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2012

EDITED BY NANNA HVIDT AND HANS MOURITZEN

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DANISH FOREIGN POLICY YEARBOOK 2012

Edited by Nanna Hvidt and Hans Mouritzen



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Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook

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Preface

The *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook* focuses on Danish foreign policy and Denmark's position both internationally and transnationally, as well as at the regional and global levels. This volume presents the official outline of Denmark's 2011 foreign policy by the Permanent Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Claus Grube. In addition, we have included other articles by scholars who represent only themselves and their academic expertise.

The intriguing topic of Danish-French relations, as addressed by Matthieu Chillaud, is under-researched, to say the least, probably because the two countries superficially look like an 'odd couple'. After this article, we shift attention to the Arab Spring, which caught world diplomacy by surprise in early 2011; Rasmus Boserup analyses Danish adaptations to this dramatic set of developments. The civil war in Libya was an outgrowth of the Arab Spring, and Peter Viggo Jakobsen and Karsten Møller have scrutinized Denmark's military contribution in depth. One apparently unexpected crisis for Danish foreign policy in 2011 were European – especially German – criticisms of Denmark's plans to strengthen its border controls; this chain of events, ended only with the change of government in October, is analysed by Marlene Wind. Finally, Anders Henriksen and Jens Ringsmose ask what Denmark has gained from its close military partnership with the American superpower in the post-Cold War era.

The articles are abstracted in English and Danish before chapter one (for authors' titles and affiliations, see each article). After the articles follows a selection of official documents which we consider to be pioneering or characteristic of Danish foreign policy during 2011. This is supplemented by essential statistics on Danish foreign policy, as well as some of the most relevant polls on the attitudes of the Danish population to key foreign policy questions. Finally, a bibliography offers a limited selection of scholarly

books, articles and chapters published in 2011 in English or German dealing with the yearbook's topic.

The editors of the *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook* are Director Nanna Hvidt and Dr Hans Mouritzen. Louise Lading Clausen, BSc and master's student in political science, has served as the assistant editor.

The editors
DIIS, Copenhagen
May 2012

Chapter 1

Articles

Abstracts in English and Danish

The International Situation and Danish Foreign Policy 2011

Claus Grube

The Permanent Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs analyses Danish foreign-policy priorities in 2011. The troublesome situation for the global economy, including an uncertain outlook for the future, was the most important backdrop for Danish foreign policy in that year. Low growth prospects, combined with high levels of public debt, had wide foreign-policy implications, amongst other things for the agenda of the EU and as a result also for the preparations for the Danish EU Presidency in the first half of 2012. This article therefore takes its point of departure in the state of the global economy, the state of the European economies and the challenges that this presented to the EU. It then goes on to discuss the emerging world powers, the Arab Spring, the world's conflict areas, security policy, Denmark's northern neighbours and various global issues, such as development cooperation, green growth and human rights. Finally, some reflections are offered on the core tasks of the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs at a time when there is increased pressure on Denmark's public finances and the world influence of Denmark's traditional partners and allies is waning.

Udenrigsministeriets departementschef analyserer prioriteterne i dansk udenrigspolitik i 2011. Den vanskelige globale økonomiske situation og de usikre økonomiske fremtidsperspektiver var den dominerende baggrund for dansk udenrigspolitik i 2011. Udsigten til lave vækstrater, kombineret med høje offentlige

gælds niveauer, fik omfattende betydning for udenrigspolitikken, herunder for EU-dagsordenen og således også for forberedelserne af det danske EU-formandskab i første halvår af 2012. Derfor tager denne artikel udgangspunkt i den globale økonomiske situation, de europæiske økonomiers tilstand samt de deraf følgende udfordringer for EU. Der fortsættes med en diskussion af verdens nye stormagter, det arabiske forår, verdens konfliktområder, sikkerhedspolitik, Danmarks nordlige naboer samt globale problemstillinger som udviklingssamarbejde, grøn vækst og menneskerettigheder. Der afsluttes med nogle overvejelser om Udenrigsministeriets kerneopgaver i en tid præget af et øget pres på de danske offentlige budgetter og en aftagende global indflydelse for Danmarks traditionelle partnere og allierede.

Denmark and France between Independence and Allegiance: The Peregrinations of the *Enfants Terribles* in Euro-Atlantic Defence

Matthieu Chillaud

In modern times Denmark and France have seldom shown a strong mutual interest in security affairs, even though they have been close allies for several decades. Yet the two countries have much more in common than is usually assumed. The aim of this article is to show that, in spite of their obvious differences in terms of political and strategic ambitions, the two countries share a strong predisposition to cultivate an ambiguous posture vis-à-vis Euro-Atlantic defence. It is shown that the strategies of both countries – considered by their Euro-Atlantic partners as being sometimes reliable, sometimes mysterious – have fluctuated since 1945 between a strong transatlantic leaning and a multi-faceted independence on the fringes of NATO or the EU. Although these cycles did not always tally, some recent developments indicate that both Denmark and France are now willing to toe the line.

I nyere tid har Danmark og Frankrig på det militære plan sjældent interesseret sig synderligt for hinanden, selv om de har været nære allierede i årtier. Alligevel har de to lande meget mere til fælles, end man normalt antager. Artiklen viser, at de to lande, til trods for deres tydelige forskelle i politiske og strategiske ambitioner, deler en tilbøjelighed til at dyrke en tvetydig holdning over for det euro-atlantiske forsvarssamarbejde. Det påvises, at landenes strategier – som af deres euro-atlantiske partnere i perioder er blevet anset for pålidelige, i perioder svært forståelige – siden 1945 har fluktueret mellem en stærk atlantisk hældning og en multifacetteret uafhængighed i forhold til NATO eller EU. Til trods for at landenes cyklusser ikke altid har fulgt hinanden, tyder de seneste udviklinger på, at både Danmark og Frankrig nu er villige til at 'indordne sig'.

The Arab Spring and Danish Democracy Promotion in the Arab World

Rasmus Alenius Boserup

The article analyses how the endogenously driven political processes of change that occurred in the Arab region in 2011 – the so-called ‘Arab spring’ – influenced Danish foreign policy, in particular the attention given to Denmark’s efforts to promote democracy in the region. By 2010 the Danish government appeared to be gradually lowering its democratization profile. However, the article argues that the Arab revolts provided an opportunity to reverse this process and instead revitalize and upgrade the basis for Denmark’s democracy promotion. Finally, having identified a number of key changes and continuities in the democracy promotion program, the government’s future ability to sustain Arab democratization is discussed.

Artiklen viser, hvordan de endogene politiske forandringsprocesser i de arabiske lande i foråret 2011 – det såkaldte ‘arabiske forår’ – påvirkede dansk udenrigspolitik og især dansk demokratifremme i regionen. I 2010 syntes den danske regering gradvist at nedtone demokratiseringsprofilen. Det vises imidlertid, at de arabiske revolter gav anledning til at revidere dette og i stedet genoplive og opgradere dansk demokratifremme i regionen. Efter at have identificeret et antal væsentlige forandringer og konstanter i dansk demokratifremme, afsluttes artiklen med en diskussion af den danske regerings muligheder for fremover at opretholde støtte til arabisk demokratisering.

Good News: Libya and the Danish Way of War

Peter Viggo Jakobsen and Karsten Jakob Møller

Denmark has developed its own distinctive approach to war since the end of the Cold War. In so doing, it has become a warrior nation that views the use of force as a legitimate and useful tool of statecraft, and the military instrument has played a central role in its foreign policy for the past twenty years. Against this background, Denmark's enthusiastic participation in the Libya War was no surprise. It was a perfect war in the sense that it enabled the Danish government to fight for its principal objectives (national security, democracy, human rights, international law and prestige) in a high-profile way that made a military difference, in coalition with its principal allies in NATO, with UN support, and in a comprehensive and clean manner. Denmark received high marks for its disproportionate bombing contribution from its allies, the war enjoyed unprecedented domestic support, the military commitment was brief, and cheap in comparison to Iraq and Afghanistan, no casualties were suffered, and no controversies erupted concerning Denmark's adherence to international (humanitarian) law. Denmark can therefore also be expected to show up when the UN, NATO or its major allies ask for contributions to future wars.

Danmark har udviklet sin egen særlige måde at føre krig på siden Murens fald. Undervejs er landet blevet en krigernation, som ser brugen af våbenmagt som et legitimt og nyttigt instrument med en central rolle i dansk udenrigspolitik i de sidste 20 år. På den baggrund kom Danmarks entusiastiske deltagelse i Libyenkrigen ikke som nogen overraskelse. Krigen var perfekt i den forstand, at den gjorde det muligt for Danmark at kæmpe for sine primære udenrigspolitiske mål (national sikkerhed, demokrati, menneskerettigheder, folkeret og prestige) på en højprofileret facon, som gjorde en reel militær forskel, i coalition med sine primære allierede i NATO, med opbakning fra FN og på en samtænkt og ren måde. Danmark fik stor ros fra sine allierede for sit uforholdsmæssigt store bidrag til bombemissionerne, krigen nød en opbakning på hjemmefronten uden fortilfælde, den militære indsats var kortvarig og billig sammenlignet med Irak og Afghanistan, der var ingen danske tab og ingen problemer med at overholde folkeretten. Danmark må derfor også forventes at stille op, når FN, NATO eller vigtige allierede beder om bidrag til fremtidige krige.

The Blind, the Deaf and the Dumb! How Domestic Politics Turned the Danish Schengen Controversy into a Foreign Policy Crisis

Marlene Wind

It is analysed what actually happened in Danish politics when the border control agreement was negotiated in the spring and summer of 2011. The article also illuminates the strong reactions to it from Germany, the European Commission and the broader international environment. It is a story of a small European nation still struggling with its own identity and the perceived fundamental opposition between Denmark and Europe. The naïve belief that a national debate on strengthening border controls and challenging the Schengen regime could be concealed from the attention of an international audience, together with the amateurish handling of the entire affair, were the main reasons for the worst diplomatic crisis for Denmark since the cartoons affair of 2006. The liberal-conservative government realized only at a very late stage, what damage the agreement with the Danish People's Party was causing Denmark's international reputation. Exactly as in the case of the cartoons affair, the efforts to resolve the crisis came too late to convince many people.

Det analyseres, hvad der faktisk skete i dansk politik, da grænsekontrolaftalen blev forhandlet i foråret og sommeren 2011. Artiklen belyser også de stærke reaktioner fra Tyskland, Europa-Kommissionen og det bredere internationale samfund. Det er historien om en lille europæisk nation, der stadig kæmper med sin egen identitet og med opfattelsen af en fundamental modsætning mellem Danmark og Europa. Den naive tro på, at en national debat om styrket grænsekontrol og udfordring af Schengen-regimet kunne føres uden international opmærksomhed, i samspil med den amatøragtige håndtering af hele forløbet, var hovedårsagerne til den værste diplomatiske krise for Danmark siden tegningekrisen i 2006. VK-regeringen indså først på et meget sent tidspunkt, hvilken skade aftalen med Dansk Folkeparti forvoldte Danmarks internationale omdømme. Ligesom i tegningekrisen kom forsøgene på at løse denne krise for sent til at overbevise ret mange.

What did Denmark Gain? Iraq, Afghanistan and the Relationship with Washington

Anders Henriksen and Jens Ringsmose

How and to what extent was Denmark rewarded by the Bush administration for its military contributions to the American-led operations in Iraq and Afghanistan from 2001 to 2009? The Danish decision to participate in these military operations had a very positive impact on Denmark's standing in Washington, as a result of which Danish politicians, diplomats and administration officials found it easier to enter into dialogue with their American counterparts. To a limited extent, Denmark was also able to use this platform to win a number of specific policy 'rewards'. Denmark could probably have gained even more by adopting a less ad-hoc and more strategic approach to the United States. Danish decision makers should therefore learn from the experiences of the United Kingdom and the strategically sounder British approach to the superpower.

Hvordan og i hvilken udstrækning blev Danmark belønnet af Bush-administrationen for de militære bidrag til de amerikansk-ledede missioner i Irak og Afghanistan i årene 2001-2009? Den danske krigsindsats forbedrede Danmarks renommé i Washington i betydeligt omfang, hvorved det blev lettere for danske ministre, diplomater og embedsmænd at få deres amerikanske kolleger i tale. I et vist omfang kunne Danmark bruge denne platform til at høste konkrete policy-gevinster. Danmark kunne imidlertid formentlig have fået mere ud af det, hvis man havde anlagt en mindre ad hoc-præget og mere strategisk tilgang til amerikanerne. Danske beslutningstagere bør derfor i større udstrækning skele til Storbritannien og dets mere strategiske tilgang til supermagten.

The International Situation and Danish Foreign Policy 2011

*Claus Grube*¹

A global economy in a troublesome situation mired by growth and debt challenges and with an uncertain outlook for the future remained the most important backdrop to Danish foreign policy in 2011. Low prospects for growth, combined with high levels of public debt, had wide foreign policy implications, amongst other things for the agenda of the EU, and as a result also for the preparations for the Danish EU Presidency in the first half of 2012. Therefore, this article takes its point of departure in the state of the global economy, the state of the European economies and the consequent challenges for the EU. It then goes on to discuss the emerging new world, the Arab Spring, the world's conflict areas, security policy, Denmark's northern neighbours and various global issues such as development cooperation, green growth and human rights. The article concludes with some considerations on the core tasks of the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs at a time marked by increased pressure on Denmark's public finances and on the influence on world affairs of Denmark's traditional partners and allies.

Trends in the Global Economy

The Economic Crisis Lingers on

The international financial and economic crisis of 2008/09 continued to cast shadows over global politics and economics in 2011. In the spring of 2009 recovery from the recession had started in Asia, and by the second half of 2009

1 Ambassador Claus Grube is the Danish Permanent Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

it had spread to most economies in the world. By 2010, the global economy was progressively strengthened. However, financial conditions were still considered fragile. Volatility in the financial, currency and commodity markets remained high and as a consequence of fiscal stimulus, automatic stabilisers and financial guarantees, budget deficits in most advanced economies soared. By the end of 2010, it was generally acknowledged that the trajectory of public debt in many advanced economies was unsustainable. Many countries started to implement major fiscal and structural reforms to ensure future economic growth and debt reductions. In early 2011, economic prospects seemed to lighten up. The recovery of global growth dominated the outlook, although a growing number of fiscal and structural problems were still present. While in 2010 growth was driven mainly by fiscal stimulus, it appeared that in 2011 it was increasingly becoming self-sustained. Across the world, positive trends on the stock markets, low interest rates and easy access to credit stimulated private demand and investments. However, global prospects for growth started to dim during the summer of 2011. Leading indicators from the second quarter of 2011 indicated that the impact of the Great East Japan Earthquake in March had been more pervasive than initially estimated. In addition, commodity and food prices had surged, having a negative impact on demand and investments. Finally, public and private debt in Europe and the USA had reached substantial levels. In the USA the current budget deficit reached 8-9 per cent, while in Europe almost every Member State had a budget deficit above the 3 per cent limit set out in the Lisbon Treaty, – and in some Member States considerably more than that.

The Debt Crisis

During the summer of 2011, signs of debt distress intensified in both Europe and the USA. In America, this led to a small credit downgrade in August 2011 when the credit agency Standard & Poors found that the compromise made by Congress and President Obama to cut spending and boost the debt ceiling fell short of what was needed. In Europe, it became evident that the sovereign debt crisis was not only a problem in Greece and Ireland, but also in Italy, Spain and Portugal. Furthermore, as the sovereign debt crisis worsened in a number of countries, it aggravated the weakness of the European banking sector. Eventually, the European debt crisis spilled over into the banking sector and led to a number of banking reforms and bailouts at the national level in order to avoid defaults and prevent a new credit crunch like the one experienced in the aftermath of the Lehman Brothers bankruptcy. Additionally, a number of important steps were taken successively by the

governments of the Eurozone to reach an orderly sovereign debt solution for Greece and to stem the sovereign debt crisis that threatened to undermine confidence in the world's financial markets. However, the initiatives were met with continued financial market turbulence and increasing concerns of a potential debt default in some of the larger economies in the Eurozone.

At the heart of the crisis was a lack of belief in the Eurozone's capacity to manage in times of severe economic and financial distress and to cope with the twin challenges of debt and economic growth. By the end of 2011, the European debt crisis was threatening not only sovereign economies but the Eurozone as a whole. Moreover, the risk of a much broader freezing up of capital markets had intensified and caused the European Central Bank (ECB) to take on a more proactive role in the crisis with increased lending to European banks. Additionally, the structural problems facing the crisis-hit advanced economies have proved more intractable than some expected. The future for Europe is a fine balancing act of fiscal adjustments, the repair of the financial sectors' balance sheets and the implementation of structural reforms to stimulate economic growth and employment, notably through private consumption.

