

THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

SUSTAINABLE SECURITY:  
THE TRANSATLANTIC COMMUNITY AND GLOBAL CHALLENGES

A DISCUSSION WITH  
NORWEGIAN PRIME MINISTER ERNA SOLBERG

Washington, D.C.

Wednesday, January 10, 2018

**PARTICIPANTS:**

**Introduction:**

BRUCE JONES  
Vice President and Director, Foreign Policy  
The Brookings Institution

**Keynote Remarks:**

H.E. ERNA SOLBERG  
Prime Minister  
Kingdom of Norway

**Conversation:**

BRUCE JONES  
Vice President and Director, Foreign Policy  
The Brookings Institution

H.E. ERNA SOLBERG  
Prime Minister  
Kingdom of Norway

\* \* \* \* \*

## P R O C E E D I N G S

MR. JONES: Good morning, everybody. I see we're standing room only. I very much appreciate you all being here.

I'm Bruce Jones. I'm the vice president and the director for Foreign Policy here at Brookings, and it's my pleasure to welcome to Brookings Prime Minister Erna Solberg of the Kingdom of Norway for today's Alan and Jane Batkin International Leaders Forum.

For four years, the Batkin Forum has served as Brookings' most visible platform for engaging key global leaders, including most recently Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras of Greece, Indonesian President Joko Widodo, and U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights Zeid Al Hussein. And it's a privilege and a pleasure to welcome Prime Minister Solberg to this forum.

Now in her second term, following an upset and a substantial electoral victory, the prime minister has led the Norwegian government since 2013. Her election to that office follows a career in public service, representing the county of Hordaland since 1989. And she has a tremendous background in public service which will be reflected in her remarks today titled "Sustainable Security: The Transatlantic Community and Global Challenges," in which she'll examine the broad sweep of foreign policy issues confronting the transatlantic partners. And it's an honor to have her lay out her vision of these issues this morning before she has a second appointment of some importance with President Trump and his national security team later today.

We are, by the way, privileged at Brookings to receive generous support from the government of Norway as we conduct our own independent research on this range of transatlantic and global challenges, and I'm grateful for the support as I am for Norway's respect for our independence. And today's remarks, as always, reflect the views of the speakers, not of the institution. But we could ask for no better speaker on

the subject. She knows the matters well from her current office as well as from her wealth of experience from her time on Norway's parliamentary Standing Committee on Foreign and Defense Affairs and her service as the head of the Parliament's delegation to NATO's Parliamentary Assembly.

Following the remarks I'll join the prime minister on stage for a discussion and some Q&A. And you can Tweet about it under #NorwayPM. So let me welcome you to the stage, Prime Minister. (Applause)

PRIME MINISTER SOLBERG: Ladies and gentlemen, thank you and thank you for the invitation. It's a great honor for me to be here at Brookings.

President Roosevelt once told the world to look to Norway. Maybe it's only we who remember it, but. (Laughter) We, for our part, have always tended to look to the U.S. A century ago, we looked to the U.S. for new opportunities and thousands of Norwegians crossed the Atlantic in pursuit of their dreams and their new lives.

During the Second World War we looked to the U.S. for refuge and for support, and we found an ally to counter in the darkest hours of our nation's history. And when the dust of the war settled, we would once again look to the United States for help to rebuild our country, restore our economy, and to keep us safe.

But more than anything else, the greatness of this country is the power of its ideals and the courage of its citizens, and the world has looked to the U.S. for inspiration and leadership. In fact, the founding fathers of the modern Norway did just that in 1814, when they drew up our Constitution. They looked to the principles enshrined in the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights, the principles of liberty, freedom, and individual rights; of free speech, of democracy, and the rule of law; principles that laid the ground for free trade, free men, and after some time free women, and free markets; principles that would make the U.S. prosper in very many areas.

So it's no wonder that Europeans immigrated to America and we would

still be doing that if it had not been for the visionary U.S. leadership after the Second World War. In fact, a series of long-term political investments would forever transform the European societies and carry the ideas of the Founding Fathers far beyond the U.S. borders: investments in international law and robust multilateral systems, investment in a new European security architecture with a strong NATO at its heart, and at least investment in European reconstruction with the Marshall Plan as the main instrument.

