic remains a peaceful, stable and predictable region where international cooperation and respect for the principles of international law exists

³ Kristian Åtland, “Interstate Relations in the Arctic: An Emerging Security Dilemma?”, *Comparative Strategy, Volume 33.(2) s.* 145-166, <https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01495933.2014.897121>

⁴ Russia’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “The Russian Arctic Strategy For The Period Up To 2020”, Accessed on 1st of February 2020.

⁵ Jørgen Staun, “Russia’s Strategy in the Arctic”, (Denmark : The Royal Danish Defence College, 2015)

⁶ Elana Wilson Rowe, “Arctic hierarchies? Norway, status and the high north”, Cambridge University Press, 2013., doi:10.1017/S003224741200054X

thus Norway's defence and foreign policy in the Arctic is also based on the need of external support and reinforcement.⁷

Norway's defence and foreign policy also highlighted the importance of increasing cooperation with allies specifically NATO in which it is strongly believes that the militarization of Arctic by Russia would be endangering sovereignty of states located closely to the region, it is stated in the "Arctic Strategy" that there's an immediate need for the Norwegian Armed Forces and allies to be put in the region. Although there are also other states who have attempted to militarize the Arctic such as China, Norway pays attention to Russia the most due to its unstable domestic policy, unpredictable foreign policy and its growing ambition with sufficient capability to fulfill these objectives.⁸

Russia's efforts have created a security dilemma in the area especially for states surrounding the Arctic such as Norway and NATO as the security body. Russia's increasing power politics and ambition to fulfill the nation interests has resulting suspension of cooperation such as joint military training & economic cooperation as these states believes that the annexation of Crimea will have a spillover effect to the Arctic region⁹.

⁷Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Norway's Arctic Strategy – between geopolitics and social development*, H-2402 E, Oslo : 2017, (Accessed on 1st of February 2020.)

⁸ Justyna Gotkowska, "Norway and the Bear, Norwegian Defence Policy - Lessons for the Baltic Sea Region", *Centre for European Studies*, No.38 (2014), Accessed on 8th of February 2020.

⁹ Nigel Chamberlain and Ian Davis, "NATO and the Arctic revisited: spillover from crisis in Crimea?", *NATO WATCH*, 27 March 2014, Accessed on 1 February 2020.

1.2 Problem Identification

1.2.1 Problem Statement

The militarization attempt by Russia is constructing a problem since it is raising the tension & threatening stability of the region which used to be assured with the presence of NATO and its allies in the Arctic. Norway and Russia share 196 km long border in the Arctic and this has resulting the initiation of "neighbours in the north initiative" which highlighted the importance of increasing cooperation between two states to have a better condition of the Arctic, therefore Norway in the region used to be perceived as an instrument for Russia to connect with other countries that initially opposed the presence of hegemony in the region¹⁰. However, the annexation of Crimea and support for the separatists in the Ukrainian provinces of Donetsk & Luhans has raised concerns on the spillover effect of the conflict and it is then proven by the increasing the number of military personnel in the area and also the implementation of Northern Fleet Joint Strategic which is a centre for all Russia's military instrument in the Arctic.

Furthermore, the federation is also increasing number of its military instruments and attempted to block the international water which is disrupting economic activities, therefore due to these activities, Norway's Minister of Foreign Affair stated that the federation had "moved into a fundamentally new phase in relation to the outside world," pursuing "power-politics belonging to a different age" and "acting in a way nobody had done since the Second World

¹⁰Norwegian Ministry of Defence, *Expert Commission on Norwegian Security and Defence Policy : Unified Effort*, 2015.

<https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/departementene/fd/dokumenter/unified-effort.pdf>.

Accessed on 8th of February 2020.

War”¹¹. Due to the increasing military activities, Norway’s national interests to keep the stability, peace and security of the region is interrupted and it will also affected the economy and defence interests of the state.

The tension rise as all military cooperation between NATO and Russia were suspended including the annual “Northern Eagle” naval exercise which was annually conducted by US, Russia and Norway¹². All states involved in the Arctic have increased their military instrument such as through the ‘Arctic Challenge’ exercise that took place in May 2015 with fighter jets from nine countries operating out of bases in Norway, Sweden and Finland. Russia’s defence minister then announced the expansion of the states’ Air Force, including the ‘Arctic Brigade’ which is located on the Kola Peninsula as a response to Arctic Challenge¹³.