Global Economic Development and its Consequences

Going into 2012, the advanced economies remain in a difficult situation. It is possible that the additional measures planned in Europe will not be sufficient to resolve the sovereign debt crisis and restore growth. Moreover, prospects for a compensating acceleration of growth elsewhere are dim. Although growth in the United States and Japan is picking up, it remains weak and fragile. And while emerging markets and developing countries have generally fared better than the developed countries in 2011, several major developing countries saw growth deteriorate towards the end of the year. The problems stalking the global economy are multiple and interconnected. Five factors must be addressed for recovery to start: the distressing of sovereign debt, fragile banking sectors, weak aggregate demand (associated with high unemployment), the global and regional rebalancing of current accounts, and the policy paralysis caused by political gridlock and institutional defences.

The global crisis has contributed to further acceleration of the on-going process of structural adjustment in the global economy. Essentially, far-reaching changes in the international system are driven by power shifts and increased interdependence. First, power is shifting from the West to the rest of the world, notably Asia. The BRIC economies are expected to outgrow the G7 economies in economic size by 2025. Also, an increasing number

of heterogeneous players will have an impact on the international system, and institutions of global governance will have to adapt and undergo innovation. Secondly, the deepening of interdependence is generating a new set of interconnected challenges. The emergence of economic powerhouses such as China, India and Brazil has altered trade and investment patterns and contributed to global economic growth, but it has also aggravated the imbalances between deficit and surplus countries. Interdependence thus goes well beyond the economic dimension to encompass energy, environmental and resource issues. While the financial crisis in 2008 left most developing countries relatively unaffected, the current crisis is being transmitted to developing economies through several channels. Higher spreads, including on sovereign default swaps, and a 4.2 per cent reduction in the value of stocks have led to notable welfare losses. Foreign direct investment has fallen from USD 309 billion in 2010 to 170 billion in 2011, just as foreign portfolio flows have dropped by 80 per cent, most notably in China and Brazil.

Because of the sluggish and uneven growth in advanced export markets, developing countries are increasingly relying on demand in other developing economies. Compared to the quick re-bounce after 2008, developing countries are now more vulnerable. While some countries still have fiscal space, they may be forced to cut expenditure rapidly, particularly if international financial markets freeze up. Should conditions worsen in the advanced economies, developing countries may face further restrictions in their access to finance and falling international demand. In this situation, it may be impossible to sustain the high growth rates of the last decade. A worsening crisis in the advanced economies may also lead to a deterioration of fiscal balances, as developing countries are strongly dependent on raw material exports and remittances.

Consequences for Global Governance of the Changes in the Global Economy

Global governance is slowly adapting to the changing international agenda and new balance of power, with the consolidation of the G20 and the increasing political influence of developing countries in global institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF. But reform is likely to proceed stepwise and piecemeal, and emerging powers may decide to create alternative platforms. Domestic and regional politics increasingly constrain multilateral negotiations, as economies become preoccupied with resolving domestic problems created by the financial and economic crisis and focus on sustaining economic growth, employment and poverty reduction.

Beyond the crisis, however, an increasingly globalised world requires in-

stitutions capable of handling and meeting emerging challenges with legitimacy and efficiency. The benefits to be reaped from overcoming barriers to collective action on issues that threaten growth, welfare and the environment globally are increasingly evident, as are the costs of inaction. The emergence of new forums such as the G20 must be a supplement to decision-making in rule-based and representative international institutions. The G20 is only partly representative of the world community and lacks institutional powers. And, while it did play an important role in mitigating the consequences of the crisis in 2008-2009, it seems less capable of responding to the ongoing sovereign debt crisis in the US and Europe in 2011. In 2011, the need for globally representative and legitimate institutions such as the UN, the WTO, the IMF and the World Bank is greater than ever, as global collective action is needed in areas such as development, trade, stability and climate change. At the same time, global governance is being challenged by new influential powers, new alliances and more assertive non-state actors.

The European Economies: Challenges and the Responses

The international economic and financial crisis as well as the debt crisis have had a deep impact on the EU Member States and can be expected to affect EU cooperation for a long time to come. The EU and the Eurozone countries have taken action together with the IMF to tackle specific and serious crises by setting up multiannual loan programmes for Greece, Portugal and Ireland. But Italy and Spain have also experienced failing confidence from investors in 2011. While there is a broad consensus among economic forecasters that Europe will be hit by some form of recession in 2012, there remains considerable uncertainty regarding the extent and duration of the expected recession. The severity of the crisis will depend on whether it will be possible to stabilise the situation in the crisis-hit countries and restore the confidence of investors in these countries. In particular the situation in Greece is likely to remain very challenging throughout 2012.

In 2010, the EU instrument, EFSM (European Financial Stabilisation Mechanism), and the euro country facility, EFSF (European Financial Stability Facility), were created in order to provide financial support to Eurozone countries in serious financial difficulties. In autumn 2011, significant additional steps were taken to strengthen the EFSF's crisis response capacity and towards ensuring the soundness of the European banking sector. In addition, in December the European Council decided to bring forward the commencement of the permanent European Stability Mechanism (ESM), which is to take over when the EFSF expires, to 2012. A revision of the EU's

treaties was adopted in March 2011, which will provide the Treaty basis for the ESM. Economic governance was also improved in October 2011, when the Eurogroup decided to conduct regular meetings in the Eurozone and to strengthen the regulation of enhanced economic governance. Furthermore, in December the European Council decided to push forward a new intergovernmental agreement on closer economic union.

In autumn 2011, the Council reached agreement with the European Parliament regarding an economic governance reform (the so-called 'six-pack'). Amongst other things, the reform comprises a strengthened Stability and Growth Pact and a strengthening of national budgetary frameworks, as well as new cooperation in addressing macroeconomic imbalances. The six-pack is closely related to the so-called European Semester, which was completed for the first time in 2011. The semester is a six-monthly cycle aimed at economic supervision and coordination under the Stability and Growth Pact and the Europe2020 Strategy. The European Semester enables ex ante coordination prior to national budgetary and economic policy procedures, as well as establishing the framework for a more integrated and comprehensive approach to economic policy. During the Danish EU Presidency, the full round of the European Semester will take place for the first time after the implementation of the six-pack. Besides the new rules and regulations, the Eurozone countries and six non-Eurozone countries, including Denmark, signed an agreement on a Euro Plus Pact at the European Council in March. Through freely chosen commitments regarding specific reform measures, the Pact is designed to ensure that the participating countries place an additional focus on the most important reforms at the highest political level. The reforms are essential for raising employment levels, creating sustainable public finances and strengthening both competitiveness and financial stability, the commonly defined goals of the Pact.

In order to further increase economic and financial stability in Europe, Chancellor Merkel and President Sarkozy stated in August that a change of the EU's treaties was necessary in order to increase the financial stability of the Eurozone. The issue was discussed at the European Council in October and again in December. At the December summit, it became clear that the UK would not support an amendment to the EU's treaties, since there was no willingness to give the UK special exemptions in the area of financial regulation. In the absence of the unanimity required for an amendment to the EU treaties, the Eurozone member states decided that, given the overriding priority of stabilising the financial situation of the Eurozone, they would pursue the agreed decisions regarding fiscal discipline (a new so-called

'fiscal compact') in a new intergovernmental agreement to be established outside the formal EU treaty framework. The new treaty would be open to non-Eurozone members, and all non-Eurozone members except the UK expressed an interest in participating in the negotiations on the new treaty.

Following developments at the December European Council, there was much debate over how this split would shape the future of the European Union: were we facing the fragmentation of the European Union into a group of 17 and a group of 10, did this constitute the creation of a two-speed Europe, and did it represent a turn in European integration in a decidedly intergovernmental direction to the detriment of the institutions that have served us so well? The first draft agreement circulated before Christmas and the subsequent negotiations dispelled many of the worst fears about the possible detrimental effects for the European Union. Being open to the flexible participation of non-Eurozone member states, the agreement does not widen the gap between Eurozone members and non-Eurozone members. It is expected that most non-Eurozone member states except the UK and the Czech Republic will sign and ratify the new agreement. Furthermore, there was widespread agreement among participating member states that the agreement should to the furthest extent possible be coherent with EU law and involve the EU institutions. The draft agreement clearly stated the intention to integrate the intergovernmental agreement into the EU's treaties at some point in the future. A key provision in the agreement is the equivalent of a so-called 'debt brake' which contracting parties will have to implement at the national level, and which will legally ensure that the annual structural balance of the general government budget does not exceed a deficit of 0.5 per cent of GDP. The new agreement will thus contribute to increased fiscal discipline in the contracting parties and thus to greater financial stability in Europe, in particular in Eurozone countries.

The economic governance reform, the Euro Plus Pact and the 'fiscal compact' are key instruments for facilitating enhanced coordination and continued efforts to tackle the crisis. The implementation of enhanced economic governance in the EU within the new rules and regulations aims to contribute to re-establishing a sound, responsible and sustainable economic policy in the individual countries and to prevent the EU Member States from experiencing a prolonged negative cycle of large deficits, rising debt and high interest rates. These measures together aim to pull Europe out of the crisis, to reduce the risk of a new crisis and to provide better instruments for tackling potentially new setbacks. This can be achieved by increasing the latitude and scope for pursuing an active fiscal policy and thus the potential for generat-

ing stronger growth and job creation in Europe. Growth and job creation are therefore at the very core of the priorities of the 2012 Danish EU Presidency, to which we return below.

Global Free Trade

The uncertainties in the world economy and the debt crisis in the Eurozone during 2011 underlined the need for a strong multilateral trading system and to conclude the Doha Development Agenda. Given the outlook for the world economy in 2012, it is even more evident that Denmark has a vital interest in global free trade. In order for our economy to grow, we need access to global markets, including the emerging markets with their high economic growth rates. During 2011, protectionist measures were still on the rise. The EU, the WTO and G20 continued their efforts to fight protectionism. At the G20 meeting in Cannes in November, leaders again declared their strong political commitment to refrain from introducing new protectionist measures. The present economic climate has made this work even more pertinent.

Despite intensified efforts to use the window of opportunity to close the Doha Development Round in 2011, it soon became clear that the Round was at an impasse. The main obstacle in the negotiations continues to be the question of reciprocal market access for industrial products due to the disagreement between developed and major developing countries on what constitutes a fair balance between rights and obligations in trade liberalisation. This also became evident during the 8th WTO ministerial conference in December 2011. The decisions on the accession of Russia and the conclusion of the government procurement agreement were very important, but apart from these elements, the conference only produced a very limited number of results. The year 2012 is not expected to produce much progress due to elections and leadership changes in key countries, including the US and China. However, the EU will continue to push for progress, especially for the Least Developed Countries.

Faced with the stalemate in the Doha negotiations, in October 2011 the European Council concluded that there is a need to supplement multilateral trade negotiations with regional and bilateral trade agreements. In 2011, the EU continued its negotiations with its strategic partners and other important countries such as the US, China and Russia, as well as free-trade agreement negotiations with India, Canada, Mercosur, Ukraine, Singapore and Malaysia. These efforts will continue during 2012, possibly with the opening of free-trade negotiations with other important trading partners, including Japan.

The Development in Danish Exports and Investments

As a small, open economy, Denmark is highly dependent on exports. Thus the state of the global economy, and in particular the economic status of Denmark's global trading partners, has a significant impact on the Danish economy. Although the crisis of 2008-2009 had an impact on Danish exports, the latter proved to be slightly more robust than the exports of some other OECD countries due to a large export of commodities that are fairly resistant to cyclical movements, such as meat products and medical supplies. During 2010, exports recovered strongly from the crisis, and this continued in the first half of 2011. However, mimicking the development of the global economy, Danish exports experienced volatility during over the summer. Based on seasonally adjusted measures, exports declined by 9 per cent in June relative to May but then increased by 5 per cent in July relative to June.

Following this, Danish exports rose only moderately during the last six months of 2011. This was due in particular to growing uncertainty surrounding the consequences of the European sovereign debt crisis and the unsustainable state of public finances in the United States, which led to falls in equity prices, rising risk premiums in financial markets, and lower consumer and business confidence. The more negative revised outlook of the OECD, the World Bank and the IMF has also had an impact on the forecast of real growth in Danish exports, which is expected to hit 6 per cent in 2011 but 2 per cent in 2012 according to the Danish Economic Council. The flow of inward and outward direct investments performed better in 2011 relative to 2010 based on estimates for the first three quarters. In particular, the number of outgoing investments nearly doubled during the first nine months of 2011 compared to 2009 and 2010. Similarly, flows of inward direct investments rose relative to 2010.

The New Cabinet Post of Minister for Trade and Investment

Bringing Denmark out of the economic crisis and back on to the growth track is a top government priority. Increased exports and inward investments are preconditions for renewed growth and jobs. The appointment of a Minister for Trade and Investment within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is concrete evidence of the high priority given to this area. In November 2011, the Minister presented a plan for more proactive action in the promotion of exports and investments, growth and employment.

The Trade Council, an integral part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and headed by the Minister for Trade and Investment, is working within the areas of trade policy, export promotion, innovation, the internationalisation

of Danish enterprises and the effort to attract foreign investments. The Trade Council's strategic targets include growth and employment, defined as DKK 30 billion of increased exports for Danish enterprises to be realised over the next three years and the annual creation of more than 1,000 knowledge-intensive jobs through foreign investments. Despite the global economic crisis, in 2011 the Trade Council reached its goals on every parameter, resulting in its best overall performance since its creation in 2000.

The Emerging New World

Exports to Europe and the United States remain the backbone of Danish exports. It is also a fact that, due to the state of the European and US economies, the primary growth potential for Danish exports lies in emerging economies. However, in terms of evaluating the performance and potential of Danish exports vis-à-vis the emerging economies, one has to bear in mind that, primarily because of the small average size of Danish companies, a significant proportion of Danish exports to emerging markets takes place indirectly through subcontracting via larger European economies.

2011 witnessed a further deepening of the on-going global economic shift. Despite the precarious state of the economy in the US and Europe in 2011, growth continued generally with unabated strength in many emerging economies. It goes without saying that this trend also has implications for global political relations. Inevitably, it changes the nature and importance of bilateral relations with these growth economies. This is specifically true for the BRIC countries – Brazil, Russia, India and China – and the so-called 'second-wave nations', i.e. South Africa, South Korea, Mexico, Indonesia, Vietnam and Turkey. In 2011 the government decided to develop strategies for strengthening our economic partnership with each BRIC country, which are expected to be launched in spring 2012. At a later stage, corresponding strategies are foreseen to be developed for the second-wave nations. Irrespective of this process, however, efforts to strengthen bilateral ties and cooperate with 'second-wave nations' have continued and even gained pace during 2011.

Brazil is an important new global player. In order to focus on cooperation with Brazil, the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs published 'Denmark and Brazil: A Partnership for Growth and Friendship' in 2011. This strategy

points to a range of issues that have the potential to strengthen relations. For this reason, the Minister for Foreign Affairs also visited Brazil in March 2011. During this visit, a bilateral Cooperation Agreement between Denmark and Brazil was signed that includes future annual high-level dialogue meetings that will cover issues such as human rights and the green economy.

Bilateral relations between Denmark and Russia have developed very positively in recent years. In 2011, the mutual desire to further enhance bilateral relations found expression first of all by Prime Minister Putin's official visit to Denmark in April, and then by HM Queen Margrethe's state visit to Russia in September. A work programme on a Danish-Russian Partnership for Modernisation was signed, as well as MoUs strengthening cooperation between the Danish and Russian authorities and business organisations in areas such as energy efficiency, transportation and food production. The great interest among Danish companies in the large, fast-growing Russian market was epitomised by the fact that more than a hundred companies took part in the business promotion programme attached to the Danish state visit to Russia. In 2011, the size of Danish exports to Russia rose to the same level as before the economic crisis. While promoting economic cooperation, important political issues were also prioritised. The positive developments in Danish-Russian relations are an expression of shared interests in promoting both economic and political modernisation in Russia, which is clearly a plus-sum game.

