



THE FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY PROGRAM OF THE FINNS PARTY 2022

Securing the national interest is always at the centre of all politics of the Finns Party. Because of its history, culture, values and social structures Finland is an inseparable part of Western civilization and culture.

The Finnish national security and sovereignty should never, in any circumstances, be sacrificed by referring, e.g., to an ideologically coloured and broadly interpreted notion of human rights. Strong national defense will be complemented by the future membership in the defensive military alliance NATO, as well as with existing long-term engagements in broad-based international defense cooperation.



WORLD AT A TURNING POINT

- Attempts to integrate Russia into the European security architecture failed completely.
- The challenge posed to the democratic Western world by authoritarian countries, especially by China and Russia, is real.
- Globally the number of democratic regimes is in decline.
- The norms of international agreements are no longer entirely up to date. The authoritarian regimes do not follow the obligation to respect human rights as conscientiously as the Western ones.

Russian invasion into Ukraine in February 2022 represents the end of an era in the European history. For the first time since the World War II, a conventional war is waged on the European continent between two nations. After the collapse of real socialism especially France and Germany of all of the western countries put a lot of effort into integrating Russia into the European security architecture. Not even the occupation of Crimean peninsula in the spring 2014 and the terrorism by the Russia-backed separatists in Eastern Ukraine, which lasted for years, put an end to the Western policy of appeasement.

Due to the short-sighted energy policies especially Germany had, even before the Russian invasion, slid into being totally dependent of Russian gas, oil, and coal. German governments justified the dependence on Russian energy by referring to mutual co-dependency with Russia, co-dependency claimed to be a guarantee for peace. The intense energy trade between Germany and Russia in no way what so ever had any restraining effect on Russian foreign policy. On the contrary, with the energy income from the EU-countries Russia was able to modernize its army and use the halting of gas flows as means of blackmail, when the EU after the occupation of Crimea discussed sanctions on Russia.

The optimism of the 1990s changed at the latest during the 2010s into acknowledgement of the fact that the triumph of liberal democracy and capitalism is not an inevitable global end goal of history. Globally, the number of democracies declined from 53 per cent in 2009 into 49 per cent in 2019. During this same time period, the number of people living in countries taking a more authoritarian turn rose globally from 6 percent into 34 percent. China and Russia have tried to get into a leadership role in this anti-democratic movement and declared that the alliance

between these two countries knows no boundaries. Also Turkey is a prime example of an influential country turning into an autocracy, which attempts, by means of aggressive foreign policy, to raise its importance on the global political stage.

The covid-19 pandemic, which started in 2020, revealed the vulnerability of the West in matters of producing basic goods like face masks and drugs, as they are being produced only in China. Western industrial production took serious hits, when, after China closed factories in order to slow down the pandemic, supply chains were disrupted. The integration of China into international organizations has not led into the westernization of the country. China's economic growth, since the 1980s, which was boosted by the WTO membership in 2001, has not resulted in an advancement of democracy nor civil liberties. China does not shun any means in its pursuit of becoming a global leader.

There exists serious uncertainty concerning the continuity of the so-called rule-based world order. Increasing economic protectionism and countries dividing into various blocks on political basis are global threats. The credibility of the EU as international actor was significantly weakened, when EU's second largest economic and military might Britain left the EU after the Brexit referendum in 2016. The continuity of transatlantic relations is challenged by the US interest to concentrate on the challenge presented by China, its most prominent geopolitical adversary.

On the other hand, the swift and unified response from the Western powers against Russia's cruel war of aggression shows that in the time of serious crisis the Western community of values is prepared to take serious action. At the same time, mainly Western-driven development of technologies provides in the long run humankind with vast possibilities of solving climate issues and improving the general prerequisites of human living conditions.

International agreements, drafted after the World War II are no longer entirely applicable to modern circumstances. This is particularly true of the general agreements on refugees, agreements which in their present form enable massive welfare migration from one continent to another. This, however, was not the original intention of these agreements. Especially the authoritarian countries interpret the agreements on human rights in quite a creative manner, which increases unpredictability also within international politics. Inevitably, these changes have a bearing on Europe and Finland. A naive and optimistic belief in the willingness of the non-European nations to follow international agreements as diligently as Finland is unrealistic. At the same time, the ability of the UN Security Council to function, while its members include China and Russia, has been hampered.

AS A FINNS PARTY MEMBER IN GLOBAL POLITICS

- The guiding principle of the foreign and security policy must be securing the national interest.
- Finland is an inseparable part of the Western cultural sphere.
- International trade may not weaken the national sovereignty or the security of supply.
- More attention, all the way from municipal decision making up to parliamentary degrees, has to be paid on matters concerning the security of supply.
- At the international level, Finland must bring realistic solutions into climate policy discussions and not to earn brownie points with an overambitious carbon neutrality target year of 2035.

At the very center of all Finns Party policy is always the securing of the Finnish national interest. In matters of foreign and security policy it is desirable to try to achieve a parliamentary consensus. Finland is a small export driven open economy and cannot afford to put up with dissonance among its representatives on various arenas of global politics. Our role as an international actor is strengthened by the practicing of a consistent foreign policy.

Even though parliamentary consensus is desirable within foreign and security policy it is nevertheless ill-suited to get stuck on policy alignments which in the long run weaken the global position of Finland. It is important that parliament, together with the president, is able, particularly under unexpected circumstances, quickly make decisions in order to modify foreign and security policies for the benefit of our fatherland's national security.