Norway, the United States and Canada also implemented several economic sanctions toward Russia such as restrictions on access to Western capital, technologies, and arms embargoes. These states also prohibited Western companies from providing goods, services or technologies for Russia’s offshore oil projects. As stated by the Minister of Defence, Norway is maximizing its with NATO in the Arctic will be heavily emphasizing on the aspect of collective

¹¹Julie Wilhelmsen and Kristian Lundby Gjerde, “Norway and Russia in the Arctic: New Cold War Contamination?”, *Arctic Review on Law and Politics* Vol. 9, (2018), Accessed on 15th of February 2020

¹²Ibid

¹³ Barbara Kunz, “North Europe’s Strategic Challenge from Russia”, (France : Institut français des relations internationales, 2018.)

defence in which it will be focusing on 3 main aims which are surveillance, intelligence and deterrence¹⁴.

1.2.2 Research Scope

This research would be analyzing the utilization of NATO's collective defence by Norway in order to protect its national interests due to the increasing activity of Russia in the Arctic region through the year of 2014-2019. In the year of 2014, Russia conducted several violations of international law such as the annexation of Crimea which created a spillover effect in the Arctic region that drove Norway to publish "Norway's Arctic Strategy" which emphasized the urgency of cooperation with allies especially NATO. Moreover, Russia in 2014 also stated that they will be pursuing military instruments in the Arctic to achieve their national interests. In the following year, the federation is also increasing its presence and activities in the Northern Sea Route which is located closely to Norwegian territory. In 2020, Norway will be implementing the new security defence policy which may lead to a different approach in the region from the previous Arctic strategy which is implemented from 2014 to 2019. This research would be focusing only on the military and defence cooperation which is used to deter Russia's power in militarizing the Arctic.

¹⁴ Justyna Gotkowska, "Norway and the Bear, Norwegian Defence Policy - Lessons for the Baltic Sea Region", *Centre for European Studies*, No.38 (2014), Accessed on 8th of February 2020.

1.2.3 Research Question

To observe the implementation of Norway and NATO's cooperation in responding to the militarization of Arctic by Russia, the research question would be

“How does Norway protect its national interests in the Arctic through utilizing NATO's collective defence during Russia's militarization of the region?”

1.3 The Aim of the Research

This research has an aim to describe and analyze Norway's attempt to maximize the principle of collective defence by NATO in responding to Russia's militarization of the Arctic which is affecting the states' vital national interests regarding stability of the region which will be affecting another interests such as economy and politics if it is not fulfilled. Specifically, the author will be analyzing the implementation and also the impact of Russia's presence to the cooperation in the region and this research also has an aim to analyze the phenomena by using the most suitable theoretical framework which is neo-realism.

1.4 Literature Review

This research would be using mainly 3 journals to analyze Norway's utilization of NATO's collective defence in responding to militarization of the Arctic by Russia. Julie Wilhelmsen in the “Norway and Russia in the Arctic: New Cold War Contamination?” explained that Russia initially sees Norway as a potential partner in both bilateral and multilateral institution that is often

mentioned in the energy context, with Statoil as a promising corporate partner for Russian companies and an example of a successful Norway's corporation¹⁵. However, Russia's perception of Norway as a potential partner drastically changed as Norway decided to increase the presence of NATO in the North and also implement sanctions to Russia after the annexation of Crimea.

Russia criticizes Norway for being too dependent on NATO and the United States thus acting against their own interests or in short, Norway is increasingly seen as the prolonged arm of NATO in the region. This journal also highlighted that Norway implicitly portrayed Russia as a threat which is why they started to lean on NATO and the United States as alliances for protection. Russia responded to the presence of NATO in the Arctic by shifting its military policies for example by establishing Joint Strategic Command North in 2014 and the creation of the 80th Arctic Brigade in early 2015, both ahead of its initial schedule.

Russia's Minister of Foreign Affairs in 2014 explained how Norway has become hostile towards its bilateral relations with Russia after the annexation of Crimea, Russia started to doubt Norway as its strategic partnership as they started to lean closer towards NATO and EU. Therefore, it could be summarize that this journal perceive the Norway and NATO cooperation as a form of cooperation that will threat Russia's presence in the area and also affect the bilateral relation between Norway and Russia¹⁶.

¹⁵ Julie Wilhelmsen and Kristian Lundby Gjerde, "Norway and Russia in the Arctic: New Cold War Contamination?", *Arctic Review on Law and Politics* Vol. 9, (2018), Accessed on 15th of February 2020

¹⁶ *Ibid*,397.