Denmark's bilateral relations with India have been strong and close for many years and with an upward trend in terms of the expanding and deepening of the bilateral cooperation. However, the increased focus in Danish foreign policy on India coincided with the independent decision by the Danish court system in overruling the Danish government's decision to extradite a Danish citizen to India. India reacted with strong disappointment. This had the unfortunate result that the Joint Indo-Danish Commission and the agreement on closer bilateral ties signed in December 2010 by the two foreign ministers could not be carried forward as originally envisaged.

Sino-Danish relations experienced a further boost in 2011. In October, the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs, Yang Jiechi, paid a successful official visit to Denmark, where he met with the Danish Foreign Minister and also paid a courtesy call on the Danish Prime Minister. At the meetings, a number of international, regional and national developments were discussed, including human rights and Tibet, and the upcoming Danish EU Presidency. In line with the increased priority given to growth economies, an important theme of the meeting with the Danish Foreign Minister was how

to deepen bilateral cooperation in areas of common interest, such as green growth, agriculture and welfare. Also, a number of Danish ministers and high-level officials visited China in 2011 to further bilateral cooperation in their respective fields of competence.

The strong and long-lasting bilateral relationship between Denmark and South Korea was cemented with the signing of the Strategic Partnership and the Green Growth Alliance on the occasion of South Korean President Lee Myung-bak's state visit to Denmark in May 2011. The Strategic Partnership is a new framework for increased cooperation in a broad range of political areas of mutual interest. The Green Growth Alliance indicates the strong mutual interest in strengthening cooperation between Denmark and Korea in areas where the combination of Denmark's long experience and South Korea's very ambitious green growth plan represents unique political, commercial and development-related opportunities for growth in the coming years.

In 2011, Denmark and Vietnam celebrated the 40th anniversary of diplomatic relations. The celebration was among other things marked by a visit to Vietnam by the Crown Prince, accompanied by the Minister for Trade and Investment and a business delegation in November 2011. During the visit, a joint declaration providing an important strategic framework for future Danish-Vietnamese relations was signed. The signing of the joint declaration is a first step in establishing a Comprehensive Cooperation Agreement between Denmark and Vietnam, as well as marking a transition in the character of the bilateral relationship between Denmark and Vietnam, from focusing on development cooperation to a greater concentration on commercial and cultural relations.

The EU

Preparing for the Danish Presidency of the Council of the European Union 2012

During 2011, Danish preparations to take over the EU Presidency in the first half of 2012 were intensified. On one hand, these preparations were based on solid experience from the six previous Presidencies held by Denmark since joining the European Union almost forty years ago. On the other hand, compared to the previous Danish Presidency in 2002, the preparations this time had to be adapted to the new institutional framework follow-

ing the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty that had limited the rotating Presidency's role. Furthermore, the final preparations had to await the results of the Danish parliamentary elections held on 15 September.

Denmark is the fifth Member State to take the rotating Presidency under the Lisbon rules. One of the changes introduced by the Lisbon Treaty concerns the introduction of two new permanent offices in the EU: the permanent President of the European Council and the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, supported by the European External Action Service. The two new offices, currently occupied by Herman van Rompuy and Catherine Ashton respectively, have each been entrusted with part of a role previously held by the rotating Presidency. First, with a permanent President of the European Council, the Prime Minister of the member state holding the rotating Presidency no longer chairs EU summits. Furthermore, the permanent President of the European Council also ensures the external representation of the Union on issues concerning its common foreign and security policy. Secondly, the Foreign Affairs Council is no longer chaired by the rotating Presidency but by the High Representative.

Nonetheless, the rotating Presidency still plays an important role and shoulders responsibility for taking forward the work in the Council during its six-monthly term of office. The Presidency of the different configurations of the Council continues to be held by representatives of the Member States, including some of the Foreign Affairs Council's preparatory bodies in the areas of trade and development. Also the General Affairs Council, which, for instance, prepares the European Council, is chaired by the rotating Presidency. Furthermore, the Presidency will be actively supporting the High Representative, who may ask to be replaced by the rotating Presidency if, and when need be, in ministerial-level meetings with third countries and before in the European Parliament. Both permanent offices have been created in order to ensure better coherence and continuity with a view to giving the EU one single face and voice in the international community, which is one of Denmark's priorities.

Another change introduced by the Lisbon Treaty with a substantial impact on the rotating Presidency's role is related to the upgraded involvement of the European Parliament in numerous new policy areas, especially the legislative and budgeting processes. With the European Parliament as co-legislator in most portfolios, the success of any Presidency consequently depends on a close relationship and dialogue with the European Parliament. This suggests the need for more strategic attention and frequent consultation of the European Parliament prior to and during the Presidency.

The new Danish government that took office on 3 October 2011 appointed a Minister for European Affairs. Not only the Prime Minister and the Minister for European Affairs but the entire government faced a busy three months establishing all relevant contacts with European commissioners and parliamentarians, as well as new ministerial colleagues of other Member States, including the trio partners of Poland and Cyprus. The main outcome of about one year of preparations during which contacts had been established at all administrative levels of the three countries is the common eighteen-month programme that was endorsed by the Council on 22 June 2011. Whereas the purpose of this document is to give a clear overview and ensure greater coherence and coordination of the different activities to be undertaken during the eighteen-month period, the political priorities and objectives still remain to be defined by each individual Presidency. Therefore, another important and urgent task for the new government in the last quarter of 2011 was to agree on the priorities for the Danish Presidency in accordance with the existing European agenda, as well as the newly established priorities listed in the Danish Government Platform.

Denmark would be taking over the EU Presidency under challenging circumstances. One overall ambition of the Presidency that has been decided is to create concrete results that demonstrate the value and necessity of European cooperation. The first priority is achieving an economically responsible Europe by ensuring economic and fiscal stability and implementing the reformed economic policy coordination within the first full European Semester and stronger financial regulation. The second priority is ensuring a dynamic Europe by identifying the importance of growth and employment in emerging from the crisis. In this context, the focus was placed on further development of the Single Market and the establishment of the digital single market, as well as on the active use of the EU's trade policy. The third priority is promoting green and sustainable growth covering several sectors such as energy, agriculture, transport, climate and the environment. The fourth priority is targeting the safety of European citizens through enhanced cooperation regarding asylum and migration policy, combatting and preventing terrorism and cross-border crime, and ensuring Europe's international influence in the areas of security, trade and development. The four main priorities of the Danish Presidency 2012 – *a responsible, dynamic, green and safe Europe* – were presented by the Minister for European Affairs in Brussels on 16 December 2012, who thereby unveiled that the political focus of the seventh Danish EU Presidency was to put *Europe at work*.

EU Enlargement

2011 once again confirmed the EU's enlargement policy as one of the most successful foreign policies of the EU. It is the one policy which has instigated most change in our immediate and expanding neighbourhood. With membership of the EU as an incentive, the countries concerned have embarked upon a path of extensive political, economic and social reform based on democracy, leading them to adopt European standards and stimulating growth and welfare.

2011 cemented important advances in the EU's enlargement policy. Decisive steps were taken in the realisation of the European perspective of the Western Balkans, not least with the finalisation of the accession negotiations with Croatia in June 2011 and the signing of the accession treaty in December 2011. As such, Croatia has become an example and a source of inspiration for the whole region, showing that through committed effort, EU membership is within reach. Croatia reached a high degree of preparedness for membership in 2011 and only has a few outstanding commitments to fulfil before formal accession in 2013. The year 2011 also saw important advances in Serbia, with a continued reform effort, positive developments in the Belgrade/Pristina dialogue and progress in the cooperation with ICTY, symbolised not least by the arrest and transfer to The Hague of Ratko Mladic. Following a similarly committed reform effort, Montenegro was given a firm perspective for opening negotiations in June 2012. The situation remained unchanged concerning the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, where a solution to the issue of the name has still not been negotiated between the two parties. While progress in the enlargement negotiations with Turkey was very limited in 2011, the importance of a further strengthening of relations between the EU and Turkey was broadly acknowledged in both EU capitals and Ankara. An important initiative was taken with the launching of a positive dialogue between the EU and Turkey, which will be explored during the Danish EU Presidency. Finally on Iceland, enlargement negotiations gained decisive momentum in 2011, leaving the Danish Presidency with a firm base to build on.

Eastern Partnership

In June 2011, the European Neighbourhood Policy was revised. Cooperation with the EU's partners to the east, namely Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Belarus, will thus focus to a higher degree on a merits-based approach under the headline 'more for more'. The EU will provide additional support to neighbouring countries that engage in building

democracy and implement reforms to that effect. At the EU-Ukraine Summit in December, negotiations on an Association Agreement and a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement (DCFTA) were finalised at the technical level. The summit was held in the shadow of the politically motivated trials in Ukraine, and the EU delivered a clear message to Ukraine that the signature and ratification of the agreement would depend on political circumstances and progress in the fields of rule of law, democracy and human rights. Negotiations on an Association Agreement with Moldova, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan have been ongoing since 2010, and the process of negotiations on DCFTAs between the EU and both Moldova and Georgia are expected to gain momentum in the beginning of the Danish EU Presidency in 2012. In 2011, a new EU policy towards Belarus was initiated due to the continued deterioration of the situation in the country. The Lukashenko regime's crack-down on peaceful protesters after the presidential elections in December 2010 and the worsened conditions for civil society, opposition and free media led the EU to implement sanctions against the regime. The sanctions now consist of asset freeze and visa ban, economic sanctions and a weapons embargo. They are complemented by an active engagement with civil society.

The Arab Spring

The Arab Spring is a landmark development in the history of the Middle East. What started as a brave popular uprising against authoritarian leaders in Tunisia and Egypt has evolved into a remarkable process, which is in no way limited to the countries where dictatorial regimes have been overthrown. The Arab Spring clearly has implications for all countries in the region and has unleashed unforeseeable and quickly evolving dynamics that are changing the region and presenting policy-makers with a complex set of opportunities and risks. Its full impact on national, regional and international politics is still to be seen and evaluated, but undoubtedly we are facing a period of transition, which will probably take time and entail both hope and the risk of instability and setbacks.

Although all the political leaders in the region have to some extent been confronted with popular demands, patterns of reaction have naturally differed, and the outcome will most likely be a less homogeneous Middle East-

ern region. In this article, the focus will be on Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, where authoritarian leaders have been ousted and a democratic rebuilding process is underway, as well as Syria, where the violent path is extremely worrying. It will also touch upon the Middle Eastern Peace Process and Iran. However, it is also crucial to keep an eye on some of the many other countries going through various degrees of change, amongst others Morocco, Jordan, Yemen and Bahrain. Most countries in the region have the potential to undergo marked changes since they all, if to varying degrees, are characterised by the key factors underlying the uprisings: inequalities of income, unemployment (especially among the young), a lack of economic opportunities, corruption and repressive regimes. The degree of success in the transition countries will have a significant impact on the appetite for change in the rest of the region.

In **Tunisia**, one of the freest and fairest elections ever conducted in the region was held to elect a Constituent Assembly. The Constituent Assembly appointed a new transitional government made up of Ennahdah and the secular CPR. The drafting of a new constitution will be the Assembly's main responsibility, while the appointed transitional government will run day-to-day affairs until the parliamentary elections scheduled to take place within a year. The international community is watching closely, as the Tunisian constitution may become an example to follow in the region. A powerful message has already been sent by the Prime Minister, Hamadi Jebali, in his opening speech when he declared censorship obsolete and promised to work to reinforce freedom of expression and the independence of the media.

Although Tunisia has great potential in becoming a successful democratic society, a long list of economic, social and political challenges are awaiting the transitional government. Many Tunisians demand immediate improvements to their economic and social life and are pressuring the government by way of demonstrations and workers' strikes. This may worsen Tunisia's economy and make it more difficult for the transitional government to solve the country's problems.

The situation in **Egypt** proved to be quite different from that in Tunisia and will be more prone to backlash and setbacks. Since the overthrow of President Mubarak, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) has been responsible for the transitional process towards a democratically elected civilian government. The state of emergency enacted by Mubarak more than thirty years ago is still in place. The police-state methods used by Mubarak, including crackdowns on civil-society organisations, are still being enforced. However, it is also important to note that the new authorities have managed to conduct elections to the new Egyptian parliament.

The elections in Egypt and in Tunisia (as well as in Morocco) has given us insights into what the outcome of future free elections in the region might be. With the Islamist parties gaining political power, we must prepare ourselves for new political actors and partners. We must first and foremost be prepared to work with any freely and democratically elected government in the region, no matter what the party constellation. We should not judge such governments on whether they are religious or secular, but on their actions and how they are actually respecting the fundamental principles of democracy and universal human rights. At the same time, we must acknowledge the fact that Islamist politicians do not come to power through opposition, but from exile, from prison and from illegality. Their political programmes are far from complete, and their viewpoints are susceptible to the influence and impressions they are exposed to. Establishing a dialogue and including the new political actors in our southern neighbourhood is as important as was the inclusion of East European political actors in 1989.

In **Libya**, Denmark's involvement has been taken forward by a strong political commitment that has enjoyed almost unanimous support in parliament. Denmark took swift action to implement UNSC resolution 1973 when civilians in Libya were being threatened by the Gaddafi regime. Denmark was among the first to respond, and our contribution was substantial, in both absolute and relative terms. Denmark shouldered a great share of the responsibility in the NATO-led Operation Unified Protector, which brought together NATO allies and partner nations from all over the world. The operation successfully prevented large-scale assaults on the civilian population and underlined our readiness to act on the principle of the Responsibility to Protect. The military effort ended on 31 October 2011, when NATO had fulfilled its mandate to protect the Libyan civilian population. Denmark became a member of the International Contact Group for Libya and established early relations with the Libyan Interim National Transition Council (NTC). The Danish Foreign Minister and members of parliament visited the NTC in Benghazi in June 2011. The existence early on of a unifying and credible political force, willing to take responsibility for a democratic transition in Libya, has been an important factor for success. With its Roadmap for Libya, the NTC has presented an ambitious political project which enjoys broad Danish and international support. Many challenges still lie ahead of the Libyans. It is first and foremost a Libyan responsibility to lead the process of change and to build a new Libya for the benefit of all Libyans. Libya has its own resources to reconstruct the country, but we will seek cooperation – including commercial – to help the new Libya build a better future for itself.

In **Syria**, small-scale protests began in January but had picked up speed by mid-March. The regime's attempt to crush the uprising by force failed. Over time, the regime's response to the uprising became increasingly violent and, by the end of the year, the UN estimated that more than 5,000 people had died. Parts of the opposition also increasingly took up arms, and some deserters fought against the regime in the so-called Free Syrian Army. The historically divided Syrian opposition took some steps towards establishing broader platforms against the regime, but it is still struggling to find common ground. The EU and the US responded to the violent crackdown by introducing tough sanctions against the regime and its supporters, as well as broader sanctions against, inter alia, the Syrian oil industry. The sanctions have placed considerable pressure on the regime's finances, which over time may contribute to the weakening of the regime. It is very positive that the Arab League also has engaged in solving the crisis and introduced sanctions against the regime. Denmark and its partners have made it clear that President Assad has lost all legitimacy in the eyes of the Syrian people and must step aside to allow for a peaceful and democratic transition. As 2011 came to an end, the outlook for Syria was bleak. In spite of strong international pressure on the regime, it showed no willingness to compromise and seemed determined to stick to its violent course.

Looking forward, it is critical that Denmark and Europe, together with partners such as the US, work with Arab countries to consolidate their transitions. A positive development towards stable and prosperous democracies in our neighbourhood is in our clear interest. The pro-democratic values of the recent Arab uprisings have increased the space of common values between Europe and its southern neighbours. Therefore, Denmark has been actively engaged in shaping the EU response to the Arab Spring. The EU revised its Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) in order to focus and differentiate its cooperation with neighbouring countries, making full use of the strengthening of the EU's foreign policy that the Lisbon Treaty has made possible. Using the 'more-for-more' approach, the extent of cooperation with the EU – whether in terms of free trade, technical cooperation or political consultations – is decided on the basis of positive steps towards political reforms and respect for universal human rights. Actual cooperation between the EU and its neighbours is, of course, also affected by the present economic crisis and the limitations this places on Europe's ability to act.

On the bilateral level, Denmark has significantly increased its cooperation with Arab countries in transition. In 2012, Denmark will commit DKK 275 million as part of our programme for collaboration with the Middle East

and Northern African Region in the Danish-Arab Partnership Programme. The double objective of this Programme is to support existing reform and democratisation processes in the Middle East and North Africa, and to promote dialogue, understanding and cooperation between Denmark and the Arab world. As a key element, support to economic growth and job creation will be expanded. Much of the Arab unrest was linked precisely to desperate socio-economic conditions. Therefore, economic growth and job creation are vital to consolidate the transition. Economic stagnation and a growing unemployment rate may undermine democratic development, in particular if a developing democracy is conceived as leading to economic decline. No one can live on democracy alone.