Because of its history, culture, values and social structures Finland is an inseparable part of Western civilization and culture. It is in the interest of Finland to commit itself to the rule-based international system, but under the current circumstances the rules must be functioning and fair. And most importantly: free riding the international economic system should end. It is not acceptable that China benefits from the open Western markets, but it itself closely protects its own economy from Western investors and companies and grinds down the rights of workers.

While writing parliamentary reports on foreign and security policy the aim must be at their veracity. The more

the foreign policy gets affected by ideological premises the more it has to be questioned from the point of view of realism. What are our true possibilities to have an effect, together with other Nordic countries and as a part of the EU, on future events? Are the aims set in the report reconcilable with Finland's national interests?

The expediency of previous international agreements and norms are to be reviewed here and now. Agreements are not to be in conflict with national security and national interests. Finland has to take a more active role within the EU, UN and within other international organizations and pursue, in cooperation with like-minded countries, in order to redefine those international agreements, which unnecessarily restrict the national decision making. Neither the Finnish national security nor sovereignty is not to be sacrificed under any circumstances, e.g., by referring to ideologically interpreted or broadly defined notions of human rights. An appropriate example of such an occasion would be Russia marching illegal immigrants to our eastern border. To prevent these persons from entering the country is a prerogative of Finland as a sovereign nation and laws for applying asylum cannot overrule this. If national security is under threat, certain civil liberties have to be restricted.

For our economy and welfare the international trade is of vital importance, but we oppose the use of free trade as pretext in order to restrict our national sovereignty. The rules governing international trade must be equally applied to all. The EU has in the 2000s actively strived for signing free trade agreements with the largest economies in the world – the USA, Canada, Japan and China. Eliminating barriers to trade and investments offers great opportunities for Finnish companies, but we cannot overlook the risks it poses to our national economy. Key sectors of the security of supply, like food supply and basic infrastructure, cannot lay open to totally unregulated economic competition. In view of the events taking place in Ukraine, more importance, all the way from municipal decision making up to parliamentary degrees, has to be placed on matters concerning the security of supply.

The competitiveness of our industrial production must be ensured and the issues of burden sharing in the context of climate agreements' must be fixed. In global climate policy it is important for Finland to discuss those factors which are the most responsible for greatest emissions. These include the global population explosion, rapidly increasing use of fossil fuels in the developing countries, and transferring industrial production to developing countries relying heavily on fossil fuels and exporting goods via seas by tankers using oil-based fuels. Finland should turn down its climate ambitions and aim at carbon neutrality not until in 2050, like the vast majority of the EU countries. The

present 2035 target is based on collecting brownie points in the salons of New York or Davos, and it does not economically or in any other way serve Finland.

Export networks in target countries must be given sufficient resources and alongside with the public sector it is necessary to use also local private actors.

RELATIONS TO THE NORDIC AND BALTIC COUNTRIES MUST BE CHERISHED

- For Finland, the Nordic countries are the closest cultural frame of reference.
- The closer Nordic cooperation benefits Finland.
- The views on Russia and the refugee policies of the Baltic countries are examples to Finland.

For Finland, the other Nordic countries are its closest partners and its natural reference group. We want to underline the importance of the Nordic co-operation, the strong cultural and historical ties between the countries as well as widely shared common values. On the global scale, the Nordic countries are unique and successful.

The Nordic way of life and the Nordic societies now face serious challenge due to increasing segregation caused by mass immigration from the third world countries and the policy of multiculturalism. Together we should cherish our Nordic heritage, overhaul the flawed policies and their adverse effects. Especially in Sweden the immigration policy has been a total failure, exemplified by the dramatic rise in street shootings and riots. Presently, Sweden has become the gun violence capital of Europe. On the other hand, Finland should learn from the Danish and Norwegian asylum policies.

The Nordic co-operation has been overshadowed by the EU since Finland has in the 1990s and in the beginning of the 21st century strived for becoming a part of EU's "core essence". With its uncritical EU-policies Finland has been an odd man out among other Nordic countries, mainly because in their EU-policy, Denmark and Sweden have always been weighing, from the point of national interest, the consequences of taking part in international agreements and co-operation. Now, there is once more a need for a closer Nordic cooperation. Working, studying and engaging in business activities within the Nordic countries and across borders must be as free as possible as well. Restrictions and ambiguities in statutes must be taken down step by step.

Also the Baltic countries are economically and politically very close to Finland. Direct co-operation with Estonia,

Latvia and Lithuania, together with the Nordic countries in so called NB8 (Nordic Baltic) cooperation as well as within EU, should be strengthened. In relation to Russia, the Baltic countries have after the Cold War period assumed a more realistic approach than Finland. Within the EU, also in the matters of asylum policy, Finland should more closely cooperate with the Baltic countries. Finland has a lot to learn from the Baltic countries for example in the fields of digitalization and digital ecosystems. Still in the beginning of the 21st century, Finland was one of the top countries in digital literacy, but has now to watch how in Estonia the public administration and Estonian firms have created amazingly innovative digital services.

PARTNERSHIP WITH BRITAIN AND THE USA MUST BE DEEPENED

- Britain is an important ally for Finland.
- In the USA, the Finnish military readiness is being appreciated.

With Brexit, Finland lost an EU-companion it shared many views with, especially those of European joint debts, internal markets and international trade. It is reasonable for Finland to develop even closer bilateral relations with Britain which is the second largest economy in Europe after Germany. Britain is the biggest military power in the Western Europe, and due to the history of the British Empire, Britain has excellent global networks. Finland must not co-operate with Britain solely through the EU, but within the realms of possibility develop bilateral co-operation projects with Britain.