The second journal “The Challenges and Dynamics of Alliance Policies: Norway, NATO and the High North” explained that the cooperation between is an implementation of Norway’s first pillar of defence and more over, it is also to enhance the principle of collective defence arrangement that the organizations holds¹⁷. As a founding member of the alliance, Norway will always lean on towards NATO in regards of protection and fulfillment of national interests, this journal also explained that Norway’s cooperation with NATO does not mean Norway sees Russia as a threat in the region, quoting the Prime Minister of Norway “There is no contradiction between increasing the strength of NATO and engaging Russia. Indeed, it is only by being strong that we can develop a cooperative and constructive relationship” thus at present time Russia is not considered to be a direct threat for Norway however a cooperation between Norway and NATO is necessary not only as form to secure the area but also as Norway’s commitment to provide relevant and capable forces to NATO. Therefore, it is concluded that this journal believes that the cooperation is a form of deterrence to Russia’s major power and also Norway’s commitment to actively participate in NATO activities

“Russia’s Military Posture in the Arctic Managing Hard Power in a ‘Low Tension’ Environment” as the third journal argues that the cooperation between NATO and Nordic countries especially Norway is the implementation of Balance

¹⁷Wrenn Yennie Lindgren & Nina Græger, “The Challenges and Dynamics of Alliance Policies: Norway, NATO and the High North”, *Global Allies: Comparing US Alliances in the 21st Century*, Australian National University (2017), Accessed on 15th of February 2020.

of Power towards Russia¹⁸. The cooperation has an objective to keep a watchful eye, maintaining, exercising capability, and increasing domain awareness for the security of the Arctic. NATO will also increase its knowledge and awareness regarding security of the area from the cooperation implementation thus it is believed that the cooperation is a form of NATO's commitment to provide security for its allies who are in need of immediate protection. This journal also elaborated that the cooperation between NATO and Norway has been implemented through the creation of the Joint Force Command Norfolk (JFC-N) in 2017, this has shown that NATO has been raising their concern regarding security of the area but somehow believes that a more holistic and positive approach is needed in regards to this issue compared than being too aggressive. With that being said, this research would be explaining further regarding Norway's utilization of NATO's collective defence to protect the states' national interests in the middle of Russia's Arctic militarization attempts of the Arctic.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

Firstly, to analyze how does the militarization of Arctic is impacting Norway's national interests and the decision to choose NATO's collective defence would be explain through the theory of neorealism which believes that the structure of the international system holds an important aspect in shaping national interests of a state, the international structure will be shaping state's opportunities, weakness and threats in making a foreign policy. Kenneth Waltz stated that it would be impossible to analyze global politics by looking only at the domestic

¹⁸ Mathieu Boulègue, Russia's Military Posture in the Arctic Managing Hard Power in a 'Low Tension' Environment, *Chatham House*, (2019), Accessed on 15th of February 2020.

factors, since external factors hold an important role in shaping the international structure which will be affecting the global politics and determining the relation between states thus international structure will always change depending on the current relation between states¹⁹.

Moreover, Waltz stated that states will be planning its operations based on what they think will achieve their national interests hence this theory appears as an effort to seek scientific explanation of the change in the international political system, Waltz also emphasized that this theory is built on five theoretical aspects and concepts which are states as the main actor or anarchy, survival of states as the main objectives, states will maximize all of its power in a rational way and states is relying on self-help.²⁰

Neo-realist believes that in the **anarchy system** in which states is constituted as the main actor in the global politics, and the shift in international structure will change once great powers fall & rise, this is why the concept of **balance of power** is highlighted which explained that states will create an alliance with other in order to protect themselves in the anarchic system²¹. With that being said, balance of power is divided into 2 types which are external and internal balancing in which internal balancing consists of activities that will increase the state's capabilities through its own efforts while external balancing will be enhancing cooperation with alliances to balance the hegemonic power. However,

¹⁹ Jean-Frédéric Morin & Jonathan Paquin, *Foreign Policy Analysis : Structural Shift in International Relations*, (Canada: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 317.

²⁰ Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith, *International Relations Theory*, (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2010).