Naturally the Arab Spring did not take place in a vacuum, and the region is still witnessing several crises that are having a destabilising effect, one being the Arab-Israeli conflict, the other the tensions between Iran, its neighbours and the international community.

Although 2011 did not produce a peace agreement or direct negotiations between **Palestinians and Israelis**, it was still a year of several events in the framework of the peace process that set the stage for relations between Israel and the Palestinian leadership in 2012. As always, the international community will stay close by and continue to be engaged in striking a path towards peace and stability. Against the backdrop of the Arab Spring, the Palestinian leadership with President Abbas in a determining role introduced a new element into the stagnated peace process, which is increasingly under pressure from continued expansions of the illegal Israeli settlements. In an effort to safeguard the possibility of a two-state solution, the Palestinians presented the UN with a proposal for formal recognition of a Palestinian state. This was followed by Palestinian membership of UNESCO on 31 October, resulting in strong reactions from in particular Israel and the USA, both arguing that the Palestinian efforts at the UN were unilateral actions, harmful to the peace process. In apparent response to the Palestinian move, more settlements in East Jerusalem and the West Bank were announced and transfers of vital funds for the Palestinians were for a while blocked by the Israeli government. There were also developments with some positive potential. Reconciliation between Fatah and Hamas may be obtainable in 2012 based on the agreement signed last May in Cairo. Any implementation that may follow will be carefully scrutinised, however, since deeds, not words, is what will ultimately count. The road to a peace agreement to be signed no later than the end of 2012 was put on paper by the Quartet in its statement of 23 September. International efforts are directed towards sustaining this

initiative. The Danish government is intent on having the parties seize this opportunity, but there must be ambition and resolve on the part of the Israeli government and the Palestinian leadership to take it further. If this is not the case, it will merely represent another opportunity missed, while the perspective of a two-state solution is eroding.

Developments in the Middle East and North Africa, including the Arab Spring, have so far not directly affected **Iran's** stability. Internally Iran is marked by continuous power struggles, but the 2012 parliamentary elections are expected to confirm the dominance of the Supreme Leader Khamenei and his conservative supporters. However, the Arab uprisings could curtail Iran's regional power ambitions. Internationally, Iran seems more and more isolated, as the development of its nuclear programme continues to be a matter of great concern in the region and beyond. In its November report on Iran, the International Atomic and Energy Agency (IAEA) expressed grave concern over the possible military dimensions of the nuclear programme. Iran has continued to defy several IAEA and UN Security Council resolutions in clear breach of its international obligations. The situation is further aggravated by the continued lack of Iranian willingness to enter into real negotiations with the five permanent members of the Security Council and Germany. Iran is already subject to UN and EU sanctions following the dual-track approach, where negotiations are offered simultaneously with the application of sanctions due to continued non-compliance. The end of 2011 brought a decision by the EU to broaden its existing sanctions regime in light of the serious concerns over developments in Iran's nuclear programme.

Areas of Conflict and Security Policy

Afghanistan

In March 2011, President Karzai announced the beginning of the transition process, i.e. the gradual handover of security responsibility to the Afghan authorities. By the end of the year, more than half of the Afghan population was living in areas which had begun transition or were considered ready for transition. In other words, the transition process is so far on track and now has to be continued and consolidated in the coming years leading up to 2014 – the year marking the ambition for finalising the transition process. While the transition process was launched at the beginning of 2011, the year

was concluded by the International Afghanistan Conference in Bonn. Bonn sent a strong political signal on the need for long-term cooperation between Afghanistan and the international community and underlined the crucial importance of the peace and reconciliation process.

Part of the reason for the progress with transition is, without doubt, to be found in the international troop surge, which was carried out in 2010. The surge led to an increased security situation in key regions, such as the complicated and important southern provinces of Kandahar and Helmand, the latter being the centre of gravity of the Danish military efforts in Afghanistan. In other parts of the country the security situation has become more complicated, clearly illustrated by the fact that the insurgency carried out several spectacular attacks in Kabul during 2011. However, this does not change the overall positive trend in the transition process and the significant results of the surge in the key strategic areas in the south just mentioned. On that basis, in June 2011 US President Obama announced the beginning of the US surge recovery.

In accordance with the transition agenda, Denmark's Helmand Plan 2011-2012 initiated a gradual reorganisation of Denmark's military efforts, gradually changing the role of the Danish contribution from combat to training and capacity development. In line with the push to transition, Denmark furthermore reduced the number of troops from 750 to 720 in 2011. Last but not least, in parallel with these adjustments to the military contribution, the Danish civilian effort was significantly boosted, including markedly strengthened police training, additional civilian stabilisation advisers as well as an increase in Danish development aid to Afghanistan, which consequently became the second largest recipient of Danish aid, with DKK 500 million in 2011. All in all, Denmark continued its large-scale comprehensive approach to Afghanistan in 2011, an ambitious effort which – based on close cooperation with Afghan and international partners such as the US and UK – has contributed to creating visible results and progress in a range of areas. This includes progress related to the capacity development and training of the Afghan security forces, as well as significant progress in certain key priority areas of the civilian sector, not least education.

As foreseen in the Danish Helmand Plan, there are indeed areas where the results have not materialised to the degree that could have been hoped for. But a willingness to take risks is among the basic 'rules of engagement' in Afghanistan, as it is in other fragile states. This is the reason why Denmark must continue to stay realistic, also in the years to come. This fact *does not* change as part of the continued transition process and the gradual reorganisation and further adjustment of the Danish approach. Building on

the basis of our efforts in the past, a new plan for Denmark's engagement in Afghanistan after 2012 will be developed in the course of 2012. As agreed in the Conference Conclusions from Bonn in December, 'the International Community and Afghanistan solemnly dedicated themselves to deepening and broadening their historic partnership from Transition to the Transformation Decade of 2015-2024'.

North Korea

The death on 17 December of the North Korean Leader, Kim Jong-il, gave rise to apprehensive speculations in the international community, as well as cautious optimism regarding the possibilities for a positive renewal of the DPRK's relationship with the international community. So far, the top priority of the DPRK regime under the leadership of Kim Jong-il's son, Kim Jong-un, appears to be stability and consolidation. This is expected to continue to be the case with the celebration of the 100th anniversary in April of the birth of Kim Il-sung. The change in leadership has also put on hold the process towards a possible resumption of the 6-party talks, which were suspended after the North Korean military provocations of 2010. Since 1953, Denmark has participated actively in the United Nations Command that monitors the ceasefire between North and South Korea.

Piracy

Piracy continued to pose a great security threat to seafarers and a challenge to the shipping industry, global and regional trade in 2011. However, while the number of piracy attacks was at the same level as the year before, the number of successful hijackings was cut by half in 2011. We also witnessed a significant drop in the number of ships and crew members being held ransom by pirates. This positive trend was widely attributed to the international naval presence and the increased adherence to Best Management Practices by the shipping industry. An increase in the use of armed guards on board ships travelling through the high-risk area is also an important contributory factor.

A comprehensive, multi-annual strategy for the Danish counter-piracy efforts was launched in 2011, emphasising the very active engagement of Denmark in the fight against piracy. The strategy encompasses the political, judicial, military and capacity-building instruments in use, and places the Danish efforts soundly in an international context. Denmark's counter-piracy activities should be seen in close connection with the considerable Danish support to peace and stabilisation in Somalia, without which we will never see an end to piracy in the region.

Denmark continued its support to the international maritime efforts in 2011 with its contribution to NATO's Operation Ocean Shield. A Danish flexible support ship equipped with helicopter, fast boats and boarding teams thus prevented many acts of piracy and destroyed a substantial number of pirate skiffs, weapons and equipment. Denmark also worked intensively to promote a coherent response from the international community to the fight against piracy, most notably through the Contact Group on Piracy off the Coast (CGPCS) of Somalia, where Denmark chairs Working Group 2 (WG2) on legal issues. Since the beginning of 2009, Denmark has chaired nine meetings of the Group and has provided specific practical and legally sound guidance to the CGPCS, states and organisations on the legal aspects of counter-piracy. WG2 continues to examine a number of legal challenges to counter-piracy, including the use of privately contracted armed security personnel on commercial vessels, mechanisms for prosecution in the region, and investigation and prosecution of piracy financiers and leaders operating on shore. In its capacity as Chair of WG2 Denmark has, in close cooperation with UNODC, worked intensively to enable the transfer of prisoners convicted of piracy in other states to Somalia by assisting states in concluding post-trial transfer arrangements and by ensuring the implementation of such agreements. Denmark supports broader stabilisation activities on land in Somalia related to counter-piracy through the UN, including support for regional maritime capacity-building and justice and security sector development, such as training of judicial capacity, police and security sector reform, and expanding existing prison capacity.

The NATO Agenda

The Libya operation of 2011 demonstrated that transatlantic cooperation continues to be pivotal for international peace and security. These events revealed that NATO was the only organisation with the sufficient command and control capacity to launch an operation on the scale required to implement the UN Security Council resolutions concerning the protection of the Libyan civilian population. Another lesson learned was that the modernisation of the Alliance's partnership cooperation initiated with the Strategic Concept at the Lisbon summit in November 2010 was right and timely. The existing partnership cooperation in the region was an important contributing factor to the success of the operation.

The economic crisis has left an important imprint on the NATO agenda in 2011. It will continue to do so in the run up to the NATO Summit in Chicago in May 2012. The increasing gap between US and European capa-

bilities and defence expenditures will be an underlying theme at the summit, and it will be important to demonstrate that NATO offers good value for security. It is in this perspective that NATO's cooperation with its partners and its place as the hub of a security partnership network should be seen. By working together on joint responses to common problems and pooling resources, NATO and its partners have been able to do more, more efficiently, and at a lower cost to all.

A key element in the Strategic Concept was that the Alliance faces new threats and changes in the security environment. The decision taken at the Lisbon summit to establish a strategic missile defence system to protect the European population and territory against missile attacks was a direct and concrete response to these dynamics. The deployment is on track, and the ambition is to declare Interim NATO Ballistic Missile Defence Capability at the Chicago summit. The need for cooperation to counter common threats and challenges was the reason that NATO in Lisbon invited Russia to cooperate on missile defence, as well as on other areas such as counter-terrorism, counter-piracy, etc. Russia has expressed concern that NATO's missile defence will undermine the Russian nuclear deterrent. The Alliance has repeatedly emphasised that NATO's missile defence is not directed towards Russia and cannot possibly pose a threat to Russia's nuclear deterrent. The Russian concerns underline the need for continued dialogue and transparency.

International Disarmament and Non-Proliferation

The successful outcome of the 2010 NPT (Non-Proliferation Treaty) review conference and the adoption of an ambitious and forward-looking action plan set the tone for much of the international work in 2011, not least in looking ahead towards the implementation of the decision to hold a conference in 2012 on establishing a Middle East Zone free of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. The conference is now in the safe hands of Finland as the host nation and facilitator of this important event. The continued movements in the nuclear field were visible also at the 1st Committee (Disarmament) of the United Nations General Assembly. 2011 saw some unexpected progress in the advancing of the Comprehensive Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT), which Indonesia decided to ratify. Such small steps are pivotal in increasing international momentum, and it is to be hoped that this will spark off renewed momentum for the CTBT. Denmark supports the work and positive developments in the area of disarmament and non-proliferation and expects to make an active contribution to the field in 2012 and beyond. As a state party to the Convention on Cluster Muni-

tions (CCM), Denmark engaged actively with this issue during the Fourth Review Conference of the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW), helping to ensure a humanitarian focus also in the CCW towards full universalisation of the norms and standards of the CCM. Looking forward to 2012, an important event concerning conventional weapons will be the United Nations negotiating conference with a view to reaching an agreement on an international Arms Trade Treaty (ATT). Denmark has been a strong supporter of the process and will work actively to achieve a solid, comprehensive and legally binding treaty.

The Evolving Nature of International Terrorism

In 2011, the threat from terrorism evolved without being reduced and is not expected to be reduced significantly in the years to come. The deaths of Osama bin Laden, high-ranking al-Qaeda leader in Pakistan Atiyah Abd al-Rahman and Ahmed al-Bahri in Yemen have stripped al-Qaeda of a great deal of its mythical image and have created a new dynamic in international counter-terrorism. Whilst al-Qaeda and other militant Sunni extremist networks continue to pose the most serious terrorist threat globally, years of intense pressure have decreased the imminent threat from core al-Qaeda. The terrorism threat appears to be diversifying and is increasingly focused on Yemen, the Sahel and not least Somalia. The militant extremist group in Somalia, al-Shabaab, has carried out attacks outside Somalia's borders and increasingly resembles al-Qaeda in the way it communicates with the outside world. Al-Shabaab's foreign supporters can travel to Somalia to receive training, thereby increasing the global reach of this group. Furthermore, in Nigeria a series of increasingly audacious attacks, including the bombing of UN headquarters in Abuja in August 2011 by Boko Haram, suggest that this group is becoming more of a threat, added to which there are signs that it may now be colluding with other, more established groups.

The threat from so-called 'lone wolves' or groups or individuals not directly controlled by al-Qaeda but working in isolation and inspired by a common extremist ideology is growing. It is rare for these individuals or cells to be able to acquire the operational experience and capability necessary to perpetrate a terrorist attack, but it is possible and we must remain vigilant. The tragic events on Utøya, Norway, demonstrated the increased threat of 'lone wolf' terrorist attacks and underline the necessity of a broad-based approach to national threat assessments. To these developments should be added the level of uncertainty concerning the implications of the Arab Spring on the threat level. Large parts of the Middle East and North Africa

are in a state of flux. As well as offering many positive perspectives, this also poses potential new challenges with implications for the security situation in the region itself and for the EU. These recent changes in dynamics make it even more important to focus on and counter the factors that provide breeding grounds for new terrorists or networks and to bolster CT-relevant institutions in our partner countries. Denmark is working to counter these trends through a combination of bilateral projects and international cooperation, not least through the Danish EU Presidency. In 2011, Denmark continued to play an active role in developing the EU's counter-terrorism activities under the EU Instrument for Stability. With a view to tackling these challenges, a new multilateral platform, the Global Counterterrorism Forum (GCTF), was launched by the US and Turkey in 2011, which Denmark was invited to join. The aim of the GCTF is strategic engagement to strengthen international counter-terrorism cooperation. With its strong focus on prevention, the Forum can constitute a valuable platform for providing capacity-building in states affected by terrorism.

Denmark's Northern Neighbours

The Arctic

In May 2011, Denmark concluded its chairmanship of the Arctic Council with a ministerial meeting in Nuuk, Greenland. At the meeting, a legally binding agreement on Search and Rescue was signed – the first in the history of the Arctic Council – and agreement was reached on strengthening the Arctic Council through the establishment of a permanent secretariat.

As a framework to confront the new realities of the Arctic, Denmark, Greenland and the Faroe Islands have developed a joint Arctic strategy: 'Kingdom of Denmark, Strategy for the Arctic 2011-2020'. The aim of the strategy is to strengthen the Kingdom as a joint, active and accountable actor in international cooperation in the Arctic. The strategy rests on four pillars. First, a peaceful, secure and safe Arctic is the overriding goal of the strategy. The goal is directed at maintaining the close cooperation in the Arctic on the basis of international law, especially the Law of the Sea, that characterises the Arctic today. Improving safety at sea in the light of the expected increased use of northern sea routes is also paramount. Second is the importance of self-

sustained growth and development. The raw materials of the Arctic are estimated to be vast and must be exploited for the benefit of its inhabitants and their surrounding society and in line with the highest international standards of safety, health, the environment, preparedness and transparency. The living resources of the sea must be managed and utilised sustainably, based on the best available scientific advice. Thirdly, respect must be maintained for the Arctic's fragile climate, environment and nature. The strategy emphasises the management of nature and the environment on the basis of sound science and the highest standards of protection. Finally, close cooperation with the Kingdom's international partners is the key to sustainable development in the Arctic. The comprehensive international cooperation that characterises the Arctic – at the multilateral and regional levels and bilaterally – must be strengthened. For years the Kingdom has favoured a strengthening of regional cooperation in the Arctic Council and considers the Council to be the preeminent forum for cooperation in the region.