The United States of America is still the only global superpower despite its relative decline of influence in economic, military and political sphere due to the rise of China. At the moment, the USA is the only Western power capable of fast response in defense of the existing the rule-based world order. Unlike Sweden, Germany and many other European countries, Finland has not downgraded its defense capability, but maintained its ability to defend its territorial integrity. This has inspired great respect in the US and provides solid basis for continuously closer Finnish-American cooperation. Also within the EU, it is sensible that Finland supports the US aims of damming up the Chinese strive for hegemony.

EU IS A MEANS, NOT AN END IN ITSELF

- The internal market of the EU is a large single market, but in world politics the EU is a secondary actor.
- The consensus rule should not be abandoned within the EU decision-making.
- EU's debt-based recovery packages and its climate policy greatly burden Finland.
- Being a NATO member, security policy can no longer be used as a pretext for weak-willed EU policy.
- It is desirable that joining NATO brings Finland closer to the more realistic EU policies of Denmark and Sweden.

The EU is both the largest economic region in the world and globally the most significant exporter of goods and services. The material wealth of the EU does not correspond with its global influence which in comparison with the USA, China, Russia and India is rather modest. The EU has excelled rather as a recipient of refugees and development aid donor, but in great geopolitical struggles it never has a decisive role. This is not to be considered as a mere disadvantage as it shows that the European continent still is a mosaic of cultures and peoples. It is practically impossible for such a heterogeneous continent always to be united in matters of world politics.

The Finns Party does not support the use of qualified majority rule in the common foreign policy making of the EU, since in such circumstances the large EU countries could, regardless of the Finnish view, make foreign policy decisions which could threaten our national interest. The concord shown by the EU countries condemning Russia's brutal war of aggression shows that, if necessary, also in the context of demanded consensus, the Union can make the necessary decisions.

In the recent years the EU has been attempting to increase integration in sectors that are not beneficial to Finland and in the long run weaken the on-budget entities' capability to take care, among other things, of the credible national defense. Under the disguise of covid-19 pandemic, the recovery package approved in the EU brought liabilities of billions of euros to Finland and created a precedent that southern European countries, ignoring for decades the good financial management, can also in the future rely on gifts of money from northern Europe.

Since Russia began its war of aggression into Ukraine especially France and Italy have become activated in demanding for yet another joint debt instrument. The southern Europe, supported by the Commission furthering federalism at each turn, wants to outsource the massive costs caused by their mistakes in energy policy and the reliance on Russian gas, to other European countries.

Under the leadership of Ursula von der Leyen the EU Commission has adopted as its main goal the struggle against climate change and subordinated all legislation to serve this goal. It is a significant imago-political goal for the EU to be the first carbon neutral continent by the year 2050. The EU climate goals are especially problematic for Finland because the burden of emission reductions is not equally distributed. At the same time of being willing to give the Eastern European countries like Poland a long transition period for abandoning coal, the EU wants to turn the Finnish forest in a carbon sink in order to compensate things left undone by other countries. The EU has totally failed in its attempt to get other great polluters like China and India to respond in kind to the climate ambitions of the EU. Due to the changed European security environment the Commission must pay more attention to matters concerning with the security of supply in delineating climate policies. Most importantly, the food and energy self-sufficiency of the EU countries must not be sacrificed to this Green deal.

Finland's reactionary and soft EU-policy has often been justified by claiming that the EU backs Finland against Russia. This argument has always been questionable, as the EU is not a defensive military alliance and the article 42.7 does not provide genuine security guarantees for EU members. With the NATO-membership Finland receives genuine security guarantees and no longer security policy can be used as a pretext for following the large EU-countries or the Commission in the decision-making process of the Union. It is to be hoped for that joining NATO brings Finland closer to the more realistic EU policies of Denmark and Sweden.

In the future Finland has to cooperate more closely with other net contributor countries in order to further its own goals. The long-reigning Finnish doctrine that a strong Commission is the best security for a small country must be abandoned. In every turn the European Commission is increasing the executive power of the EU in matters that are best taken care of in Finland. In debating the matters of budget and common debt the Commission has always openly sided with the southern European countries and not acted as independent intermediary between the countries.

RUSSIA HAS LOST ITS CREDIBILITY AS A PARTNER

- Using power politics Russia attempts to create a buffer zone out of the old Soviet republics which are not members in NATO.
- In the background of Russia's aggressive foreign policy is the need to divert the attention away from its internal weaknesses.
- Even after the conflict in Ukraine is over, the Finnish-Russian relations will not go back to the way they were. In the future cooperation more attention must be paid to the aspects of national security.

All those naive illusions the Western powers had of Russia were shattered once and for all after our eastern neighbour started an unprovoked war of aggression against Ukraine. Russian attack was preceded by peculiar months long rounds of talks, which pointed out that present Russian leadership had become engulfed in reasoning affected by historical revisionism and paranoid conspiracy theories. President Vladimir Putin's cabinet seems to hold a serious belief that NATO has expanded eastward and bordering Russia in order to launch attack on mainland Russia.