²¹ Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, (Maine : Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1978)

even though balance of power emphasized the importance of increasing capabilities, the intention is to negotiate with the other states instead of fighting.²²

A neo realism concept which was stated by Mearsheimer and derives from Waltz's concept believes that world politics would be better in a **bipolar system** compared to a multipolar system since two great powers will maintain a more stable and peaceful security compared to the multipolar system.²³ Waltz emphasized that war is more likely to happen under the multipolar system compared to the bipolar system since there are only 2 great powers competing for hegemony. More so, survival is considered as the most important objective since without surviving, states will not be able to achieve the other objectives.

As states are the highest authority in global politics, **self help** will be implemented in order to reach its interest and maintain its position on global politics and due to the self help system, states will be worrying about their survivability and thus it will affects their behavior and decision. With that being said, states will seek for survival by either creating or joining an alliance that will act as an contestant towards aggressor which is endangering the states' security and the consideration to join an alliance will be determined by comparing the benefits of alliance to its cost, and focus on the effects that the alliance has on its security. Therefore, relative-gains consideration is an important aspect in creating alliances since states must consider what they will gain and lose from joining the cooperations. As alliances are formed as a respond towards threats or common aggresor, the change of power distribution in global politics will be determining

²² Ibid, pg.51

²³ R. Harrison Wagner, "*War and the State: The Theory of International Politics*", (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2007)

the next step of the alliance itself whether to continue or dissolve. Neorealists is then divided into two types which are defensive and offensive realism, defensive realism explains that state with less amount of threats will be using balance of power to secure the region while states with high rate of threats will be using offensive realist which heavily emphasizes on the use of military instrument and also creating a hegemony power in the region.

Secondly, the concept of National Interests is defined as the needs and necessities of a sovereign state in building a relation with another sovereign state, Donald E. Nuechterlein explained that national interests are categorized by 4 main concepts which are defence, economic, world order and ideological interests in which defence interests emphasize the importance of protecting states and citizens from physical violence conducted by external states while economic interests explained the importance of enhancing the states economy well-being. While world-order interest highlighted the importance of creating a secure & peaceful condition among states through maintaining the international political & economic system and lastly, ideological interests explained that it is important to protect a set of values that the citizens in the state share.²⁴

National interests are also categorized based on their intensity which are survival, vital, major and peripheral issues in which survival issues are happening once existence of the state itself is threatened by other states or in another word, the sovereignty is threatened by external power therefore only defence interests

²⁴Donald E. Nuechterlein, "National Interests and Foreign Policy: A Conceptual Framework for Analysis and Decision-Making" *British Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Oct., 1976),

will reach this level of intensity. Secondly, vital issues only happen and result in harm if a strong military instrument is deployed to by one state to another and may threaten the country in the long term if it is not treated properly. Thirdly, major issues emphasized that political, economy, and ideological of the state may be affected with a series of events in global politics thus need an immediate solution before it transforms into a vital issue and lastly peripheral issues happen when states are not directly affected by the series of events, however, it is affecting citizens and companies inside the state.

Russia's aggression in the Arctic could be defined by using the concept of militarization which will start once military forces abuse their legitimate function and become involved in political affairs. Militarization will increase the probability of war between states and produce less effective strategies as it is increasing the probability of war since states will be choosing policies which leans to war and also less effective since military instruments will be chosen rather than diplomatic ways, it is usually characterized with three main indicators which are systemic features, elements of ideology and policy orientation along with its execution. Systemic features are indicated with the positions of military officials in the government while elements of ideology are shown by glorification of the army's power and the assertion of hierarchy. Lastly, policy orientation & execution is the most important characteristics of militarization since it shows how a state will conduct the process of militarization and this characteristic is followed by high military expenditures, military build up, military interference in

socio-political decision making process and increasing participation of the army in security operations.²⁵

Militarization is affecting the decision making process of a state since all the inputs will be processed through military aspects and point of view. The militarized decision making process will increase the possibilities of choosing war as an option since it is seen through the military prism.²⁶ As stated before, militarization is also influencing the foreign affairs of a state in which states most likely will ignore the option of doing diplomacy & negotiation since the governments are more likely to favor war. States will also seek for arms providers rather than defensive alliances since it will be more beneficial in responding to the threats and therefore this will lead into degradation of states ability to choose and maintain the appropriate alliance.