In hindsight, it is easy to take these efforts for granted. Yet few at that time would have imagined that the benefits would surpass the costs to the extent that they have. Once a liability, Europe became an asset for the U.S., one of the most stable and prosperous regions in the world, a huge export market, a staunch ally, a humanitarian giant, and a net contributor to peace and security across the globe.

Today we face greater uncertainties than we have done for decades. Turmoil and instability in the belt extending from the Sahel region, with Syria and Iraq, to Afghanistan has given rise to terrorism and new waves of migration. And to the east we do see a more assertive Russia, a Russia that is increasing its military capabilities and reducing the democratic space at home; a Russia that shook the foundation of international architecture by illegally annexing parts of its neighboring country in 2014.

In the Far East, North Korea is quickly progressing towards nuclear capabilities that could threaten targets across the globe, creating serious concerns about the future proliferation, rising tension, and the risk of a major crisis.

Universal values are coming under increasing pressure in several countries, values that the Founding Fathers considered self-evident: democracy, the rule of law, and the basic human rights. The situation in the Western world may seem less dire, yet in the fact of rapid change feelings of uncertainty are taking root. We sense a growing distrust in international cooperation and in commitments. And democracy comes under pressure under such circumstances.

It would make little sense to dismantle the structures and the principles that have brought us the world, the security, welfare, and technology that we are enjoying today. But the growing distrust and the lack of confidence must be taken seriously as they can threaten political stability, cooperation, and our joint ability to take collective action.

So how is Norway trying to navigate in these uncertain waters? I believe it's now more important than ever that we stick to these fundamental principles.

Firstly, we must uphold international law and the international legal order that has shaped the world since the Second World War, and that has brought unprecedented wealth and security to a much larger number of people across the whole world, including in our societies. Indeed, the defense of these principles is not only valuable in its own right. It's also a defense of Norway, the U.S., our citizens, and our welfare. And furthermore, it's by far the most cost-effective form of defense.

Secondly, we need more and closer international cooperation, including a strong transatlantic bond. International cooperation may seem cumbersome and inefficient sometimes. But history has demonstrated that the alternatives are far worse. We are safer and stronger when we stand together with other countries. That's why we must make sure that international organizations remain relevant and fit for purpose.

The U.N. is the most important international meeting place. No other organization has the same legitimacy when it comes to developing international law, global norms, and joint solutions. However, the U.N. needs to adapt to a world that is facing new challenges and new power constellations. And the U.N. must constantly revise and renew its approach to be able to function effectively and retain its relevance.

Likewise, we need a strong NATO that can adapt to a changing security landscape and defend and deter against any threats that emerge. We need a European Union that stands together, that can sustain growth, protect borders, take in migration,

and remain a driver for fundamental values in Europe. And international institutions and organizations are only as strong as we make them.

Thirdly, our engagement has to extend beyond our neighborhood. At times we may feel like Iceland, at peace in a very stormy sea. Many Americans probably felt that way in 1945, when Europe and Asia lay in ruins. Yet disengagement was not an option at that time and it should not be that today. Problems in countries far away, such as lack of development, violation of human rights, weak governance, radicalization and unrest, are becoming security threats for us all. We need to be as bold and as visionary as the generation before us was.

Responding to crises as and when they arise might provide temporary relief, but there is a high chance that the problems will reappear at a later stage in another form and with a higher price tag. In the long run, the only viable and cost-effective solution is to address the underlying causes so that we can prevent crises from happening in the first place.

This is one of the reasons why Norway as a small country on the outskirts of Europe remains firmly committed to international development. We every year after year give around 1 percent of our gross national income in development assistance. That's why we engage in faraway countries as Syria, Mali, Iraq, and Myanmar.

And we must work together to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals. Implementation of the 17 goals which all U.N. member states together have decided on and which I've been tasked by the Secretary-General to promote will help us to address climate change and prevent conflicts as well as forced migration.

And we must strive to achieve the objectives of the Paris Climate Accord. In fact, as very often stated and said, we are the last generation that can prevent irreversible climate change and we are the first generation in a position to eradicate

extreme poverty.

Between 2005 and 2017, no countries saw greater reductions in CO2 emissions than the U.S., contrary to a lot of political discussions. And your leadership is still needed. The U.S. research community, technology base, and business community are uniquely positioned not only to contribute to further reductions, but also to benefit from the opportunities that are arising as the world economy goes greener.