The Nordic Region as a Role Model

Nordic cooperation is a key priority for Denmark. Denmark believes that the Nordic region can serve as a role model internationally, for instance when it comes to green growth. The Nordic Region has the potential and the political will to lead the way in dynamic green business growth and sustainable solutions. The Nordic prime ministers have therefore commissioned the ministerial councils to develop a number of tangible areas in which the Nordic countries can work together to generate growth and prosperity. In 2011, Finland held the Presidency of the Nordic Council of Ministers and Nordic cooperation on foreign and security policy. Two major, overarching issues were addressed: the Nordic globalisation effort and climate. The debate on political extremism in the Nordic countries was also on the agenda because of the tragedy in Norway in the summer of 2011. Work continued on the proposals in the Stoltenberg report on Nordic foreign and security policy. One result was a declaration on Nordic solidarity adopted by the Ministers in April. It states that should a Nordic country be affected by, inter alia, natural and man-made disasters or cyber and terrorist attacks, the others will assist upon request with the relevant means. Intensified Nordic cooperation will occur fully in line with each country's security and defence policies and complement existing European and Euro-Atlantic cooperation.

Nordic-Baltic cooperation was highlighted at the twentieth anniversary celebrations of the regained independence of the Baltic States. To commem-

orate this, His Royal Highness the Crown Prince hosted a dinner in honour of the three Baltic Foreign Ministers. The implementation of the 38 proposals in the Danish-Latvian report on future cooperation presented in 2010 continued in 2011.

Africa: New Opportunities and Development Cooperation

Africa has always been at the centre of Danish development cooperation. Thus, in 2011 Denmark maintained substantial assistance programmes with long-term African partner countries like, among others, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Mozambique and Tanzania. These programmes are aimed at promoting economic and social development and are closely aligned with the countries' own wishes and plans for the future. However, there is much more to Africa than poverty – and more to Danish relations with African countries than development assistance. Many African countries have seen tremendous progress in recent years, namely greater economic growth, more trade and regional integration, higher investment rates, less conflict and more democracy. 2011 saw a breakthrough in commercial interest and involvement by Danish businesses in Africa, spurred on by consistently high growth rates and globally unsurpassed returns to investment. However, there continues to be an enormous unexplored potential for Danish businesses and investors in Africa, to the mutual benefit of Africans and Danes alike. South Africa remains the best-known economic powerhouse on the continent, but it has been joined by regional engines like Angola, Ghana, Kenya and Nigeria. Furthermore, Africa is increasingly seen as a global player in international negotiations on topics such as climate and energy. South Africa has been an important strategic partner for Denmark for several years. Another case is Ghana, where the thrust of the strategic partnership is on furthering value-based politics, both regionally and internationally.

Of course, there are still many problems and challenges to overcome, and nowhere is this truer than in Africa's 'hot-spot' fragile states. But even there, 2011 brought hope and optimism as the population of Southern Sudan overwhelmingly chose independence from Sudan, giving birth to a new nation. Together with many other countries, Denmark recognised the new independent state in July 2011. Political determination and support from

the international community is, however, still needed to ensure the successful transition of Southern Sudan from war to peace and stability. Denmark is actively involved, working through the EU, the UN and the AU, and providing bilateral support of about DKK 600 million in 2011-2014. Also, Denmark contributes twelve military officers to the UN's new integrated mission, UNMISS, in the sections for civilian-military cooperation and disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration. Somalia continues to be the most complex fragile nation in the world, marred by piracy and the conflict between the transitional government and the brutal group al-Shabaab. In turn, this has created a most dire humanitarian crisis. Denmark is actively engaged in the efforts, led by the UN and the EU, to find a long-term solution to the crisis. The Danish government has allocated DKK 615 million to development assistance covering support to the political process, good governance, improved livelihoods, stabilisation, and growth and employment. In Zimbabwe, Denmark closely followed the transitional government's preparations for a referendum on a new constitution, a prerequisite for free and fair elections. To support Zimbabwe's reform process, Denmark allocated DKK 200 million to a transitional development programme in 2010-2011. The funds are being directed to private sector-led development of the agricultural sector, infrastructure and initiatives to promote good governance, democracy and human rights.

A New Approach to Development Cooperation

2011 marked a year of both continuity and change for Denmark's development policy. As an integral part of Danish foreign and security policy, Denmark continued to support development and reforms on a worldwide scale, for example, in relation to the Arab Spring and in connection with the peace process that finally led to the independence of the Republic of South Sudan. Denmark also maintained its strong commitment to assist those in acute need through its humanitarian assistance. When autumn flooding in South and Southeast Asia triggered an immense humanitarian crisis, Denmark was fast to react and support relief efforts in Pakistan at an amount of DKK 15 million. In response to severe drought, conflict, displacement and hunger at the Horn of Africa, Denmark was among the largest contributors to the vast humanitarian efforts with a total of DKK 354 million. During the crisis in Libya, Denmark targeted its humanitarian assistance to relief efforts assisting escaping victims in transit camps, child protection and demining activities.

A new strategic framework for the priority area of growth and employment creation was launched in 2011, establishing the foundation for a range

of interventions, which include working towards better integration of developing countries into the global economy and propagating innovative solutions that can create better living conditions and employment opportunities for the poorest segments of the population in these countries. African countries remained the main recipients of Denmark's bilateral development assistance. The decision in 2011 to phase out development cooperation with Benin and Zambia – and in Asia also Cambodia – did not change this trend. As part of Denmark's commitment to education for all, Denmark hosted a highly successful pledging conference for the Global Partnership for Education (GPE) in November. Denmark is the third largest donor to the GPE, to which more than USD 1.5 billion was pledged for investments in national education programmes in developing countries.

The new Danish government that came to power in October consists of parties that had voted against the adoption of the current strategy for development cooperation in 2010. The new Minister for Development Cooperation initiated work on a new strategy for Denmark's development cooperation. His declared ambition is to create broad national political support for Denmark's development policy and to make poverty alleviation and a rights-based approach to development its cornerstone. The strategy will be launched in May 2012. The new government's programme outlined ambitions to raise the level of Denmark's development assistance to 1 per cent of GNI in the coming years. As a step in this direction, in late 2011 the government declared its intention to increase Denmark's development assistance by DKK 234 million in 2012 and by another DKK 366 million in 2013.

Aid effectiveness is at the forefront of Denmark's development cooperation, and Denmark played an active role at the fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Busan, Korea, in late 2011. The new global partnership for development and effectiveness brings together traditional donors, emerging economies, the private sector and civil society. The commitment of countries like China, Brazil, South Africa and India to the outcome of Busan is a major step forward. Risk tolerance and management is especially relevant in fragile states, and Denmark strongly supported the New Deal for International Engagement in Fragile States that was launched in Busan.

Global Issues

Democracy and Human Rights

The protection of human rights is at the very centre of the Danish government's foreign policy. Denmark pursues a targeted and ambitious human rights policy on a broad front. Through diplomacy and dialogue, efforts are made at all levels to promote and protect human rights and democratic values. Human rights and democracy are closely interrelated, as justice and the rule of law arguably form the best possible basis for the protection of human rights.

The UN Human Rights Council remains divided along regional lines, which has often prevented it from fully and effectively fulfilling its mandate. However, in 2011 the Council took further steps to address a number of critical country situations, including in the context of the Arab Spring. Furthermore, by consensus the Council adopted resolutions in sensitive areas such as discrimination based on sexual orientation and established a new mandate on transitional justice. In the long-term perspective, there is reason to believe that the Council will form a solid basis for further progress in the field of human rights in the years to come, but overcoming divisions along regional lines will be crucial to this process. In the UN's General Assembly, Third Committee, there have been similar positive trends, especially regarding the Committee's increased support for resolutions on the human rights situation in specific countries (Syria, DPRK, Burma/Myanmar and Iran), as well as in other resolutions such as the torture resolution, which is presented by Denmark. Challenges remain in other areas such as religious intolerance and freedom of the media, certain social issues that are perceived as so-called 'traditional values', and also women's and girls' rights, including sexual and reproductive health.

In May 2011, Denmark was examined by the UN Human Rights Council, the so-called Universal Periodic Review (UPR). The UPR mechanism has proven to be a success with a true potential to improve human rights on the ground for the benefit of all individuals around the world, and it represents a unique opportunity for states to undertake an open and candid debate on human rights among peer states and with civil society. As a result of the examination, Denmark received a total of 133 recommendations from a number of states on a broad range of human rights-related issues. The government accepted 84 recommendations and dismissed 49. The new government has decided to initiate a review of the former government's UPR response in

order to clarify whether there are further recommendations which could be accepted on the basis of the new Government Platform.

At the EU level, the discussions on how the EU can act more proactively on human rights and democratic values in a global context led to the endorsement of a joint communication from the High Representative, Catherine Ashton, and the Commission in December 2011: 'Human Rights and Democracy at the Heart of EU External Action: Towards A More Effective Approach'. It aims to strengthen the EU's commitment to all areas of human rights: civil, political, economic, social and cultural. In a rapidly changing world and with increased pressure on human rights and democratic values in some countries and regions, the EU needs to send out a coherent and audible message on the defence and strengthening of human rights and universal values. Only with a coherent and strong EU effort can we make the needed impact. The new EU initiative is a step in that direction and, combined with the development of human rights strategies for over 150 countries, a stronger framework for the promotion and protection of human rights is emerging, especially country level is emerging.

Green Growth:

A Bottom-Up Approach to the Green Transition

The limit agreed by COP16 in Cancun of a two-degree Celsius increase effectively set the stage for international climate talks and initiatives in 2011. Moving on the EU pledge to reduce carbon emissions by 80-95 per cent in 2050, the Commission presented a road map for moving to a low-carbon economy in 2050 and proposed a new directive on energy efficiency and a 2050 energy road map. On the global scale, COP17 in Durban reached an agreement on a long-term framework with binding CO₂ reduction targets for all countries. The framework will be negotiated over the next four years, adopted at COP21 in 2015 and enter into force in 2020. COP17 also established agreement on the Green Climate Fund on the basis of 2011 negotiations. Under the right conditions, the Fund can become a very important financing facility for climate investments, and it is expected to be able to mobilise significant amounts from a variety of sources, including the private sector.

To reach the limit of a two-degree Celsius increase by 2020, the radical changes needed in the way we produce and consume energy will have to start already today and accelerate towards 2020. This process will have to be designed in close cooperation with the corporate sector. A dual approach to the green transition is therefore needed, where bottom-up collaboration

supplements the global climate change negotiation framework. The Global Green Growth Forum (3GF), held for the first time in Copenhagen in October 2011, was established by the Danish government with the aim of accelerating bottom-up action for green growth. The Forum is based on the logic that a green transition must make ‘business sense’ for it to happen at the necessary speed. The two hundred high-level participants from governments, businesses, investors and civil society were therefore invited to look for the economic growth potential inherent in a greening of the transport and energy sectors. During two intense days, participants like the Chairman of Nestlé, the CEO of Danfoss, the Secretary-General of the OECD, Prime Ministers from Kenya and Ethiopia, the President of the Brazilian Development Bank, the Director General of the WWF and many others promoted new forms of collaboration between governments and businesses globally to push the market potential for green growth more effectively.

Pioneering concrete growth-oriented solutions to environmental challenges, 3GF has gained recognition globally and has been acknowledged for its work, receiving the ‘Transformative Step of the Day’ award during COP17. We are now seeing the global consequences of the agenda that the Forum was established to promote: the idea that public-private initiatives can complement international political action for a green transition is also expected to be highlighted in the myriad of green international processes during 2012, including Rio+20. The Danish government will ensure that discussions at these parallel processes will be translated into action in cooperation with the private sector, as it hosts the second 3GF2012 in October 2012. 3GF is backed by the governments of Denmark, Korea and Mexico and a number of global corporations and international organisations in a global partnership in which Denmark is forging new strategic alliances with the global stakeholders of tomorrow’s green economy.

The Core Tasks of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The dire international economic situation that was described at the outset of this article also imposes pressure on Denmark's public finances. As a consequence, it was decided in 2011 to carry out significant budget cuts throughout Danish government departments to be implemented in 2012 and 2013. The budget cuts are to focus on cross-cutting administration and other overheads. This creates a similar situation for the Danish Foreign Ministry as the one facing the majority of Western foreign ministries. It is clear that this has further increased the need to prioritise and focus even more on the Ministry's core tasks. Thus, in 2011 the Ministry launched an efficiency enhancement plan, which includes a number of efforts to reduce the Ministry's expenditures. Amongst other things, administration costs will be significantly reduced, the home service will be trimmed by reducing the number of centres from eleven to seven and by closing down three departments, and a small number of missions abroad will also be closed.

The foreign policy of today comprises a great variety of subjects, some of which were not even part of the foreign policy agenda only a few decades ago. As we have seen in the text above, there are a great many challenging international developments for a country like Denmark to relate to and deal with. These are the basic terms of Danish foreign policy. It is at the very core of the Ministry's *raison d'être* to make sure that we always provide our political masters and Danish society as a whole with the best possible management and safeguarding of our national interests. It goes without saying that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not promote and defend our national interests alone, but in close cooperation with our many national and international partners. Our foreign policy interests encompass a broad agenda, but it is clear that in times of economic crisis it becomes even more important that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs provides a substantial contribution to the government's efforts to ensure renewed growth and job creation in Denmark. This ambition is closely linked to our many other foreign policy interests and objectives, many of which are described above. As is the case for any nation, our success in, for example, the promotion of security, promoting our values concerning democracy and human rights, creating a greener economy and fighting poverty ultimately rests on our basic economic strength.

Denmark and France between Independence and Allegiance. The Peregrinations of the *Enfants Terribles* in the Euro-Atlantic Defence

Matthieu Chillaud¹

- *In this alliance [NATO], it is necessary that France has the means to act independently and not just obey her allies (...).*
- *I see very obviously the difference between the Maginot Line, defensive for France, and present-day France, with her force de frappe. But I see also a parallel between the two situations: France understandably seeks self-reliance in security. It was an illusion in 1940, [and] I do not dare to argue that it would be the case now, but without the US, Europe could not be defended.*
- *I indeed believe that the US is the ally of Europe and I consider myself an ally of the US. (...) but I make no confusion between alliance and the subordination of Europe (...).*
- *I strongly believe that the existence of Denmark depends on American atomic weapons, but I still have the feeling that Denmark is a country which is totally sovereign and not subordinate to political conditions.²*

(From conversations between the French President Charles de Gaulle and the Danish Prime Minister Jens Otto Krag, Paris, 18 April 1966)

At first glance, it would be rather unusual, if not unexpected, to assess and compare the development of the Danish and French postures vis-à-vis Euro-Atlantic defence in a single article. A quick scrutiny of the contents of specialized journals in the field of European politics and books on international relations shows clearly that this is not at all a familiar subject.³ There is certainly literature dealing with both Denmark and France, but it is rare to find papers which deal only with the two together. It seems that for con-

temporary commentators on European security, there is *a priori* no point in associating these two countries in relation to the same problematic issues. Presenting strikingly contrasting images,⁴ Denmark and France do not share common features that would stimulate much academic interest. To put it bluntly, Denmark and France, being too far apart and too dissimilar, would foster a 'respectful disregard' for each other.

However, a closer look may moderate this seeming truism. Indeed, in this article I argue that these two countries share a very strong propensity to cultivate an ambiguous posture vis-à-vis Euro-Atlantic defence. It is even arguable that among the members states of both the European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), these two countries are the ones most likely to have distinguished themselves. They have maintained relations with the Euro-Atlantic defence arrangements, transatlantic or not, sometimes grudgingly, sometimes enthusiastically but also passionately. Since 1945, both countries' strategies have been recycled, changing between, on the one hand, a strong transatlantic tendency, and on the other hand, a multi-faceted independence, whether through the EU or on the fringes of both NATO and the EU.⁵

The object of this paper is to consider the different cycles of these strategies in both France and Denmark and to conduct a comparative analysis of their strategic postures. What is the perception that France has of Denmark and vice versa? What do the two countries have in common? Why do they differ? Why, after so many years in which France and Denmark have been 'deviant cases', both countries seem recently to have decided to toe the line? Answers to these questions will help us understand the whys and the wherefores of their implications – whether reluctance or enthusiasm – within Euro-Atlantic defensive arrangements.