Putin's Russia sees all old Soviet republics as its near abroad and considers their turn towards Western integration to be a direct provocation and a threat to Russia. Russia's aim is to create around itself a buffer zone out of non-NATO members. For this reason, interfering with the internal affairs of Ukraine, Georgia, Kazakhstan and Belarus, also militarily if necessary, is, according to the Russian regime, a legitimate Russian interest. In Russia, integrating the Baltic countries into Western alliances raises anger, because Russia realizes it cannot match the collective military might of NATO countries. Therefore against the Baltic states Russia exerts pressure for instance through cyber attacks.

Russia's internal weaknesses are a key factor in explaining the aggressiveness of Russia's foreign policy. During the first decade of the Putin era, the economic growth was strong in Russia, thanks to and income from selling raw materials. After the financial crisis and Crimean occupation the economic growth in Russia has been modest and little by little discontent has grown among the people despite the massive propaganda by the state media. Negative demographic development in Russia, inability to versify

economics, and massive corruption have all contributed to the Russian regime seeking legitimacy for its rule from foreign policy adventures. Due to this, worsening Western relations is considered a lesser evil than an emergence of political alternative to the present regime.

The war in Ukraine has totally shattered the trust that Russia could be an honest and reliable partner. The previous bilateral bonds built by Finland will not be the same, not even after the war in Ukraine ends. It is impossible to imagine that there would be, e.g., joint Finnish-Russian energy sector ventures in any foreseeable future. Also Russian investments into Finland will be more closely monitored in the future even if the relations between the West and Russia would become normalized on some level. It is naturally beneficial for Finland if it will possible to internationally trade with Russia, but in the future the aspect of national security must be taken into consideration more closely than at the present has taken place.

Russia has attempted to present itself as an equal partner with China, even though in reality Russia is in terms of population size, economically and technologically much weaker than its ally. Russia's relative weakness and the imprudent attack against Ukraine are becoming a problem for China, which aims at becoming little by little a new world leader surpassing the USA. Also, China has considerable economic interests to defend in the Western countries, interests it is not willing to sacrifice for Russia. Still, a deepening cooperation between Russia and China is a great treat for the West especially if these countries manage to win over other populous countries of the world like India, Indonesia or Brazil.

NEW ORIENTATION OF CHINA POLICY, RELATIONS TO JAPAN MUST BE INTENSIFIED

- China is developing into an ever harsher autocracy. The Chinese government does not tolerate the criticism of its internal affairs.
- Creating a common Western front against China is beneficial to Finland.
- Finland's natural ally in East-Asia is Japan.

For a long time Finland and other Western countries have been naive when it comes to the social development of Chinese society and the long term strategies adopted by the Chinese leaders. Under the present leadership of Xi Jinping China has moved towards deeper levels of despotism, a fact which has been exemplified by the increased aggressiveness of Chinese foreign policy. China is not only striving for becoming a regional power, but it wants to reshape the international in order to serve its interests.

The Chinese government does not take criticism from Western countries or companies. Any type of criticism of the social conditions in China has been met with an effort of silencing it by trade boycotts or blatant and provocative statements of so called wolf warrior diplomats. Reactions to this Chinese unscrupulousness have often been weak, because Western companies often withdraw their justified criticism and make apologies in order not to lose their important Chinese customers.

Finland must support efforts of creating a common Western front against China. During this century, the greatest economic, political and military challenge to the West comes from China and it cannot be met, if Western countries are in discord when it comes to the Asian giant. In future, the European Union must express its swift support to those member countries, which face, like Lithuania, Chinese diplomatic and economic boycotts. Also non-European countries facing aggressive Chinese policies, like Australia, must be supported and the EU cannot, because of the fear of economic sanctions, take a passive stand.

In matters of joint scientific research Finland has not paid sufficient attention to the Chinese industrial espionage and stealing of innovations. The English-speaking master's programs of Finnish universities are full of Chinese students. This should raise the alarm, not mere admiration within the universities' administration. China exports in huge numbers gifted individuals, especially in the field of natural sciences, all over the world, but we cannot be blind to the fact that China expects its citizens to further proper Chinese interest when abroad.

In East-Asia Finland would benefit of having deeper

bilateral relations with Japan. Like Finland, Japan is concerned over preserving the rule-based world order under the pressure of the Chinese-Russian block striving from hegemony. Being an island nation with few natural resources Japan had to come up with innovative solutions concerning the security of supply, an example Finland should follow. In order to more widely preserve the stability of East Asia and the Pacific region it would be desirable that Japan could, without compromising its relations to the USA, take responsibility more for its own defense. Rising China has seriously rocked the Asian power balance, and for the democratic counterbalancing Japan, alongside with South Korea and Taiwan, is instrumental.

THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE ARCTIC IS INCREASING

- The coming decades will accentuate the importance of the Arctic region.
- It is in Finland's interest that there will be no mounting tension in the Arctic region.
- Potential Russian and Chinese land and real estate transactions or other types of investments in Northern Finland should be treated with special caution.

The coming decades will enhance the importance of the Arctic area because of its ample natural resources and with the climate change, due to its sea routes.

Thus it is no surprise that Russia and China will increase their presence in the area. The utilization of the Arctic natural resources is of vital importance for Russia even if it wants to be just a regional power. Russia, in order to strengthen its position in the arctic region, has reopened Soviet-era military bases and developed its defense systems in the region. China, in its arctic strategy, has labelled itself more a less arctic country and announced that it will build an "Arctic Silk Road".