Fourth, in order to analyze how Russia is constituted as a threat towards Norway's national interests, the concept of threat is explaining how the threats will be formulated by states or force which is perceived as a superior, and whose superiority is acknowledged by the threatened party and stated by Barry Buzan, states face different threats on a daily basis which could be grouped based on sectors, sources, intensity and historical changes. According to the sectors, threats are divided into military, political & economic in which military threats could threaten all the components of state. Military threats is the highest priority of the state since the use of force might conceive undesired changes in a rapid shift which could demolish political, economic and social sectors of a state that have

²⁵ Marek Thee, "*Militarism and Militarization in Contemporary International Relations*", (Oslo : International Peace Research Institute, 2017).

²⁶ Julia Schofield, "*Militarization and War*", (United States : Palgrave Macmillan US, 2007).

been implemented for years and therefore it is known as one of the most destructive and massive hazards to a state and it also comes in various types from the smallest one to the most extreme such as occupation of region and lastly, Buzan also stated that military threats is usually deployed in order to achieve a political objectives.²⁷

As stated by Stephen M Waltz, there are four factors which are crucial in determining the intensity of threats which are aggregate power as the main indicator along with geographic proximity and offensive intentions as the supplementary indicators. Aggregate power explained that the more resources that the states have such as military instruments, population and technology, the greater threats that they may possess while geographic proximity stated that states that are nearby or bordering directly will pose a greater threat than those who are located further away and in a certain condition, small states which is bordering closely to a hegemonic power may choose to bandwagon rather than balancing the powerful states since it might be impossible to balance the hegemony.²⁸ Lastly, offensive intentions highlighted that those who are conducting aggressive operations will be perceived as a threat by other states and therefore by looking at the intensity, states may either choose to bandwagon to the origins of threat or balance with another great-power by joining alliances.

To discuss Norway's preference to protect its national interests would be explained through the concept of Collective Defence which is theoretically

²⁷ Barry Buzan, *People, States, and Fear : The National Security Problem in International Relations*, (Sussex: Harvester Press Group, 1983)

²⁸ Stephen M Waltz, "Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power", *International Security*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (Spring, 1985), <https://doi.org/10.2307/2538540>

defined as an arrangement which is usually formalized by a treaty, organization or alliances and requires the commitment of member states to provide support to other member who are attacked²⁹. As stated by Arnold Wolfers, collective defence happens when states are willingly entering an agreement since their national interests especially in regards to security are threatened by an actual or potential enemy and the motive to enhance collective defence arrangement is also based on the realization that states may not be able to respond to the threats by only relying on their own capabilities thus it needs sufficient military strength in a form of collective defence which is usually formed in an alliance. Collective defence is usually established to defend against an external threat or non-member of the alliance which is harming one of the member's security thus in practice, collective defence involves giving assistance to any member of the alliance which believe that their security is threatened. Therefore, the concept involves activities such as conducting military training, implementing command structure, establishment of joint military facilities and the acquisition of equipment.³⁰

However, it is important to differentiate collective defence with collective security in which the latter concept is defined as a situation in which security arrangement are created with an objective to maintain peace and stability especially within its member thus it is different with collective defence which

²⁹ Claude Jr. Inis L, "Collective Security as an Approach to Peace", in *Classic Readings and Contemporary Debates in International Relations*, ed. Donald M, Donald M. Goldstein, Phil Williams, & Jay M. Shafritz, (Belmont, 2006), pp. 289-302

³⁰ Michael N. Schmitt, "The North Atlantic Alliance and Collective Defence at 70 : Confession and Response Revisited", *Emory International Law Review* ; Volume 34.

focuses on deterring along with defending against external threat³¹. Moreover, the difference is also seen from how both concepts are conducted since collective security involves activity such as creating a framework along with norms and rules which have an objective to bind all the memberstates toward the same behaviour in order to avoid conflict while collective defence activities are usually conducted in a form of maximizing all the allies power to stop potential threats. Both concepts are also different due to the scope of operation in which collective security are usually conducted globally while collective defence is operated exclusively on a regional scope and only applicable for member of the alliance.

Therefore, United Nation Security Council (UNSC) is one of the most prominent example of a collective security in which it has a wide range of operation and produce a resolution or framework that memberstates are obligated to obey in order to respond toward threats while NATO is known to be an example of collective defence alliance due to the daily operations conducted such as capacity building through military exercises and giving assistance to any allies of the alliance who feel like their security is challenged by an external factor.³² NATO is known to be the only security organization which envisioned the principle of collective defence since the beginning of the organization as it is stated on the Article 5 of the treaty that any attack on one of the member states is considered as an attack on all members of NATO. The alliance has only invoked the principle of collective defence under Article 5 after the 911 tragedy, however, Russia's resurging threats are also the reason why the alliance has reinforced the

³¹Anna M Ruska, "The Tale of Two Narratives : NATO as a Collective Defense and Collective Security Institution", Old Dominion University, Winter 2010.