This paper is structured in three parts. First of all, an assessment of these cycles will be carried out in their historical depth. Subsequently, the reasons for the French and Danish postures will be assessed using a geostrategic perspective. In putting forward my main arguments, I shall use the geopolitical dimension of foreign policies, what the Danish scholars Hans Mouritzen and Anders Wivel call the 'constellation theory' of foreign policy.⁶ Last but not least, an analysis of their mutual perceptions will be made in order to determine the extent to which there is a skewness in their perspective over Euro-Atlantic defence.

Cyclical Movements

In the aftermath of the Second World War, the French and the Danish postures in relation to the strategic balance in Europe were indeed dissimilar. France became one of the keenest countries concerning NATO and the American presence in Europe, whereas Denmark remained one of the most reluctant. Although in the end Denmark agreed to sign the Treaty of Washington, it was only because she had to accept that an alliance of neutral Nordic states was no longer possible after the Norwegian choice to join NATO as a founding member in 1949. The German occupation in 1940 proved that there was no security in isolated (unarmed) neutrality. On the other hand, there was no security either in pseudo-guarantees from foreign countries: the Western powers proved unable to protect Norway in 1940 despite her far more advantageous geographical situation. After a period in which she initially tried to resist the growing tendency to see Europe as dividing itself into two blocs and later to seek a Nordic arrangement which would provide a credible defence potential without a commitment to either of the Great Power blocs, Denmark joined NATO as a second best.

To some extent France was in a comparable situation, the only significant difference being that whereas Denmark did not want to choose between East and West, Paris chose both. Wanting to be a bridge between West and East, the French adopted a policy of seeking wide-ranging alliances. Barely was the war over when General de Gaulle, who succeeded almost miraculously to have France counted among the victorious powers, sought to consolidate French interests in a balance between the Anglo-Saxons and the Soviet Union. Nonetheless, the French posture changed quickly: Paris demanded a root-and-branch American presence in Europe and even an unflinching commitment from Washington.⁷ In fact, France became one of the ardent supporters, if not the most ardent, of a militarily integrated alliance at the heart of which the US would exert all her weight against the threat posed by the USSR. Aware of the structural weaknesses of the embryonic European security system set up by the Brussels Pact of March 1948 which gave birth to the Western Europe Union,⁸ France, in the context of a colonial war in Indochina (1945-1954), cajoled Washington more and more into providing the US protection and hardware to counter the Soviet threat under the shape of a broader defence system which became NATO. The subsequent security of France was largely financed and provided through the new Atlantic defence system. The creation of an integrated military structure in Europe by allocat-

ing national forces to a Supreme Allied Commander in Europe (SACEUR) was to be a guarantee of the American commitment in the defence of Europe, which greatly satisfied the French as much as the installation of NATO infrastructure in France, after the 1952 Lisbon reforms, which reinforced France's strategic weight within the alliance. By hosting NATO's General Secretariat and its permanent installations, France became *de facto* the centre of gravity of the alliance.⁹

This posture became increasingly inconvenient following the acrimonious debates over German rearmament and the issue of the European Defence Community (EDC). In September 1950, three months after the outbreak of the Korean War, the US defined German rearmament and membership of NATO as an indispensable condition for her commitment to the defence of Europe. Vehemently opposed to German rearmament, the French created the concept of a 'European army' within the EDC, an organisation designed to solder France and Germany together in a common army. This was to be done according to the 'Monnet method'.¹⁰ The EDC, however, collapsed on 30 August 1954 after the predictable failure of its ratification by the French National Assembly. Ironically, France, the country which thought up the EDC, was the country which torpedoed it. Her blunder brought about German integration into NATO and subsequently her rearmament. At the same time, the French disenchantment with the US seemed to reach a crescendo. Paris grew less and less confident over the reliability of the American commitment, not to mention the American abandonment of the doctrine of massive retaliation (1954) – a likely prelude to an American withdrawal from Europe. Also significant the same year, was the disaster of Dien Bien Phu, when the French felt they had been abandoned by Americans, as well as the Suez Crisis (1956), which modified substantially and structurally the posture of the French, becoming less and less confident in the doctrine of Euro-Atlantic solidarity. For the French, the main lesson of the Suez crisis was precisely that of American 'desertion'. This interpretation accelerated France's ambition to have control of its own nuclear weapons. This route towards emancipation took the form of a striving for independence when de Gaulle became president in 1958.¹¹ In his view, his predecessors in the Fourth Republic had been guilty of having put France in a situation of 'vasalage'. De Gaulle's aim was therefore to end the subordination of France to the Anglo-Saxons. On 17 September 1958, de Gaulle launched his proposal for a radical reform of NATO. In a letter to the US President and British Prime Minister, he suggested establishing permanent US-UK-French consultations to determine Western political and military strategy. Aware that

his proposition was bound to fail and provoke fears, especially among the 'small' NATO countries – including Denmark – de Gaulle saw his initiative heralding the first salvos of his diplomacy founded on a conception of an alliance whereby states, irrespective their size, had the right to act according to their interests.¹² Similarly, when the Berlin Crisis erupted in late 1958, France was of the opinion that only the three Western powers with occupation rights in Germany should craft a response to the Soviet challenge in Berlin. At the NATO spring meeting in Washington in April 1959, foreign affairs ministers from Denmark and Norway urged the 'Big Three' to consult more closely with NATO.¹³

Overall, de Gaulle had a profound distrust of supranational integration, whether in relation to the political union of Europe or the reinforcement of the Atlantic Alliance. He was suspicious of any kind of transfer of sovereignty of member states to supranational organs. De Gaulle was consistently loath to countenance any integration within NATO. Thus, step by step, he withdrew France from the military organisation. In March 1959, he withdrew the French Mediterranean Fleet and three years later the Atlantic Fleet. In March 1964, he decided that French naval ships would no longer be under NATO's command. Finally, in March 1966, he informed US President Lyndon B. Johnson of his country's final withdrawal from NATO's integrated military structure. The matter was essentially one of 're-establishing a normal basis for sovereignty in which what is French – be it land, sea or sky, as well as every foreign presence on her soil – would be subject entirely to the dictates of the French authorities. This is in no way a rupture but a necessary adjustment'.¹⁴

As regards the European Economic Community (EEC), similarly, de Gaulle showed a clear reluctance to agree to any kind of supranationality, a stance which ultimately found its reification in 1965 after the Luxembourg compromise. With the threat of supranationality eliminated, the preservation of French independence seemed quite compatible with the construction of a West European entity, and de Gaulle was in favour of better coordination in political issues between the Six of the EEC. He commissioned Christian Fouchet, a Gaullist diplomat – who was then the French ambassador to Denmark¹⁵ – to submit a proposal of reforms to European institutions. The so-called 'Plan Fouchet' aimed at reinforcing the EEC's power to act in matters of foreign policy and thus to counterbalance the influence of the US within NATO. France's partners, fearing that de Gaulle initiatives would torpedo the transatlantic link, felt that neither the Plan Fouchet nor the French attempts to bring the Germans into a common vision of the political

construction of Europe would succeed.

De Gaulle's vision of Europe, '*l'Europe des nations*', seemed to match the British and the Danish ones.¹⁶ Yet he vetoed UK membership to the EEC. In his famous press conference in January 1963, de Gaulle expressed his fear that an enlarged Common Market would lose its cohesion and that it would come to resemble 'a colossal Atlantic community under American domination and direction'.¹⁷ Nevertheless, at no time did he mention Denmark. Moreover, committed to agricultural interests, de Gaulle even encouraged an application from Denmark to the EEC, indeed a pro-NATO country, resistant to the idea of a politically united Europe but a strong supporter of agricultural cooperation. Unlike the UK Denmark was regarded as an almost natural potential member country. Two weeks after his press conference, the French president told the Danish Prime Minister that he was prepared to offer Copenhagen either full membership or associated membership.¹⁸ For Denmark, however, membership of the Common Market without the UK was absurd, so she preferred to suspend her application *sine die*. A similar scenario occurred in 1967. Finally, five years after a referendum organised in France which was to decide Denmark's¹⁹ entry into the Common Market, the last obstacles were removed. Denmark eventually became a member of the EEC in 1973. On three occasions her destiny had been in the hands of the French. At all events, she became eventually member of the EEC in 1973.

Once Denmark was *de jure* a member of the EEC, she expressed concerns vis-à-vis the political and strategic ambitions of Europe, which was supposed to be no more than an economic organisation. Thus, Denmark opposed the Tindemans Report (1975), the Genscher-Colombo Plan (1981) and the Dooge Report (1985), which advocated *inter alia* the inclusion of security policy issues within the EEC. Up to 1990, she rejected all plans for a union, maintaining the right of veto as stipulated in the Luxembourg compromise. In a context in which France was trying to revitalize the WEU after the Rome Declaration (October 1984) and the The Hague platform (October 1987),²⁰ Denmark decided to rule herself out of future commitment to membership of this organisation by becoming only an observer. In addition, she was showing a growing reluctance, on the threshold of the negotiations of the Maastricht treaty, to the inclusion a politics of defence in the foreign policy of Europe. Among the four opt-outs from the Maastricht treaty that she negotiated after the Edinburgh Summit (December 1992), Denmark obtained the right not to participate in EU defence cooperation. The die was cast: Danes were not willing to participate to the concrete implementation

of the European policy of security and defence.

In some respects, Denmark cultivated a strategy of 'separation' within the two organisations. Hans Branner compares Copenhagen's position within the two institutions: 'to a certain degree, Danish EU behaviour resembles low-profile NATO behaviour'.²¹ The low profile she adopted within the EC echoed back to her peculiar posture within NATO, which basically consisted in reluctance or even refusal. She showed very strong scepticism regarding the German rearmament,²² in many respects a similar stance to the French one. In 1953, Denmark decided not to allow foreign bases on Danish soil. Four years later, as a response to NATO's new nuclear strategy based on the doctrine of massive retaliation, the Danish government declared that nuclear weapons could not be deployed in Denmark in peacetime. The government also imposed a third restriction on its NATO membership, which stated that no NATO exercises were allowed on certain parts of its territory that were strategically sensitive for the Soviet Union.²³ This posture reached its height during the 1980s at a time of widespread pacifism in Europe, Denmark's limited engagement becoming more marked in accordance with the vagaries of her domestic politics. Denmark was obviously becoming more and more the odd one out within the Alliance. The so-called 'footnote policy' (1982-1988) ended with the Cold War and the first manifestations of the emancipation and afterwards independence of East European countries. Adaptation to changes in the external environment were a feature of the post-Cold War Danish posture. Denmark took a positive view of the significant changes in strategy and organisation which took place within NATO at the beginning of the 1990s. She participated in the first Gulf War within a coalition of 34 states, including France, by sending a corvette to the Persian Gulf. Her participation, modest though it was, was in sharp contrast to traditional Danish security policy, especially given the country's long tradition of scepticism regarding the effectiveness of military means. In addition, she was very active in the former Yugoslavia. She participated in the EC observers' mission in Slovenia and Croatia and contributed to the United Nations peacekeeping forces in Croatia (UNPROFOR I), Bosnia-Herzegovina (UNPROFOR II) and Macedonia.

Her growing involvement in international crises contrasted sharply with her banning of any kind of strategic cooperation within the EU. If there was a parallelism, until the end of the 1980s, between her posture within the EEC and within NATO, during the post-Cold War period there was obviously a change. Denmark gave the impression that the more she involved herself in NATO, the less she wanted to be involved in the political and

strategic dimensions of European construction.

As regards France, while she continued to sponsor the project of European defence, she began almost simultaneously to soften her posture as regards NATO. With the start of the first wars in former Yugoslavia, the French had to accept not only that, even among Europeans, it proved impossible to agree on an identical line, but also that the NATO military machine was the only one which was able to work efficiently. A slow process of the *de facto* involvement of French officers in the integrated structures began during the 1990s thanks *inter alia* to IFOR, SFOR and KFOR in the Balkans. In Bosnia, France placed more than 7,500 soldiers under NATO command following the signing of the Dayton agreement in late 1995. In addition, during operations in Kosovo, NATO assumed operational control over French units for the first time. France's precarious non-membership of the Military Committee was fully revealed during the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) operation in the former Yugoslavia at the beginning of the 1990s: France was the largest single contributor to the force, and the commander of UNPROFOR was French. France is today the largest contributor to the NATO Response Force and participates in all major alliance expeditionary operations, including Kosovo (KFOR) and Afghanistan (ISAF). As François Heisbourg noted France was *de facto* a member of the integrated command: 'from the military, operational and strategic perspective, it was as if we were in the military structure (...) the reintegration poses no problem'.²⁴

Simultaneously with her creeping reintegration into NATO, France promoted her longstanding idea of *l'Europe de la défense*. Actually, the French strategy alternated between two options: creating a European pillar firmly inside NATO – the European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI) – or creating a European pillar loosely attached to NATO – the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). The first project failed when it became clear that the return of France would happen on American terms, not French ones. President Jacques Chirac had tried to follow a policy of *quid pro quo*. In December 1995, the French government announced a partial return to participation in NATO military bodies and consultations. France made a full return to NATO's integrated command structure dependent on sufficient revamping of the alliance to make it a 'new NATO' with a political and operational space for the realization of a European Security and Defence Identity within the transatlantic alliance. Jacques Chirac made it a condition of French reintegration that a European officer should be the commander of NATO's southern command forces (AFSOUTH) based in Naples and that a new balance be established regarding duties and responsibilities between

the US and NATO-Europe. However, the Clinton administration was reluctant to put AFSOUTH and the US Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean under European command, especially French. The effort was abandoned when the Clinton Administration rejected the French conditions for full reintegration and when Chirac lost his governing majority in snap parliamentary elections in 1997. France would be most welcome to come back into NATO, but neither Washington nor other Europeans would agree to 'pay' for her return. In fact, France failed to be the ambassador of the US to the Europeans or vice versa, *sine qua non* conditions for the success of the manoeuvre.²⁵

The option of the European pillar within NATO having been eliminated, the idea was to set up a European structure on the fringes of the alliance but attached to it. Following the December 1998 Franco-British summit in St Malo, it was decided to move the discussion forward on the development of a European Union capacity to act militarily, even though this European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) would be limited, for the time being, to crisis management. Since then, the French agenda has not changed. Moreover, when France formally reintegrated herself into NATO's military structure at the anniversary summit in April 2009, she urged her partners to accept that the EU must acquire more strategic capabilities. As Nicolas Sarkozy said: 'I want to fight for European defence. Regardless of NATO's importance, Europe must be able to defend itself effectively and independently. Europe cannot be an economic power without ensuring its own security. So I would make progress on European defence a condition for moving into the integrated command, and I am asking our American friends to understand that'.²⁶ In addition, while the French White Paper published in June 2008 underscores France's longstanding European ambitions – 'making the European Union a major player in crisis management and international security is one of the central tenets of [French] security policy' – it asserts unambiguously that NATO and European defence are complementary and advocates the 'full participation of France in the structures of NATO'.²⁷

The possible outcome of this quid pro quo is difficult to calculate. Indeed, this new posture has done little to stimulate a real consensus in France, and for Sarkozy's numerous detractors this strategy might have to involve a 'Walk to Canossa'²⁸ if the president's gamble does not work. At all events, the process seems to be irreversible.²⁹ In the 2012 preparatory document for the updating of the 2008 White Paper, it is written that 'the defence interest of France will stay crucial through the construction of the European Common Security and Defence Policy, the strengthening of our European partnerships and the return of France in the military structure of NATO'.³⁰

Geo-Strategic Culture and Allies

All states, in order to pursue their foreign policies, have resources – whether material or not – the aim being to coordinate them in order to attain a political objective. Among these resources is geography, the most basic and permanent of the influences upon state policy, both as limitation and as opportunity. National strategic culture is undoubtedly the product of geographical conditioning. Though it might be easy to exaggerate its influence, it is indisputably a significant factor which could contribute to a better understanding of the two countries' different strategies.

France has been both a maritime and a continental power, the dual demands of which have not always been comfortably accommodated into her foreign and defence policies. On the one hand, France has a long coastline which is exposed to a hostile navy. On the other hand, its westerly position at the end of the European land mass renders its western regions relatively safe from land attack. Caught between its maritime and continental orientations, France has never been able to devote herself to the exclusive development of one of these forms of power over the other. Because of (or thanks to) her geostrategic configuration, France cannot avoid basing her security in a network of alliances.