The future prospects of the Arctic region are interwoven with the Russian and Chinese challenge to the US security policy. Therefore the United States has increased its presence in the Arctic, often in cooperation with the Nordic countries. Official US strategies see the Arctic as a region of an accelerating struggle for hegemony, as a region where the United States has to defend its interests. It is in the Finnish national interest that geopolitical tension does not mount in the Arctic region. A significant part of our country is in the Arctic region and thus directly an object of foreign interest. Also for this reason, potential Russian and Chinese land and real estate transactions or other types of investments in Northern Finland should be treated with special caution.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF TECHNOLOGY BECOMES ENTANGLED WITH THE SUPERPOWER STRUGGLE

- The superpower struggle between the USA and China strongly affects the developing of technologies.
- Finland must clearly define the critical areas of expertise from the defense system's point of view and direct national science, technology and innovation funding to these areas.

The development of technology and science will have a revolutionary impact on international megatrends. The set of new ground breaking technology areas is very broad, multidisciplinary, and rapidly evolving. Militarily important new technologies are no longer in the hands of states as they have been mainly industry-led developed and based on civil research.

In the superpower struggle between the USA and China, trade policy and technological development have become politicized and gained new strategic importance in pursuit of economic success and control over international influence enabled by new technologies. The essential question is, that which countries are able to harness new technologies to support their influence and how countries have access to this information and know-how in the first place. Here China and other undemocratic countries have an unfair competitive advantage.

In regulating technologies internationally the United States has relied on open markets, China on a state-led system and the EU on taking into account the rights of individuals. All aforementioned effects the direction the regulation of international security issues is heading. It is a matter of a global struggle including political, military, economic as well as cultural elements.

From the military point of view the need for high technological know-how is combined not only with developing military effectiveness based on technological advantage, but in growing extent also with a broader agenda of security policy; intelligence, soft security threats based on information supremacy and social manipulation. The key technology choices might divide countries into totally new interest groups.

The militarily relevant set of new technology areas is very broad and rapidly developing. It includes for example artificial intelligence, robotics and machine autonomy, cyber technology, space technology, quantum technology, synthetic and computational biology, augmented reality technologies, 5G/6G net technologies, nano technologies, materials technologies and new energy sources.

In Finland, many new areas of technology have high

international level of competence, but as the pace of technological development is picking up, the importance of technology foresight by the state increases as well as the importance of science, technology and innovation policies and investments. In Finland, it must be clearly defined what are the critical areas of expertise from the defense system's point of view and after that also direct national science, technology and innovation funding to these areas.

BRAND NEW APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

- The results of the implemented development aid cooperation are not convincing. Development policy must be based on research on its functionality and impact.
- Development aid should be given only from a budget surplus.
- The migration pressure caused by the African population explosion is a serious challenge to Europe.
- In Africa, education, the position of the women and controlling the population growth must be invested in.
- Development policy must take into account the ecological factors so that people are not compelled to flee from their homes.

The development aid practices of Finland and Europe after the WWII have turned out to be a failure. Pouring immeasurable sums of money especially into the sub-Saharan Africa has caused a population explosion, but it has not produced a virtuous circle which would have enabled the functioning internal trade in Africa or that production chains would have developed so that the countries of the continent could provide for themselves. In addition, a considerable amount of development aid funds flown to the tax haven accounts owned by the elites of the developing countries and to the general administrative corruption.

It is tragic, that the utter poverty has not significantly diminished in the sub-Saharan Africa even if this region has been one of the main beneficiaries of the aid sponsored by Finland and other Western countries. Neither the development of democracies has been what was anticipated, the autocratic regimes are the norm. Continuing the ineffective development aid projects in Africa is often motivated not by the will to help, but the feeling of collective guilt originating from the era of European colonialism. Also there is the urge of securing the continuous employment

of well-paid Western officials working in the development cooperation projects with the constant flow of money from Europe to Africa.

Due to 14 years of continuous negative development of Finnish government debt, it is not sustainable to maintain the present level of Finnish development aid. Development aid should be given only from a surplus budget, and the aid must come with more precise monitoring and follow-up systems in order to control that the given aid is genuinely useful and that the money does not go to the administration corruption of the developing countries. It must be required without any exception that all countries receiving Finnish development aid take back their citizens who have been rejected as asylum seekers or deported from Finland.

Finland has to stop the humanitarian immigration and part of the thus saved money can be directed to develop the UN run refugee camps and to the crisis management. However, crisis management cannot mean sea taxis, the human trafficking over the Mediterranean Sea.

Development cooperation needs to find means to enable people to make a living where they live and thus reduce the migration pressure in Europe and also in Finland. Rapid population growth in many African countries will be a big challenge in the future. For example, it has been predicted that the population of Niger will grow from 21 million to 65 million by the year 2050. It has been predicted that in Niger's neighboring state Nigeria the population will reach over 400 million. Even at this moment there are 400 million African people, aged from 15 to 35, many of which have the desire to escape their miserable social circumstances to Europe. The ageing of the European population combined with the significantly younger population in Africa and also in the Middle East, their dysfunctional societies and lack of prospects increase the possibility of a large scale migration.

The Finnish development cooperation must be more closely tied with factors that simultaneously contribute to controlling migration and managing refugee crises. These factors include, e.g., promoting education and improving the position of women. In order to control population growth the availability of contraceptives should be improved, and countries themselves should make plans in order to tackle the population growth.

Increasing deforestation in Africa can lead to collapsing ecosystems and disturbances in water balance in vast areas. In that case food production and food security are at stake, which can lead to mass exodus from these regions. The Finnish development aid must be tied to an ecologically sustainable land use planning.