Fourthly, protectionism is no way to go. We have tried that approach in the past and it did not work well. Globalization, on the contrast, has been very beneficial both for the U.S. and for Norway. But what we need is a level playing field. I believe strengthening multilateral trade agreements and institutions remains the best way to achieve the end and a guarantee of the free markets.

Today, product services' capital are flown the route once traveled by poor Norwegian migrants. Technology transfers across the Atlantic allows us to develop a nascent oil industry in the 1970s. Now substantial revenues from the same sectors are being reinvested in the U.S., creating new jobs and new opportunities here. Last year, Norwegian companies and investments supported 470,000 jobs in the U.S. The U.S. assets of our government pension funds alone amounts to \$325 billion. So we are a bit linked to how -- our wealth is linked to how your wealth is going to develop in the future.

But all of this would have been unthinkable without free, open, and regulated markets. So ladies and gentlemen, all this, the world order that has served us both so well for the past 70 years, would not have come about without a firm U.S. leadership. And the U.S. leadership is more important than ever in order to further and to strengthen the world order in these uncertain times.

And we may not agree on all issues. However, even when there are challenges, we must not forget how crucial the transatlantic bond has been on both sides of the Atlantic.

And that brings me over to the topic of defense. In no area is the transatlantic bond more important. NATO remains the bedrock of our security and the U.S. is by far our most important ally. But to tackle the challenges of the future NATO also must continue to adapt.

President Trump has called for a fair burden sharing. It's a very legitimate demand. Europe faces major security challenges and clearly needs to spend more on security and defense. And Norway is committed to doing its part, and security is one of the main priorities of my government.

Every year since 2012, our defense budgets have increased. Our long-term defense planning involves substantial increases in defense spending in the coming years that will also keep us well above the 20 percent guideline for defense investments. We are investing heavily in modern capabilities that are both deployable and interoperable, including high-end capabilities. These include new F-35 aircraft, submarines, long-range air defense systems, and strategic intelligence capabilities. We will enhance our cooperation with the U.S. on maritime surveillance of the North Atlantic and we are in the process of acquiring five new P-8 Poseidon maritime patrol aircraft from Boeing for this purpose. We will also make sure that our military vessels, planes, and army units are able to sail more, fly more, and train more.

In the north, Russia is reintroducing a forward defense concept for its strategic nuclear assets, the so-called Bastion defense. This increases Russia's ability to disrupt the transatlantic sea lines of communications in situations of crisis or war.

In many ways, Norway is NATO's gatekeeper in the North. We are working actively to increase NATO's focus on the strategic development in the North Atlantic. We have in-depth knowledge of developments in the region and we are committed to following the situation closely and to keep allies informed on an ongoing basis.



Norway remains a solid and reliable troop contributor, firmly invested in the fight against terrorism. Our troops have served in numerous allied and coalition operations, since 2001 in Afghanistan, in Libya, and Iraq. And we are contributing alongside the lines of efforts in the fight against ISIS.

So when President Roosevelt looked to Norway in 1945, he saw a country under occupation. Today he would see a free, prosperous, and stable democracy and a strong ally; a country whose men and women are serving alongside U.S. personnel in international operations; a country firmly committed to free and open markets, international development, and international law and institutions. And he would have seen a country that still looks to the U.S. in gratitude, but also in the hope and expectation that the U.S. will continue to protect the world order that has brought so much progress for so many.

Keep the transatlantic bond strong. Take leadership in the efforts to address major challenges of our generation such as security, development, and climate change.

The world is changing and universal values are under pressure, power relations are shifting, uncertainty is running high. It is precisely in times like this that we need to renew our commitment to our common values, not only because they're universal, not only out of a sense of moral duty, but also because upholding these values has proven to be the best way to ensure security, ensure prosperity, and freedom for people on both sides of the Atlantic and beyond.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

MR. JONES: Well, thank you very much and thank you for reminding us the famous words of President Roosevelt of looking to Norway on these issues. And of course, I think in all seriousness, everybody in Washington understands that Norway has been an extraordinary reliable ally on a number of fronts. And I'm sure that the White

House will remember that when they see you this morning.

I want to start with what you said was the most important dimension of the transatlantic relationship, namely the security issue. And you talked about Russia, you talked about an assertive Russia, both in the North and elsewhere.