At the western edge of the Eurasian continent, France is therefore at the intersection of three geostrategic orientations which have structured its strategic options: the continental one, west/east, the oceanic one, east/west, and the southern one. As regards the north, this area has been less part of her zone of interests. Moreover, as Bruno Tertrais noted, 'Interest in Northern European security issues in France has been limited so far Northern Europe, and the Arctic region, is not on the radar screen of the average French strategist'.³¹ Indeed there was the battle of Narvik (1940) or even the destruction, during the War of Crimea, of the Fortress of Bomarsund (1854) by an Anglo-French squadron. Nevertheless, this area was rather on France's fringe, especially compared to the Mediterranean area. Unlike Denmark, France is without a doubt a Mediterranean power and has been for centuries.³² 'No state wields more power in southern Europe than France, which is the only pole power in this region'.³³

History has shown that, because of her peculiar geography, France has been unable to protect herself against a rival continental power. That is why France has sought alliances. Nevertheless, if she solicits security guarantees among her allies, concomitantly she tries to undo her being 'assisted'

through measures advocating independence. Realist authors usually argue that French foreign policy is a result of traditional power politics. If France defends multilateralism, it is mainly because it provides leverage compensating her 'weakness' or because this is deemed the only way for her to have an important role in international politics.³⁴ The memory of French domination, whether cultural or political, over Europe in the eighteenth century, prolonged by the Napoleonic epic associated with a revolutionary messianism, made France a nation obsessed by her power and indirectly by her rank. Moreover, in his memoirs, General de Gaulle stressed that his ambition had always been to ensure what he called '*La grandeur de la France*' ('France cannot be France without the greatness') and, as a prerequisite for this aim, to maintain France's independence.³⁵ Using the word '*grandeur*' instead of 'power' indicates an aspiration for the revival of a nation which was for a very long time the master of its own destiny. Thus, when he returned to power in June 1958, de Gaulle sought first and foremost to get back his country's natural Great Power status. Though, aware that 'in a universe of giants, a country the size of France cannot regain the rank of a great power all by itself',³⁶ France has projected her power through Europe. It has, moreover, been a permanent feature of her foreign policy for ages. As the French Prime Minister Georges Pompidou remarked on 24 February 1964, France 'by her geography and her history is condemned to a play the European card'.³⁷ In that regard, France considers herself as a great power capable of questioning or balancing an American hegemon and leading an independent Europe. For fifty years, in promoting the development of a strong, independent and highly integrated Europe – usually caricatured in the expression '*Europe puissante*' – France has aspired to create a European security order that would enjoy relative autonomy from the United States within a re-balanced alliance.³⁸

The Danish ambition was precisely the opposite. If, for France, there was no national independence without military independence, for Denmark what little remained of her independence and her breathing space, which was equally restricted, in the bipolar system of the Cold War could be only safeguarded thanks to the military protection of the US. In Denmark, unlike in France, there was no real comparable hostility to America; the participation of the US in NATO was normal, if not essential. Niels Haagerup notices quite rightly that 'The main difference between the French perspective and the Scandinavian one over NATO concerns relations with the US. (...) the so-called American hegemony poses no problems for the Scandinavians. Not only does the participation of the US seem natural but the governments and parliamentary majorities of the two countries [Denmark and Norway] think

that it is absolutely necessary for the alliance if we want a plausible deterrence. The idea of a purely European defence is not really suitable for them'.³⁹ According to Hans Mouritzen, the explanation of Denmark's atlanticist foreign policy is essentially geopolitics.⁴⁰ Like France, Denmark has a hybrid nature shaped by both maritime and terrestrial environments. While in the north, her relations with Sweden were peaceful after the Napoleonic wars, in the south her relations with neighbouring Prussia/Germany – starting with the defeat of 1864 and culminating in the occupation of 1940-1945 – were confrontational. At all events, it is her geographical pragmatism which pushed her to join NATO, certainly as a second-best option, since the Danish posture was more in favour of a policy of neutrality. The westward extension of Soviet power through the eastern European states and up to the River Elbe in Germany brought Soviet forces close to the threshold of Denmark. With these developments it became apparent that the fundamentals of Danish foreign policy would again have to undergo a reappraisal. Most Danes realized that, while Denmark had the right to remain neutral, it would be practically impossible to defend herself alone. Her geostrategic concerns were definitely in the Baltic Sea area and to the east. It is moreover noteworthy that when the admission of Greece and Turkey was first proposed in 1950, Denmark showed reluctance mainly because these two countries belonged to an area in which she had no acknowledged interest.⁴¹ For Copenhagen, there was a lack of mutual cultural ties between the Atlantic community and these two Mediterranean states.

During the Cold War, Denmark was situated at the crossroads of east and west. She was directly confronted to the east by the Soviet sphere of influence and had the role of gatekeeper to the Baltic Sea, whereas along the north-south dimension, she constituted a flank area to central Europe and a natural link to northern Europe, that is to say, one of the strongest military concentrations (central Europe and the Kola Peninsula). In other ways, Denmark was one of NATO's front-line states. From 1989, her strategic environment changed dramatically: the southern part of the Baltic Sea area was no longer considered hostile, and following the independence of the Baltic states and the break-up of the Soviet Union she acquired much greater strategic depth. Her strategy subsequently was to transform this depth into a buffer zone. For this to be implemented, it was necessary for the EU and NATO to be enlarged. Her *Ostpolitik* was brought to fruition when first Poland then the Baltic States joined the two organisations.

Certainly the active participation of small states in international organisations grants them a decisive non-physical source of power. International

organisations have numerous advantages for small states, one of them being that they provide a structural framework for exchanging information between large states and small ones. When these organisations are military alliances, they reduce the disproportion of power between 'small' and 'medium-size' NATO countries. In that regard, there is a multiplicative effect of power. This is all the more important for Denmark in that she fears a continentalist approach to the European security. However, this continentalism is far from being so homogeneous. If France made the choice, thanks to the actions of Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman, to pursue a 'réconciliation franco-allemande', she continued to fear a resurgence of German power. Denmark and France indeed share(d) the same fear – their identical apprehension of both the German rearmament in the early 1950s and German reunification is, in that regard, a good indicator – but they have chosen different ways of settling these issues. It has indeed been essential for Denmark that Germany be embedded in NATO, a military alliance which promotes military integration and has the US as a partner, an undisputed leader and a power which controls her. Notwithstanding the fears that France might have as regards a possible resurgence of the 'German menace', Denmark continues, rightly or wrongly, to dread the effects of the Franco-German axis. If Denmark favours the US, it is indeed mainly because she fears that Germany, now associated with the French, constitutes a directory able to impose itself on 'small' countries. 'The opposite of Atlanticism is continentalism, a tendency to follow in the footsteps of the continental European great powers, Germany and France, and typically combined with a commitment to the deepening of EU integration',⁴² A very good illustration of this stance is the dispute over the Georgian Membership Action Plan (MAP). Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, the former Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs (1982-1993), stated that the fact Georgia and the Ukraine were 'denied the Membership Action Plan they sought' was a dangerous signal at NATO's Bucharest summit. 'Several European heavyweights, led by Germany and France, said no, despite strong support for the idea from the US'.⁴³

Within the process of European construction, there is likewise a fear of 'continentalist power'. The Danish reservations over the political construction of the EU can be indeed be 'attributed to an inbuilt concern that deeper EU integration may lead to overwhelming German influence in their affairs'.⁴⁴ Denmark, in search of something to act as a counterweight to Germany and France, has always sought to ally politically and economically with the UK. From the 1950s, Denmark linked her application to the British one. Denmark was in the orbit of a country, the UK, whose then Prime Minister

wanted to avoid a new ‘continental bloc’⁴⁵. In addition, she has always relied on the UK to preserve the close relationship between the US and Europe. This transatlantic harmony revealed itself very saliently after 9/11. Denmark showed an ironclad loyalty to the US and supported all the demands of Washington and London ‘for affirmative action over the invasion of Iraq in 2003 even if this was at the cost of alienating the Franco-German Axis of continental Europe’.⁴⁶ Her activism incontestably moved up a rung when she participated to the allied operations in Libya,⁴⁷ all the more remarkably in that, as we have seen, Denmark had never shown a strong geopolitical interest for this area hitherto. It would be risky to predict a dramatic modification of the Danish stance: not only was the coalition led by France and the UK (and behind them the US) and not by France and Germany, but also it was NATO, not the EU, that managed the intervention. Danish participation in the military operations in Libya (and even, to a certain extent, her stubbornness in defending the Anglo-American coalition in Iraq) can also be explained with reference to her wish to ensure a continued American presence in Europe in a context of the redeployment of American power from Europe to Asia.

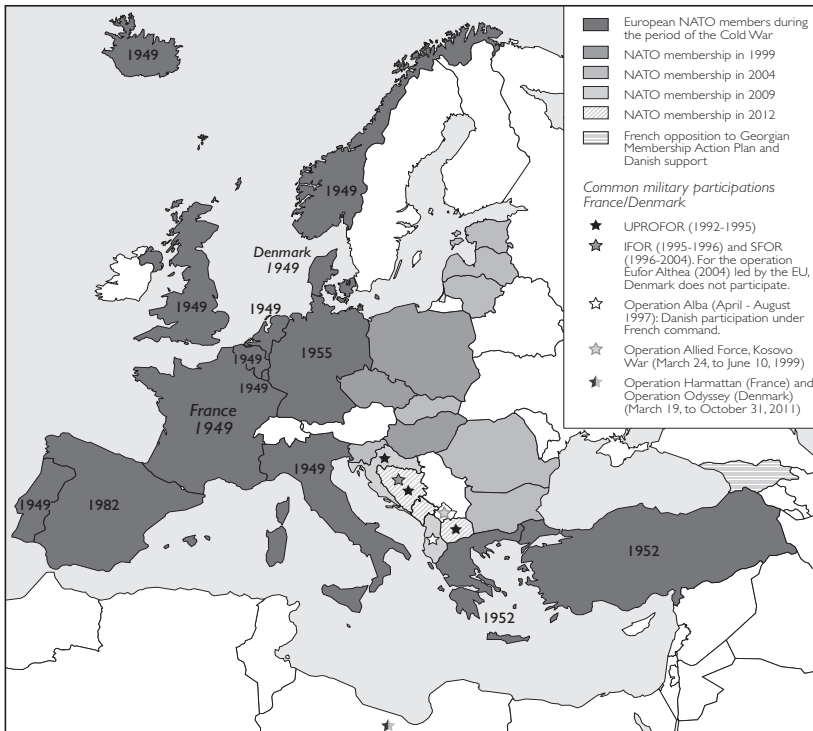


Figure 1: Denmark and France in the Architecture of Euro-Atlantic Defence

Perception, Harmony and Frictions between Allies

Within bilateral relations, the mutual image generally plays a significant role. It conditions the framework and the quality of the parties' relations. Perception usually emerges over several years and is shaped by cumulative experiences. France and Denmark have been allies for centuries and have never fought one another in any significant wars. Denmark was allied with France against England during the Napoleonic period, an alliance which led to the destruction of her fleet in 1807. Subsequently no dispute or armed conflict has disturbed their cordial relations. In addition, the two countries still recall that from the mid-nineteenth century both have considered Prussia/Germany to the main threat to themselves; the adage 'the enemy of my enemy is my friend' characterized relations between the two countries particularly well. As such, it could be taken for granted that the two countries understand each other fairly well. And yet, both may still be subject to many skewed interpretations.

In each system in which they gravitate, actors see the social reality in a different way, usually by the yardstick of their perceptions. They see the world differently but are rarely aware of that.⁴⁸ The American Robert Jervis has shown *inter alia* that the issue of perception concerns relationships between adversaries as well as between allies.⁴⁹ The two countries seem barely to understand the bases of the other country's strategy.

Seen from France, Denmark eschews power politics and the use of hard power in achieving her objectives. In that regard, the provocative title of Carsten Holbraad's book *Danish Neutrality*⁵⁰ is extremely pertinent and applicable for the arch-former military power which has forsaken arms and military use of force. Indeed, the French see Danish participation, more and more active, in military operations led by the UN and NATO positively. However, they continue to regret that this activism flourishes in the wake of Denmark's '*tropisme atlantique*', a typically patronizing French expression that is barely translatable into English, but used by French diplomats and military men to describe European countries which have an excessive leaning towards the US and are disinclined to accept the argument that European unity and integration must be built as a counterweight to American power.

When France is mentioned, in the Danish subconscious, there has always been a mixture of admiration, infuriation and incomprehension. Seen from

Denmark, France from medieval times until the twenty-first century has been perceived as warlike and largely uncontrollable and unpredictable. Her main problem in particular is her anti-American stance out of principle and her claimed ability to speak for others.⁵¹ Her strategy of using Europe as a 'lever of power' tends to favour continentalism at the expense of atlanticism. It is true that France considers herself as a country that projects her power through Europe – a 'power multiplier for French security policy'⁵² or even a 'reincarnation' of French power⁵³ – and thus capable of questioning or balancing the American hegemon and leading an independent Europe. Given such conditions, Copenhagen suspects that for Paris. European power is to be French but on a larger scale. Denmark has an objective interest in accepting the American hegemon since European power – which would, in fact, be a projection of French power – threatens her independence. The US, for her part, sees her hegemon as deserving unquestioned obedience. For Washington, Denmark is, in that regard, her pet: the Danish 'super-atlanticism', in Mouritzen's pertinent expression,⁵⁴ is precisely the idiosyncrasy of a country which practises allegiance. The overall leaning of Denmark towards the Anglo-American coalition in Iraq and her belonging to the group of the so-called 'new Europe' according to the black-and-white discourse of the American administration are the obvious evidences of this '*tropisme atlantique*'.⁵⁵

To put it bluntly, Denmark is 'minimalist', wanting to keep a strong US presence in Europe chiefly in order to prevent a German-French condominium, whereas France, in favour of a supranational ESDP that limits, if not excludes, the US from European security arrangements, is more 'maximalist'.

Although this black-and-white assessment is undoubtedly true, it needs refining. From 1966 to the beginning of the 1990s, France had a quiet relationship with NATO. Withdrawing from the integrated structures did not mean crossing the Rubicon. Actually, military cooperation, efficient and discreet, an unspoken loyalty to other Western powers, an enduring solidarity with the US during the key moments of the Cold War and a remoteness from NATO's military machinery consolidated France in her role as an ally with a peculiar role, both independent and united. The vicissitudes of the relationship between France and her NATO allies since 1966 did not prevent the special arrangements that integrated the French military within NATO's operational plans. Thus, immediately after the decision to withdraw from NATO, France signed several agreements, chiefly the Ailleret-Lemnitzer (22 August 1967) and Valentin-Feber (3 July 1974) agreements, on French participation alongside her allies in the event of conflict. 'In other words, despite Gaullist rhetoric, France remained militarily much more closely linked to its allies'.⁵⁶

Overall, the French strategy has been to reconcile national independence, transatlantic solidarity and Europe's strategic autonomy. From the French perspective, the EU must be indeed an autonomous actor in terms of both decision-making and operational capabilities. Autonomy implies a capacity to defend positions which can differ from the American ones and to act alone whenever a military intervention proves necessary. However, the French aim is not to build a European defence policy in opposition to that of the US, but to be able to make her own choices. NATO must be preserved – France has always acknowledged the major role of NATO as the backbone of European defence – but it must evolve in a way that 'allows the European security and defence identity to emerge'. The Norwegian scholar Pernille Rieker argues that French ambitions to return to NATO's military structures in 1995 should be understood in terms of the importance for France of developing the EU as a security actor. 'When France announced its intention to reintegrate into the military structure of NATO, this was based on the changes in NATO and the perceived possibility of finally achieving an alliance with two equal partners, the EU and the USA. In fact, France had never sought to undermine the Alliance, and throughout the Cold War had benefited enormously from its stabilizing effects'.⁵⁷ Bargaining for a better allocation of tasks does not mean 'unfaithfulness' to the transatlantic cause. Quite the contrary, in fact, France has always remained loyal to NATO and the US, even in the worst crises: Berlin (1948 and 1961), Cuba (1962), Euromissiles (1979-1983), etc. In addition, she contributed significantly to the first Gulf War, as well as in the Balkans. Besides, she showed strong solidarity with the US after 9/11.⁵⁸ There was indeed the Iraqi issue, which was seen as treason by Washington, one American journalist bluntly stating that France was becoming the foe of the US.⁵⁹ With hindsight, the dispute between France and the US should put in perspective. In spite of the acrimonious turn of events, both countries continued to cooperate in a pragmatic manner.