During the last decades Finland has also had successes in Africa. Preventing and solving conflicts is one of Finland's strengths. Finland should take advantage of its good name and establish closer commercial relations with devel-

oping countries. In the future, many developing countries can be important market areas for Finnish companies.

NATIONAL DEFENSE IS A STRONG BEDROCK

- The general conscription ensures the adequate number of reservists in order to defend the whole territory of Finland
- National defense requires resources and efficient troops.
- The will to defend the country must be nourished and cherished. The civic duty of national defense and the security of our fatherland are our common interests.

The bedrock of Finland's independence and its territorial integrity is a strong national defense. The Finnish defense strategy is based on conscription, which ensures an adequate number of reservists in order to defend the whole territory of Finland. The efficient and functioning ability to mobilize and the high level of the willingness to defend the country are the cornerstones of our defense. The strong national defense is complemented by the coming membership in defensive military alliance NATO as well as the long previous international defense cooperation.

Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine has shown that the Finnish preparedness is on an excellent level and from the defense point of view things have been done correctly.

We have kept up the broad-based conscription and the high-level military effectiveness thus maintaining the credibility of our defense.

The existence of an adequately trained reserve needed in war time conditions must be secured. In the future, national defense faces a challenge of maintaining an adequate well-trained reserve because due to the low birth rates the size of age-classes entering the conscription decreases. Therefore, the number of those in service should be increased in different ways like extending call-up system to the entire age-class. Women taking part in call-ups is to be recommended as it spreads knowledge of national defense and widely increases interest in matters of comprehensive security as well as the will to defend the country. However, conscription should also in the future be a civic duty of men.

The conscription must be developed by introducing various types of service duties for people with different assessments of fitness for service. Various forms of cyber and hybrid influencing are part of the present warfare, like also unmanned drones and different autonomous weapon systems. Having various health conditions like diabetes must not in itself automatically prevent anyone from entering

the service. Assignments suitable for those with a "C" in the assessment of fitness for service must be reconsidered so that instead of discharging them from service they could better be included in the national defense work.

We welcome the renewal of the civil service. The civil service renewal should be developed into a kind of civic service which would offer education on matters of comprehensive security and social preparedness and practical training, in which case civil service would offer a new way for women to contribute to comprehensive security on a voluntary basis.

One way of increasing the significance of the conscription and civil service is to recognize the expertise received through military service and develop this recognizing nationally and in official cooperation in such a way that the knowledge, information, skills and the value produced by military service is recognized widely and uniformly in the society. For its part, this may encourage to complete one's military service and entice volunteers to attend military or civil service. Both during conscription and civil service education must be meaningful, challenging enough and ascending.

In the future national defense and conscription will be challenged by immigration, fragmentation of the common set of values and the world citizen ideology. To counter this development a course of study dealing with national defense and comprehensive security should be added to the school curriculum either as a course of its own or as a part of civic studies. The general awareness of national defense strengthens the intergenerational willingness to defend the country.

The Defense Forces must be able to maintain efficient troops, and the competence and performance of the troops must also be developed. From the national defense point of view, the number of exercises for reservists should be increased. At the moment the number of yearly educated reservists is much less than 20 000, and the number must be increased. Our defense capability rest on the broad, educated and competent reserve and on this we should not negotiate.

Shooting skills of the reserve must be upheld in cooperation with reservist and national defense organizations, as the mere Defense Forces' training is not enough to maintain and develop shooting skills. Also the possibilities of voluntarily engaging in shooting sports must be improved in Finland, as the voluntary practice of shooting directly serves to the needs of national defense. All this requires that there is an extensive network of shooting ranges. Creating better conditions for shooting and improving of shooting skills must not be hampered for example through the EU's ban on lead in ammunition. These kinds of acts directly impair the conditions and the practicing activities of reservists' associations and voluntary defense training. The role of the police and the rescue service must be increased in national defense courses and in the training for

crisis preparedness.

The importance of reserve duty must be emphasized. Expertise voluntarily gained while in reserve should be utilized in setting war-time placement. The Defense Forces must keep in active contact with reservists as this increases the commitment and keeps up the high willingness to defend the country among citizens. Organizing national defense must be updated to meet the Defense Forces' evolving needs as well as the development of the digital information society in Finland.

Finland should withdraw from the Ottawa Treaty, which prohibits the anti-personnel landmines. Even though the Defense Forces presently have an extensive stockpile of mines, Claymore mines and off-route mines, the military effectiveness lost by giving up anti-personnel land mines, it is important to note that it has not been possible to fully replace the deterrence effect. Anti-personnel land mines are one the most cost-effective and efficient deterrents, and they are still being used by major armies. In addition, in Finland the use of the land mines has been responsible as there have been exact maps of mine placements.

The domestic arms production and defense industry are factors securing the national security of supply and the security of maintenance. The proportion of the domestic defense industry should be resolutely raised. The security of maintenance of the critically important arms systems and the functioning chains of supply in crises situations is being maintained through good, long-term international defense materiel cooperation.

The resources of the Defense Forces must be sufficient in order to secure the conscription and the military performance of the troops. The defense budget must be permanently increased to the level of over 2 percent of the GNP. Also the NATO membership sets the national target of defense spending at 2 percent, which is the commonly set target by the NATO countries.

The membership in the defensive military alliance NATO increases the credibility to our national defense and forms a credible deterrence. The NATO membership considerably improves the Finnish security of supply. In NATO, Finland can fully participate in the decision making process and gains access to the real-time situational awareness of the Alliance.