How do you see President Trump's decision to provide lethal weapons to the Ukrainians, albeit at a relatively modest level? Is that part of the right policy of pushing back? Is it provocative? How do you see managing the Russia challenge?

PRIME MINISTER SOLBERG: Well, everything we do is named provocative by the Russians. Things that we would do in the '90s that would not lift an eyebrow on is now named provocative. Of course, it shifts balances a bit in Ukraine, maybe not as big an issue as it would have been two years ago --

SPEAKER: Mic.

MR. JONES: Is the mic not working?

PRIME MINISTER SOLBERG: Hello?

MR. JONES: Can we get them to focus on the mic? Okay.

PRIME MINISTER SOLBERG: I'll try to talk louder. (Laughter) I get a new mic.

MR. JONES: There we go.

PRIME MINISTER SOLBERG: And, I mean, it's two seconds. A politician without sound is not good. (Laughter) Okay?

MR. JONES: Much better. Yay.

PRIME MINISTER SOLBERG: As I said, everything we do is now sort of named provocative by the Russians. And I think it would have been held more provocative two years ago when it happened than it has today. Maybe because it's not such a big focus on Ukraine, but, I mean, yes, it will -- I don't think we think it's extremely provocative in a way, but I think you will get that naming from the Russians because -- for

everything we do. More activity by Americans and we have the U.S. Marines that are training in Norway. We always get -- they have done that for a long time, but it's named provocative, yes.

MR. JONES: On NATO, I expect that somebody else this morning will ask you the same question that I'm going to ask you now, which is about 2 percent defense spending. And let me put it broader than 2 percent. Your Foreign Ministry earlier this year in a whitepaper acknowledged that the United States is inevitably going to be pulled more into security issues in Asia. We have an assertive Russia in Europe. What is your view on the burden-sharing question and what role Europe has to play in its own defense at this stage?

PRIME MINISTER SOLBERG: Well, I agree that there should be a fair burden sharing. Norway is per capita the second largest military spender in NATO per capita. But then, of course, we have a large GDP, so when you take it in percentage it's not. But it does amount to, in fact, that we are spending quite a lot on military.

We have also now a very transformational military services. We are investing heavily in interoperability, in new capabilities, and we'll reach I think 26 or 27 percent in investments in ours, but we are not down to 2 percent. We were 1.5; we are going up to 1.6. We have a plan that now is up to 2021. We will not reach 2 percent in 2021, but we are aiming the right way. And then we will have a new plan. Before elections in 2021, we will examine the next years. So we are doing a very large transformation and I think we are delivering on all of the other targets that is important.

And then I think sometimes just focusing on the 2 percent is a bit narrow because you also have to look at how you're doing in reform. Are you investing money so that you can use your military and you're using your money in the right way? And I think we also have to ask those other questions when we are discussing.

And, of course, we had some countries which did 2 percent of GDP

because their GDP fell. We have increased our budget for military, but our GDP has increased more, so that's a challenge, also.

MR. JONES: Not a good way to go.

PRIME MINISTER SOLBERG: No.

MR. JONES: Let me ask you about another issue, which is both a security and a development issue and a political issue, which is the work that Norway has done together with many, many others in the counter-ISIL campaign. And that's been a military campaign so far, but now we're in a situation where let's say the military campaign is not going to be the only element of what's necessary in terms of thinking about how to recover the governance and the stability in the development of territories that were held by ISIL.

How do you see that? Do you think that that issue of sort of rebuilding from ISIL, rebuilding in parts of the Middle East which have been devastated by war, Libya, et cetera, is that a primary European responsibility? Is it a coalition responsibility? How do you see that?

PRIME MINISTER SOLBERG: I think it's a responsibility first and foremost of the countries themselves.

MR. JONES: Sure, yeah.

PRIME MINISTER SOLBERG: I'd start with that because I don't think -- well, it's extremely that we don't lose sight of the fact that even if ISIL is not controlling any, you know, larger cities or others, they are going to be there. They're going to be in the desert. They're going to be around. They're going to be in different countries. They're going to play political games. They're going to fuel terrorism in Europe. So there's a lot of things that we have to remember.

And they will look for a new place to go again. So you will have to make sure and look at where we can work on conflict prevention. I think that's a very important

European responsibility in their neighborhood, but I think we need Americans for this.