³²Nicholas Tsagourias, "Collective Security : Theory, Law and Practice", (Cambridge : 2016)

principle in several regions on daily basis such as the Baltics, Balkans and also Arctic thus nowadays the principle is conducted in order to protect memberstates of the alliance from external threat which is Russia's use of military instrument to obtain its national interests.

With that being said, collective defence is inline with the theory of Neo-Realism in which states as rational actors will be deciding the cost and benefit before implementing the decision thus states have the choice whether to implement the collective defence or not³³. To sum it up, collective defence theoretically is defined as an arrangement in a form of an alliance with an objective to provide its allies from an external threat. Furthermore, all allies which are joining collective defence are required to provide assistance to those who are threatened whether in a form of military or non-military assistance and lastly, collective defence is limited and restricted membership covering a certain geographical area³⁴. Practically, collective defence alliance such as NATO has conducted the concept through giving assistance to those who are threatened by an external threats and the alliance has reinforced this principle through increasing adequate military capabilities, enhancing military exercises and improving command structure to established a better line of communication between all the allies.

³³ Arnold Wolfers, "*Discord and Collaboration : Essays on International Politics*",

³⁴ Geoffrey Lee William and Barkley Jared Jones, "*NATO and the Transatlantic Alliances in the 21st Century*", (Canada: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000).

1.6 Research Method and Data Gathering Technique

1.6.1 Research Method

The author would be using qualitative methods in analyzing problems which will be identified through formulating a research question and answering the question by using the datas.³⁵ Qualitative method is chosen since this method has several advantages through offering different approaches in analyzing such as through case study observations, ethnographic, grounded theory and phenomenology.³⁶ However, this research would be using the case study approach which emphasizes the importance of analyzing characteristics of real-life events which involves observing interaction between actors and reasoning behind every decision.³⁷

Qualitative research also emphasized the importance of analyzing multiple perspectives & many factors in analyzing a case-study thus creating a more complex solution and answers. Qualitative method is chosen as the method in this research as it is an interpretive type of method which highlighted that the author of this research could interpret what they have seen, read & understand and readers could also interpret after the research has been published therefore this method will show how multiple views of the problem can emerge.

1.6.2 Data Gathering Technique

Datas in this research will be gathered from books, journals, reports, articles, news, official statements, website of the government, and also

³⁵ Audie Klotz and Deepa Prakash, "*Qualitative Methods in International Relations*", (Palgrave Macmillan 2008)

³⁶ Laura Roselle and Sharon Spray, "*Research and Writing in International Relations*", (Pearson Education, Inc, 2010)

³⁷ Jennifer Mason, "*Qualitative Researching*" (London : SAGE Publications, 2002)

dissertation. After the data are collected, the author will be analyzing the sources and reading it thoroughly to get precise information and knowledge which will be useful for this research therefore the “literature studies” technique is chosen since this research will mainly analyze all the data gathered from the literature.³⁸

1.7 Research Structure

Chapter I: The first chapter of this research introduces the background of the topic, identification of the problem, research scope, research question, aim and of the research, literature review, the data gathering technique used, and research method.

Chapter II: The second chapter title would be “Militaryization of Arctic as a Threat to Norway’s National Interests and NATO’s Collective Defence Arrangement in the region”, this chapter will be discussing what are the indicators of Russia’s militaryization of the Arctic, Norway’s national interests, how the increasing military activities are constituted as a threat to Norway’s national interests and the last subchapter will be discussing NATO’s Collective Defence which is chosen as Norway’s respond to the military activities.

Chapter III: The third chapter which is “Adoption of NATO’s Collective Defence to Protect Norway’s National Interests and Balance Russia’s dominance during the Militaryization of Arctic” will be focusing on 3 main aspects which are how NATO’s Collective Defence is critical towards Norway’s survival, implementation of the collective defence and lastly how the activities would balance Russia’s hegemony

³⁸ John W Creswell, “*Research Design : Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Approaches*”, (London : SAGE Publications, 2009)

Chapter IV: Lastly, chapter four is where the Author will be presenting the research findings and concluded the research