In addition to investing in military effectiveness Finland has to invest more heavily in cyber defense and getting protected against hybrid influencing. As a part of NATO, Finland has the possibility of developing its cyber security know-how and hybrid expertise so that the actions of our eastern neighbor can be met more effectively. NATO's military power, its military effectiveness and security guarantees act as concrete deterrence against an invasion into Finland. Finland also strengthens its identity as a Western nation by its full membership in NATO.

INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE CO-OPERATION OFFERS BENEFITS

- The Finnish defense cooperation must benefit Finland's national defense and strengthen our position in matters of defense and security policy
- Shared interests and values play a part in Finnish defense cooperation partnerships.
- In NATO, only the member countries have security guarantees.

The Finnish defense cooperation must always benefit Finland's national defense and strengthen our position in matters of defense and security policy. Same applies to participating in the international peace keeping operations. Due to limited resources Finland's participating in cooperation projects must be prioritized and in prioritizing the similar, coinciding interests and values have an effect on choosing the partner countries. The most important bilateral partners for Finland are Sweden and the United States.

The defense cooperation between Finland and Sweden increases the security and stability in the vitally important Baltic Sea region. Cooperation must be developed into also covering the times of crisis and war. The cooperation with the United States must be broadened and deepened through, among other things, joint military exercises and defense materiel cooperation. The trilateral cooperation with Sweden and the United States and, on the other hand with Sweden and Norway, support for their part the developing of defense and the military security of supply.

Especially JEF (Joint Expeditionary Force) led by Britain offers possibilities for developing the more concrete forms of cooperation. The permanent structured cooperation of the EU and the European Defense Fund offer possibilities both for utilizing the EU funding and developing military effectiveness. The financing possibilities provided by the EU should be utilized to a maximum.

The EU solidarity clause does not mean a common defense, but various other forms of support countries can give to each other. Those EU members that belong to NATO organize their defense together with NATO's effectiveness and no overlaps between the EU and NATO are wanted even though synergy benefits are being looked for. The NATO membership also significantly increases the possibilities of utilizing existing bilateral and multilateral structures of defense cooperation.

NATO, the defensive military alliance, is the only international actor giving security guarantees to its members. The advantage of NATO membership lies not only in the

common defense, but most importantly the membership acts as a disincentive for a potential actor capable of militarily threatening a member country. Therefore, Finland's membership in NATO not only offers support to counter an armed attack, but also to prevent it, which in itself is the most significant advantage of NATO membership. Joining NATO does not limit the Finnish independence and NATO does not compete with nation states in a similar fashion as the European Union does. As prior to the NATO membership, being a NATO member means that Finland has to take care of its own defense capability.

WE HAVE TO BE PREPARED AGAINST NEW KINDS OF THREATS

- There is reason to update the necessary protocols in Finland in order to better counter hybrid operations and cyber attacks.
- In order to counter the instrumentalisation of migration, denying access to asylum procedure must be possible.
- Globally the National Emergency Supply Agency is a unique institution. Its funding should be increased.
- Peat must be reinstated as a national energy source.
- The legal right to obtain a dual citizenship must be cancelled.

In the context of broad security preparedness, preparedness must be modernized in order to recognize the real and presently existing threats. In hybrid warfare both military and non-military instruments are being used, covert and information operations, cyber attacks, stirring up social conflicts as well as creating ambiguity and instability. Broad-based preparedness against various non-military threats requires efficient measures and adequate resources. The national security management arrangements must be evaluated and updated so that Finland can effectively counter and control multiple and synchronized threats. The role of Prime Minister's Office as a leader in crisis concerning the national security must be strengthened and in similar fashion the common work of the government by establishing a cabinet minister group for the national security. For example, the risk evaluation of the Hanhikivi nuclear power plant would have been finished sooner if the coordination between different officials had functioned better and if the leadership structures in matters of national security

would have been more transparent between the different branches of administration. Even if the European Centre of Excellence for Countering Hybrid Threats is located in Finland it is not a national administrative body. For this reason, countering hybrid threats as well as possible reorganizing has to take place between different administrative branches.

Hybrid influencing is deliberately used in order to blur the borders of war and peace. Wide-ranging hybrid influencing is used for furthering political aims, trying to influence Finnish military preparedness and overall readiness. Hybrid influencing uses a wide range of means, but from the Finnish point of view one of the most acute hybrid threats is Russia orchestrating a mass influx of migrants to our eastern border, i.e., instrumentalisation of migration. During the summer 2022, the Finnish parliament is in the process of passing laws, long required by the Finns Party, in order to accordingly counter hybrid influencing attacks using immigrants as proxy actors. According to legislation, it must be possible temporarily to deny access to asylum procedure in case the instrumentalisation of migration is used as a weapon of influence. In the name of national security and if necessary, Finland must be able to close its borders and reject all border crossings and asylum applications.

In a worst-case scenario, cyber attacks can cripple the Finnish strategic infrastructure like information or energy networks. The consequences of a cyber attack can be as devastating as those of an armed attack, in case the operational readiness of society is successfully paralyzed.

Hybrid attacks emphasize the importance of resilience under crisis situation as well as the internal unity of the nation. Hybrid influencing can take the form of state actors conducting influence activities for example prior to elections or when important political decisions are being made. For this reason, we, the Finns Party, support the traditional Finnish electoral system in order to prevent illegal interference with the process of election and to secure free elections.