And one of the big challenges is that we have to also have a focus on how do we make sure that, for example, Iraq becomes more stable? Because the growth of ISIL in Iraq is also due to the fact that the Sunni Muslims of Iraq, there was an attractiveness because of the Shia-Sunni conflict inside Iraq. So you have to have an Iraqi government that is more inclusive, more focused on getting both the Kurds, the Sunni, and the Shias to work together. And if you don't have that basis, it's going to be difficult for countries outside to create stability.

Stability comes from political creation inside a country. And I think focusing on that at the same times as you are delivering both assistance, development, especially what we think is important, also, is to make sure that all of those women who have now been suffering during this terrible regime of ISIL is now helped; and make sure in countries where their value as women is becoming much less if they have been sex slaves or other things. I mean, you have to rebuild societies on the ground, too, involve women in that type of work, to have that type of plans for the future.

But I don't believe you can create stability from the outside. You have to also put pressure on the political system from the inside. And I think our biggest challenge today is the intersphere and conflicts between Shia and Sunnis in this region. If we don't manage to get them to cooperate better, we are going to have rising new problems. So the Saudis and Iran have to work together, also, to make sure that this situation doesn't come out of control again. Then we are prepared to help with military training or with assistance, with the grass-root works, and all of that that we do with development work and conflict prevention and mediation.

But you have to have that basis from the inside. If you don't get that, it's going to be difficult to get a stable situation.

MR. JONES: We may be waiting for a while for Saudi-Iranian

cooperation on these issues.

PRIME MINISTER SOLBERG: No, but maybe at least sort of a truce so that they don't play off the (inaudible) in all the neighboring countries.

MR. JONES: Let me ask you about a very different region. You mentioned North Korea. That's obviously an issue that preoccupies a great deal of time and attention in Washington. As I said before, your ministry has acknowledged that the U.S. is going to be heavily engaged in Asia. How do you see Europe's role in Asia?

You didn't spend a lot of time on China. You didn't a lot of time on Chinese influence. How do you see Europe's role in Asia?

PRIME MINISTER SOLBERG: Well, I think what you see from all European countries today that they are, of course, following the money. I mean, the markets, the economy, the development. Asia is a bigger economic power, which, of course, means that also European countries will try to have a stronger foothold and cooperation with different Asian countries. Japan is also a surrogate economic power in this region and you see other Asian countries rising.

Our belief is that China is mainly occupied with one thing, and that is their own economic growth and their own stability as a country. But that also means that they are, of course, as a bigger economy having a bigger importance in the world. And, of course, it was a bit strange to be in Davos last year and finding out that President Xi was the biggest -- was the star of free trade and international trade cooperations, which, well, it's good if it really is based --

MR. JONES: It's real.

PRIME MINISTER SOLBERG: It's real, if it's balanced, if it's a level playing field if you do that. And, of course, they are influencing and they are -- but always to know what the motives are. I still believe that their biggest motive is stability in their own country, stability for the system, economic prosperity. The Communist Party in a

way have built their stability on market economy, but delivering welfare to the people of China, and I think that's still their basic preoccupation.

MR. JONES: I want to turn to the audience and open it up, but let me ask you one last issue. You made a strong case for multilateralism international law. Norway has, in principle, been a supporter of reform of multilateral institutions. But it's always struck me, I used to work at the U.N. and I worked with Kofi Annan very closely, Norway was a very influential actor in the U.N., as often the kind of small European countries are. But if the U.N. were seriously opened up to Brazil, to India, to Indonesia, and to Turkey, Norway would lose influence. That's the inevitable result of a kind of broadening of multilateral institutions.

Is the defense of multilateralism important enough to you to see Norway lose influence by seeing it move forward?

PRIME MINISTER SOLBERG: We do believe in arguing our case, even if there are others. I think the legitimacy of a system is that it's representative for the people of the world and the economies of the world, and I think that's the imbalance in the U.N. today. It's not representative. That means that you -- and I think it also will give countries more responsibility for participating in finding international agreements.

Then, of course, Norwegians always believe that we will be able to put -- our arguments will be strong enough for us to have influence anyway.

MR. JONES: Fair enough. (Laughter)

PRIME MINISTER SOLBERG: Yeah, we have a large self-interest in this.

MR. JONES: A self-confident power. (Laughter)

PRIME MINISTER SOLBERG: Yes.

MR. JONES: Let's open it up to the audience. I have lots of other questions, but let's open it up. Rebecca?