Efficient counter measures must be found in order to counter cyber treats to financial system. The possibility of serious disturbances in mind, sufficient safety mechanism should be created in order to secure the functioning payment system under crisis situation. The National Emergency Supply Agency is a unique institution, and its funding should be increased.

The mistakes of the energy policy should be corrected also from the point of having the security of supply in mind. The ill-advised decision of giving up peat should be cancelled. Peat is a fully domestic energy source and also from the point of the security of supply of critical importance. Of the solid domestic fuels, it is the only one that can

be stored in large quantities for a couple of years. The best choice in order to secure the electricity needs of the energy intensive Finnish industry is nuclear power. It would be wise to consider ordering nuclear plants from Japan.

Foreign investments must be encouraged, but the acquisitions of companies must be more tightly monitored in the cases of firms central to national defense and of high expertise. Getting permits to sell real estate and the rules for selling to persons coming from outside of the EU/EEA area must be once more restricted. In Finland the right to a dual citizenship must be cancelled because it does not serve its purpose due to the changed security environment. In the future a foreigner must give up the citizenship of the country of his or her birth when applying for the Finnish citizenship. Now the persons having a dual citizenship must not be allowed to get Defense Forces' jobs central to national security or similar jobs elsewhere within the state administration. If cancelling a dual citizenship proves to be politically too difficult, a good compromise would be to grant a dual citizenship only to those who have their other citizenship from an OECD country.

In the future the military space technology will have an even bigger role because of the satellite intelligence. The situational awareness, e.g., of Russian intelligence satellites and of the capability of reducing the threat of spy satellites requires from the Defense Forces expertise and resources. Finland must in the best possible way to be able to make use of the civil expertise. More attention must be paid on the possible military use of various smallsats. As in conventional warfare, preparedness for space war includes the paramount possibility of establishing a preemptive threshold against the use military force.

DISINTEGRATION OF INTERNAL SECURITY MUST BE STOPPED

- Immigration and the policy of multiculturalism weaken the social cohesion and thus directly the general will to defend the country
- Organized crime and the immigrants' youth gangs must decisively be dealt with.
- Adequate funding must be guaranteed to the police force in order to guarantee the safety of the the citizens.

Because of the latest global developments, the spheres of national security and internal security can no longer be regarded as two separate things. Especially the mass immigration from third world countries into Finland not only weakens our inner cohesion and the public sector but it

also weakens Finland's capability to counter outer threats. For more than 30 years, during the time of the immigration into Finland has increased, the Finnish immigration policy has lacked any long-term strategic planning.

Fragmentation of society, caused by immigration, directly affects the general will to defend the country as citizens witness tax euros being misused for integration. It has not been considered necessary in Finland to take a lesson from the mistakes made by other Western European countries in multicultural social integration. According to this doctrine, the state should actively support the position of the cultures, languages and religions of those immigrating into Finland. The Finnish policy of multiculturalism is following the Swedish way in which immigrants originating from Islamic countries have begun building their own micro societies based on Islamic values and norms. At the same time, the low employment rate among these immigrants, their high dependency on social welfare system and other problems have transformed into an intergenerational challenge.

It has been stated that the neighborhoods dominated by immigrants in European cities offer favourable surroundings for criminality and radicalization. Also in Finland, the internal regional differentiation of the capitol area is continuing and even intensified. The poor and the underprivileged live in their own neighborhoods, the educated, privileged ones in theirs. According to research, there exists an undeniable correlation between the number of foreign speakers in an area and its socio-economical state. In addition, there are indications that ethnic Finns move away from areas labelled as disadvantaged and inhabited by immigrants. At the same time when different forms of being disadvantaged pile up, this burdens in growing extent especially the health care sector and social services in these areas.

Instead of multiculturalism, commitment to Finnish social rules and basic values should be stressed in Finland. The practice one's religion and following one's own cultural norms, in case they do not violate the Finnish laws, should be each immigrant's private matter.

The organized crime can be considered as one of the main threats to internal security in Finland. It has been estimated that the number of gangs with ties to organized crime has increased in Finland during the past years. It has also been estimated, that the gang activities have turned international and more violent. Solving this problem requires, that the problem is being recognized within legislation. In practice, it means that the severity of punishment should be increased. Due to increased immigration organized crime has taken new forms. The formation of violent gangs of youngsters with immigrant background should be

made as difficult as possible beforehand. Those taking part in criminal activities should be deported, at the latest after they have served their sentences. In crime prevention, the immigration policy is of central importance. In order to combat organized crime, sufficient resources must be secured for all those in charge of internal security.

Securing the functioning police force is the key in maintaining internal security in Finland. In proportion to population, Finland has fewer police men and women than many other EU nations. For a long time the funding of the police has been insufficient. The police must be granted a permanent increase in funding in order to secure an effective police force and to safeguard the security of the Finns. It is of importance, that extra funding for police is directed to all levels of investigation. This directly increases the chance that criminals are being caught.

The continuous shortage of resources unreasonably increases the work load of the police force and reduces the appeal of the field. The level of appeal to apply for the profession has long-term consequences. Continuous shortages of funds jeopardize citizens' rights to get help in a reasonable time and anywhere in Finland. At the present, the response times greatly differ in different areas.

Using sufficient resources, the average time used for investigations must be shortened and there must be an attempt to raise the percentage of solved crimes. For the social stability it is crucially important that citizens maintain their trust in the police also in the future.



FINNS PARTY