MS. WINTHROP: Hi there. Rebecca Winthrop. I'm the director of the Center for Universal Education here at Brookings. And like Bruce, we're very grateful for Norway's support, particularly around girls' education.

But I'm curious to ask you a question about an issue you touched briefly on. You've been a long champion of women and girls' empowerment. And I'm wondering how are you thinking about continuing that, particularly in the light of the #MeToo movement and where does that fit into your thinking, particularly around foreign policy, but also international development?

PRIME MINISTER SOLBERG: Well, I think, first of all, the #MeToo has shown that also countries like Norway, who claims to be on very high levels on equal rights societies, we still have challenges. And I think it also says that even if you have formal representation, that doesn't really mean that you are really getting an equal society between the sexes.

And we know that even if abuse of women, sexual abuse of women, is one of the big issues in global developing countries, it still should be one of the big women's issues in our countries because women are still beaten or raped. And we have a legal system that maybe does not function well enough on these issues and doesn't give enough support for women who have been misused.

And I think this is important because sometimes we always say other countries should become better. I think we also have to acknowledge that this shows that our countries still have a way to go.

I think women's issues still is biggest in some of the developing countries. And I think still focusing on girls' education because it empowers women, it's sort of an investment that will give you returns for years afterwards because we know when you invest in education for women, they will reinvest that in their children. They know more about health, they know about maternal health. They will have children later.



They will have a possibility to earn their own money. So it's a long-term investment that I think is important.

But you still have to -- I mean, a lot of women's issues have had setbacks the last year. We have increased our funding for reproductive rights after the new American administration cut them back because we think that control of your own body and reproductive rights is a core issue of how you build women's participation in the labor market, but also acknowledge the possibilities and societies.

Then I also think it's important and comforting to work, as I said on Iraq, you have to also work on the grass-root level. You have to work on women's participation.

And if I can take this terrorism issue, one of the things that we have done, together with the former American administration and I hope we will continue to have more countries participating in that, is to support women networks fighting extremism in their own countries. We can do that, of course, locally in our countries, but also in some of those countries where you have extremist groups, both in Syria and Iraq and in Nigeria, there are women now supported by this network who work on the ground for women rights to combat extremism and to do the grass-roots work. So you have to do supportive actions like this.

And then we have to have more women in politics in other countries and in Scandinavia.

MR. JONES: Any particular countries in mind?

PRIME MINISTER SOLBERG: I think there is quite a number of them. I used to meet -- and I meet the Iranian president, I've met him twice now, he always has six men. And the first time I had six women in my delegation. (Laughter) And I said we are as imbalanced, both of us, in Iraq. (Laughter) Last year I had two men in my delegation. I said, I am improving. (Laughter) And he is, in fact, laughing. And I'm sure

he takes it serious, but he was laughing. (Laughter)

MR. JONES: Please.

MR. BEASON: Good morning. I'm Bob Beason with the Cenay Policy Group. I was in Norway over the holidays. I love your country. Thank you.

I wanted to follow up on your comment on terrorism. In your New Year's speech, you referenced a school in Fredrikstad that was teaching a class on preventing radicalization and things like that. I was wondering if you thought that would be something that you would advocate expanding to other schools in Norway as a means of building better security both Pan-European and transatlantic.

PRIME MINISTER SOLBERG: Well, I believe that you have to work on resilience in local societies also against the extremist thinking. And we do that both on -- we have a national panel trying to do that from both extremist Islamic radicals, but also right wing extremism, which we know now they have been feeding off the ISIL and the terrorist activities in Europe to -- and the large migration crisis that we had two years ago. The more violent extremist right wing is increasing in our societies. And we are trying to do that by different measures in municipalities. We have a plan, the municipalities are working on that.

And in Fredrikstad, one of the cities in Norway, where there was a group of foreign fighters who left from Fredrikstad, who went to Syria, and they are taking this very seriously. And they are working on -- and I think they were, of course, vaccinating against extremist thinking, but also vaccinating against political hate speech from everybody because they are discussing how do words affect your mindset. How does the way you talk about other people?

And if you get 13-year-olds to 14-year-olds to do that discussion, they always will start to understand how they are describing each other has an impact on each other. And it, frankly, has also a good Communist part of it because if you have 13- and

14-year-olds that think that “whore” is a natural way of talking to girls at your school, you have to combat that.

I think there’s a lot of measures. We do that in the municipalities, then the police are following up with mentors for people who are at-risk of being recruited; exit programs, try to get people out of networks if they are.

I’m not saying that we have all the solutions, but we’re at least trying to find ways of handling it. And because we do have quite a lot of local community work on preventing, it’s the same thing as matters that we are using to prevent recruitment to criminal organized crime for young people in gangs and that type of thing.

And there is a Youth Network International, there’s a Women’s Network International, and there’s a large city network that is working to explore these ideas, which came after President Obama’s initiative, also.

MR. JONES: Let me ask you a question sparked by this, at least some aspects of this. We’ve talked about transatlantic relationship and NATO. We’ve talked about refugees. We’ve talked about extremism. We’ve talked about -- the word “Turkey” hasn’t come up.

PRIME MINISTER SOLBERG: No.

MR. JONES: How do you see Turkey right now?

PRIME MINISTER SOLBERG: I think Turkey is a challenge because the situation -- well, the human rights situation is difficult now. And there was a military coup and I think they are totally justified in trying to find who participated, who tried to topple a democracy. Everyone is elected and we have to remember that.

But in that way, they are starting to do changes in their legal system, which means that some of the guarantees that they have is falling apart. I think it’s extremely important that there still is, and that we are fighting for that, the Supreme Court of Turkey is still independent and has a role to play in putting up the standards of rule of

law in Turkey.

And then there is a challenge, of course, also, with a link between Russia and Turkey today. Turkey is trying to play both, being a NATO member and having a better relation to Russia. But, of course, this also comes -- it's not more than one and a half years ago where we thought there was a totally different picture, where Turkey had shot down a Russian airplane and we all were looking at the crisis between Turkey and Russia. But things change very fast.

But I think there are developments in Turkey that need for us to speak up on, especially on human rights.

MR. JONES: Are you of the view that Turkey's membership in NATO is in question?

PRIME MINISTER SOLBERG: No, I hope it doesn't. I hope that we will have a Turkey that aligns to the principle of NATO also in the future. I think it's also important that we, in fact, have a country which is largely populated by Muslims and that NATO is not looked upon just as a white Christian alliance against the rest of the world. I think it's extremely important for us not to brand NATO that way.

MR. JONES: Going back to the audience. We'll take a couple of questions at this stage. I think we're close to the end, so the gentleman in the middle there in the front.

SPEAKER: You mentioned the desirability of a strong European Union and I wondered if you could talk a bit about Norway's relationship to the European Union and whether it might be a model for the UK after Brexit.

MR. JONES: Let's take a couple of questions, if that's all right. There was another hand in the front and maybe one more in the back.

SPEAKER: Hi. I just wanted to go back to your point about the education of extremism in the country. Were you also implying more broadly that the

bullying rumors and gossip, you know, more generally set the stage for extremism, too? Because it's not just simply religious extremism, it's the fact that we don't reason through and understand why we say what we say. I was just wondering if you were making that broader point or that was even sort of a paradigm that, you know, is worth your effort.

MR. JONES: And I want to add to the gentleman's question about Norway and Europe just to get you to say one word about Brexit.

PRIME MINISTER SOLBERG: Well, the Norwegians, we live happily with our EA agreement. I'm leading the only political party who still states that we want to be members of the European Union. (Laughter) But we were not for a long time.

There has been two referendums. We have -- the establishment have been voted on by the people and we are following the people. It's important principles of -- like the BRICS have to do even if they don't get (inaudible) the other way around.

I think the challenge with Brexit was that they had not really thought through what should happen if it happens because they never believed that it would happen, that there would be a vote for it. That means that they have had challenges in the way to deal with it, to make plans.

And I think our way of handling our relationship to the EU is very good for a small country. Even if we have high self-esteem, it's not that high. We understand that 5 million people, in a way, would not put -- we accept the fact that we have an independent body who will make decisions if there is a conflict between European rules and policy made in Norway. We are members of that independent board, but we accept that. I think Britain has a little bit larger problems with that type of institutions that we have established inside the EA.

And then, of course, the basic argument against EU membership was the free movement of people. And the EA agreement that we have has all the four principles in it, and it's the basis of making this a dynamic solution. Because when most

immigrations are made in the EU and they are relevant for the (inaudible), for the single market, they are also being introduced in Norway.

We tried to negotiate, we tried to lobby, and we tried to find good solutions in how to implement it, but I think that's a basis which I think is going to be difficult for Britain. Because so much of the debate around Brexit was about the free movement of people, which we accept and which we have benefited very much from. We, in fact, all the Nordic countries, we have been the country that has had the highest percentage of people from East Europe who have come to Norway because we have a different economy development. When they had a downturn, we had an upturn in our economy based on high oil prices 10 years ago. So we have much more Poles in Norway than they have in Sweden and Denmark together. And we are happy that they are there and they are contributing, which is not the debate in Britain, which makes it very difficult.

My point on who is recruited into extremism, the feeling of not belonging is one of the recruitments. I usually say that this is a fight about whether our values or the extremist's values is going to win. And if we are not living the way we are talking, we will lose out. And I don't think criticism or hate speech in itself does make a reason for people becoming extremists, but I think the feeling of not belonging to the society.

And we have seen there's a difference in Europe on who is recruited, for example, to fundamental Islamic extremism. But in Norway and Germany, they have been very much the same type of persons that have been recruited to the right wing extremism with the exception of religion affiliation; young people without who have fallen out of school, who have already been in trouble with the law.

There was one of these immigrant parents in Norway who said I understand now that if my child starts to behave very well again after being criminal, I have to look after whether he's becoming extremist. Because we see that people who

have been in sort of youth gangs and others who have been in touch with the police, suddenly they are getting the same group feeling in another context.

So that's why job creation, making sure that young people feel that there's hope in our societies, it's the biggest explanation against extremism is, in fact, to give you hope in our societies. And I think that's what we have to work on.

MR. JONES: Brexit.

PRIME MINISTER SOLBERG: Brexit. Brexit is going to affect Norway because Britain is the largest trade partner we have if you take all the oil and gas parts with us. Oil and gas is not affected by Brexit because that's other international rules and some bilaterally negotiated agreements that we have. But it still is, if you take away that, they are number three. And so many Norwegian businesses is using Britain as their way to the international market, so we have a lot of Norwegians working there, a lot of Norwegian business working there. London is a hub for Norwegian large industrial company. And everything that lacks the attractiveness of Britain in the international world would, of course, affect that type of business, but also how we will make agreements.

We have had a very thorough study, we had a task force that have studied the effects in Norway and in the different ministries. We have discussed this with our counterparts in Britain. They do say that they do not want us to have a worse relation. They have said that the citizenship things that they are doing for EU, they will try to adopt also for the Norwegians who are living there, so that the Brits in Norway will have the same. So we are trying to find good agreements.

But, of course, we know that if you end up with not having the single market or the European agreement also as the fundamental for an agreement between Norway and Britain, Britain has to start to negotiate with all the countries of the world on how their trade, how their bilateral relations are going to be. Because for the last 30 years, everything has been done through EU on economic areas. That means that you

have a country like (inaudible) on zero level with all of these agreements that we have used 100 years to reach the rest of us. And then you don't know how high on that list Norway will be, even if we are close and have the same.

But we are working very hard on that, but it will have an effect.

Hopefully, they will reach an agreement between EU and Britain that makes it easier because that will be the cornerstone for all other agreements on market access. But this, it's a big experiment. It's a big experiment in the whole discussion.

MR. JONES: There are a number of other issues we could cover -- climate change, SDGs, et cetera -- but I think it's probably unwise for you to be late for your next meeting, so I think we should wrap up. (Laughter)

PRIME MINISTER SOLBERG: Yes.

MR. JONES: Thank you very much for being here. Good luck in your meeting later today.

If people could stay in their seats while I escort the prime minister out. Before that, if you could join me in thanking her for talking to us. (Applause)

\* \* \* \* \*



CERTIFICATE OF NOTARY PUBLIC

I, Carleton J. Anderson, III do hereby certify that the forgoing electronic file when originally transmitted was reduced to text at my direction; that said transcript is a true record of the proceedings therein referenced; that I am neither counsel for, related to, nor employed by any of the parties to the action in which these proceedings were taken; and, furthermore, that I am neither a relative or employee of any attorney or counsel employed by the parties hereto, nor financially or otherwise interested in the outcome of this action.

Carleton J. Anderson, III

(Signature and Seal on File)

Notary Public in and for the Commonwealth of Virginia

Commission No. 351998

Expires: November 30, 2020