As regards Denmark, her myriad of limited commitments during the Cold War frequently chafed with *her closest allies*, even though she had always shown loyalty to the US. The Danish posture was definitely an odd mixture of Atlanticism and internationalism with a veneer of pacifism. Denmark is now no longer on the defensive as prior to 1990, but is taking a more pro-active and assertive approach in NATO affairs.⁶⁰ To achieve her ambition, which is henceforth to play in the big league, Denmark needs to find a solution in order to slot into the ESDP.⁶¹ It is true that the contrast between the very active commitment of Denmark to NATO and her absence from military operations led by the EU seems hardly sustainable.

Conclusion

This article has clearly shown the relevance of comparing Denmark and France. It would therefore be only a small step to share the perspective of those commentators who argue bluntly that the Danish and French postures within the Alliance were in some respects similar: both kept a certain distance from NATO and declined to have any NATO troops or nuclear weapons on their territory.⁶² During the Cold War, Denmark and France benefited from the security virtues of the alliance without paying the full costs of Western discipline. Both had one foot in NATO and the other outside it, and each time both practised a policy of mistrust vis-à-vis NATO, they always sought not to cross the red line. Even their positions in favour of cooperation, not integration,⁶³ between European countries were to a certain extent comparable. The promotion of independence and the fact that Danish and French loyalties to NATO were put to the test several times leads the Danish scholar Mehdi Mozaffari to say that Denmark was, to a certain degree, Gaullist.⁶⁴ One must acknowledge the existence of a similarity between the two countries' strategies. Indeed the similarity should be put in perspective, one of the key-points being their attitudes towards the US, which was seen pragmatically by Denmark as a protector against Russia and even against Germany, and sensitively by France as a rival or potential interloper. Although the details of their strategies have indeed changed after 1989, both countries have continued to cultivate a culture of distinction. On the one hand, Denmark, after being one of the most reluctant NATO members, became one of the keenest but preferred to ban its possible participation in EU defence cooperation. On the other hand, France sponsored a strengthening of EU defence cooperation and (re)-joined the alliance almost twenty years after the end of the Cold War, as well as participating actively in all the NATO missions in the Balkans and in Afghanistan. France seems to be more and more aware that a purely European defence is bound to fail and thus wants to strengthen the 'European' pillar of NATO by her presence, especially given the uncertain strategic context of the US in Europe. As regards Denmark, she will henceforth be an active member of NATO, and if she is on the fringes of EU defence cooperation, this is more because of the after effects of the vicissitudes of her domestic policy rather than a real posture of distrust vis-à-vis EU defence cooperation. Towing the line step by step does not mean that both countries will necessarily give up their traditional characteristics in the short term. Even though it might be too early to predict the

effects of the policies of adaptation of France and Denmark, it is likely that, one way or the other, France will continue to defend the EU stubbornly as a strategic actor, whereas Denmark will persist in seeing NATO and transatlantic ties as the (sole) bedrock of her security.

Appendix

Table I: *Timeline*

Events	France	Denmark
1945 4–11 February: Yalta Conference 16 July to 2 August: Potsdam Conference	During the Yalta Conference, the US and the UK agree to cede parts of their occupation zones in Germany to the French.	
1946	Outbreak of the Indochina War	
1947 4 March: Treaty of Dunkirk	France signs the treaty of Dunkirk	
1948 February: Czechoslovak coup d'état 17 March: Treaty of Brussels 3 April: Marshall Plan 11 June: Vandenberg resolution 24 June: Beginning of the Berlin Crisis	4 March: Call from the French Minister of Foreign Affairs Georges Bidault to George Marshall to strengthen the military and political links between Europe and the US	Winter 48/Spring 49: Talks between Scandinavian countries about a possible Scandinavian Defence Union
1949 4 April: Treaty of Washington May: Creation of the Federal Republic of Germany	4 April: France signs the Treaty of Washington	4 April: Denmark signs the Treaty of Washington
1950 25 June: Outbreak of the Korean war. September: The US demands German rearmament	24 October: The French Prime Minister proposes a European solution to the issue of German rearmament	
1951 15 February: Conference for the creation of a European Defence Community (EDC) 18 April: Signature of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) treaty. 20 April: Installation of SHAPE in Rocquencourt near Paris	18 April: France signs the ECSC treaty	15 February: Participation of Denmark in the EDC conference as an observer
1952 18 February: 1st enlargement of NATO (Greece and Turkey) 20 February: Decision to install NATO HQ in Paris 27 May: Signature of the EDC treaty	27 May: France signs the EDC Treaty	

Events	France	Denmark	
1953		<i>June:</i> The policy of the ban on foreign air bases is made official	
1954	<i>January:</i> Adaptation by NATO of the doctrine of massive retaliation <i>23 October:</i> London and Paris Accords, creation of the Western European Union	<i>7 May:</i> Dien Bien Phu <i>30 August:</i> Predicting the failure of the ratification of the EDC treaty, the French Prime Minister states that the treaty has ended. <i>November:</i> Outbreak of the Algerian War	
1955	<i>9 May:</i> Second enlargement of NATO (West Germany), <i>14 May:</i> Soviet Union and eight east European states respond by forming the Warsaw Pact.		
1956	<i>29 October-7 November:</i> Suez Crisis:	<i>29 October-7 November:</i> France as a belligerent during the Suez Crisis	
1957	<i>25 March:</i> Treaty of Rome (EEC)	<i>25 March:</i> France signs the Treaty of Rome	<i>May:</i> The policy of the ban on nuclear weapons is made official
1958	<i>27 November:</i> Second Berlin Crisis	<i>17 September:</i> de Gaulle's memorandum addressed to Eisenhower and Macmillan in which he demands a system of political and strategic consultation between Paris, London and Washington.	
1959		<i>7 March:</i> France withdraws her fleet from the Mediterranean. <i>25 May:</i> French refusal to station American atomic weapons on the national soil	
1960	<i>3 May:</i> Treaty of Stockholm (EFTA)	<i>13 February:</i> France successfully tests her first atomic bomb	<i>3 May:</i> Denmark signs the Treaty of Stockholm
1961	<i>July-August:</i> Third Berlin crisis <i>October-November:</i> Fouchet Plan		<i>9 August:</i> Denmark applies for EEC

Events	France	Denmark
1962 <i>17 April:</i> Failure of the Fouchet Plan <i>4-6 May:</i> Adoption by NATO of the doctrine of flexible response <i>22 October:</i> Cuba Crisis	<i>3 July:</i> End of the Algerian War <i>22 October:</i> France defends the US during the Cuba Crisis	
1963	<i>14 January:</i> de Gaulle's veto on British EEC membership <i>22 January:</i> Élysée Treaty between France and West Germany. <i>21 June:</i> Withdrawal of the French navy from the North Atlantic fleet of NATO	<i>February:</i> The Danish prime minister states that de Gaulle is in a favour of Danish membership
1965	<i>July:</i> Beginning of Empty Chair Crisis	
1966 <i>29 January:</i> Luxembourg Compromise	<i>7 March:</i> De Gaulle announces that France will withdraw from NATO's integrated military structure but not leave the political organization	
1967 <i>13-14 December:</i> Harmel report	<i>22 August:</i> Signature of the Lemnitzer-Ailleret Agreements <i>11 November:</i> De Gaulle vetoes for the second time British EEC membership	
1972 <i>12 January:</i> Signature of the EEC membership treaty of the UK, Denmark, Norway and Ireland.	<i>23 April:</i> Ambivalent success of the French referendum on the enlargement of the EEC	<i>2 October:</i> Referendum on joining the EEC.
1973 <i>1 January:</i> 9 members in the EEC.		<i>1 January:</i> Denmark officially becomes a member of the EEC.
1975 <i>December:</i> Tindemans Report which pleads for the political strengthening of the EEC		
1979 <i>12 December:</i> Euromissiles Crisis		
1981 <i>6 November:</i> Genscher-Colombo plan		
1982 <i>30 May:</i> Third enlargement of NATO (Spain)		<i>August:</i> Beginning of the 'Footnote' Period
1985 <i>30 March:</i> Dooge Report		

Events	France	Denmark
1986 <i>February:</i> Single European Act		<i>28 February:</i> Denmark joins the Single European Act
1987 <i>27 October:</i> Platform of The Hague (WEU)		
1988		<i>14 April:</i> Resolution passed in Parliament which obliges the government to inform all visiting warships about Denmark's policy of banning nuclear weapons from its territory in time of peace. <i>June:</i> End of the 'Footnote' Period
1990 <i>5-6 July:</i> Publication of the London Declaration on a Transformed North Atlantic Alliance <i>2 August:</i> First Gulf War <i>3 October:</i> German reunification		
1991 <i>7-8 November:</i> The Alliance's New Strategic Concept <i>21 December:</i> Dissolution of the USSR		
1992 <i>February:</i> United Nations peacekeeping force in Croatia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNPROFOR) <i>7 February:</i> Signature of the Treaty of Maastricht <i>19 June:</i> Petersberg Declaration		<i>2 June:</i> Reject of the Treaty of Maastricht after referendum <i>11-12 December:</i> Edinburgh Agreement
1993 <i>20-21 October:</i> Launching of the program of the Partnership for the Peace		<i>18 May:</i> Second referendum on the Maastricht Treaty
1994 <i>10-11 January:</i> Launching of the Partnership for Peace (PfP) initiative		<i>29 April:</i> Operation Bøllebank <i>25 October:</i> Operation Amanda
1995 <i>2 June:</i> IFOR	<i>5 December:</i> French (partial) return in the military structure of NATO	
1996 <i>12 December:</i> SFOR		

Events	France	Denmark
1997 <i>April:</i> Alba Operation <i>27 May:</i> NATO and Russia sign the Founding Act <i>8-9 July:</i> Madrid Summit.		
1998	<i>4 December:</i> St Malo Summit	
1999 <i>12 March:</i> Fourth enlargement of NATO (Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland) <i>21 March-10 June:</i> Kosovo war <i>24-25 April:</i> Washington Summit		
2001 <i>September:</i> After 11 September attacks on targets in the US, Secretary-General Robertson invokes Article Five. However, Washington chooses not to involve NATO in the US-led military campaign which follows.		
2002 <i>November:</i> Seven countries invited to join alliance at summit in Prague.		
2003 <i>30 January:</i> The letter of the eight <i>31 March-15 December:</i> EUFOR Concordia <i>12 June-1 September:</i> Operation Artemis	<i>14 February:</i> Dominique de Villepin address on Iraq at the UN Security Council <i>12 June-1 September:</i> France is the 'framework nation' and main contributor of forces of the Operation Artemis	<i>January:</i> Denmark signs the Letter of the Eight
2004 <i>24 March:</i> Fifth enlargement of NATO (Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia) <i>12 July:</i> Althea Operation <i>2 December:</i> EUFOR Althea		
2005	<i>29 May:</i> Failure of the referendum on the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe	
2006 <i>31 July:</i> NATO takes over command in southern Afghanistan from the US-led coalition.		

Events	France	Denmark
2007 15 October: EUFOR Chad/CAR 13 December: Treaty of Lisbon		
2008 17 February: Kosovo declaration of independence. 17 March 2008- 15 March 2009: EUFOR Chad/RCA 13 July: At the Paris Summit for the Mediterranean, the Union for the Mediterranean is launched 5 November: EU Naval Operation Atalanta	June: White Paper on defence and national security	
2009 1 April: 6th enlargement of NATO (Albania and Croatia)	March: Nicolas Sarkozy announces that France is to return to NATO's military command.	1 August: Anders Fogh Rasmussen became the 12th NATO Secretary General.
2011 March 19 October 31: Military intervention in Libya in compliance with the resolution 1973.	Significant participation of France (Operation Harmat- tan) to the military interven- tion in Libya.	Participation of Denmark (Operation Odyssey Dawn) in the military intervention in Libya.

Notes

- 1 Matthieu Chillaud is a Mobilitas post-doctoral fellow (MJD 25) at the Institute of Government and Politics, University of Tartu (Estonia). He wishes to thank Hans Mouritzen and Alyson J.K. Bailes for their advice, and the reviewers Ulla Holm and Henrik Linbo Larsen, both DIIS.
- 2 Free translation by the author of:
 - CDG: *Dans cette alliance, il faut que la France ait les moyens d'agir par elle-même et qu'elle n'ait pas seulement à obéir à des alliés (...)*
 - JOK: *Je vois très clairement la différence entre la Ligne Maginot défensive pour la France et la France actuelle avec sa force de frappe. Mais je vois aussi un parallèle entre les deux situations. La France cherche, et cela se comprend, une sécurité reposant sur elle-même. Ce fut une illusion en 1940, je n'ose pas dire que cela le soit aujourd'hui. Mais sans les États-Unis, l'Europe ne peut pas être défendue.*
 - CDG: *Je crois, en effet, qu'il faut que les États-Unis soient les alliés de l'Europe et je suis moi-même l'allié des États-Unis (...) mais je ne confonds pas l'alliance avec la subordination de l'Europe (...)*
 - JOK: *Je crois que l'existence du Danemark est dépendante des armes atomiques américaines mais j'ai le sentiment que le Danemark est un pays souverain qui n'est pas subordonné à des considérations politiques.*
- 3 This assertion might be modified judging by the works of certain French-speaking Danish scholars, such as Sten Rynning, Henrik Ø. Breitenbauch, Henrik Larsen and Ulla Holm. Mention should also be made of Erling Bjøl, who wrote a doctoral dissertation in French in the early 1960s on France's European policy during the Fourth Republic (*La France devant l'Europe: la politique européenne de la IVe République*). The famous French historian Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, a member of the jury, acknowledged the great value of his work. If Danes seem to know France quite well, the opposite is far from being the case.
- 4 Whether in terms of world politics ('big' state versus 'small' state, nuclear weapon state versus anti-nuclear state that rejects even NATO nuclear assets on her territory, 'global' state with remaining colonial and post-imperial commitments versus a state that lost its main possession, i.e. Norway, two centuries ago and its remaining ones completely by 1944, etc.) or in terms of domestic politics and decision making (if the French president who has made foreign affairs and defense issues his *domaine réservé* can decide almost on his own strategic choices of France sometimes by grand gestures, in Denmark, shifting coalitions and public sensibilities allow only gradual or sometimes even covert changes).
- 5 The vocabulary used here is deliberately intended to be provocative and Manichean: allegiance can only be found in transatlanticism (NATO), whereas independence is found in continentalism (EU). Nevertheless, the author of these lines does not go along with the view according to which there would be no independence within NATO and no allegiance within the EU.
- 6 Mouritzen and Wivel, 2005. The two authors' thesis is that distance or geographic space being the capital criterion of geopolitics, it can help in order to understand what the distance of states means as regards their behaviours and their relations. Both countries, Denmark and France, being near-core insiders in terms of constellation, this justifies our approach.
- 7 There is an extensive literature in English on this issue. Among books, see, for instance, Hitchcock, 1998; Cogan, 1994; Wall, 1991; and Young, 1990.
- 8 This treaty, which was an expansion of the Dunkirk Treaty signed between the UK and France the preceding year, contained a clause pledging mutual defence. A bulwark against a hypothetical resurgence of the German threat and afterwards against the Warsaw Pact, initially it had only five members (Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the UK).

- 9 Raffick, 2011.
- 10 Jean Monnet's approach to European integration was aimed at integrating individual sectors in the hopes of achieving spillover effects to further the process of integration.
- 11 For those who are not familiar with the constitutional history of France, it is necessary to explain that when de Gaulle was summoned in 1958 to be *Président du Conseil* (prime minister) in order to end the Algerian War, he agreed only if a new constitutional regime was set up. Born in the painful aftermath of the war in 1946, the Fourth Republic gave way against the backdrop of the Algerian war and the will of de Gaulle to grant to France a stable regime in which only one man – the President – could dominate foreign affairs and defence issues. From de Gaulle's perspective, foreign and defence policy were to be his keys to France's revival as a power. This takeover became more marked with the 1962 constitutional revision, whereby the head of state was to be elected by direct universal suffrage, thus conferring greater legitimacy on him than on parliament.
- 12 Cf. the British scholar Adrian Treacher (2001: 25): '*for de Gaulle, all states were equal; it was just that France was more equal than the others*'. His analysis is mischievously true.
- 13 Nuenlist, 2011.
- 14 Press Conference by General de Gaulle, 21 February 1966. Free translation of the author of '[Au total, il s'agit de] *ré-établir une situation normale de souveraineté dans laquelle ce qui est français, en fait de sol, de ciel, de mer et de forces et tout élément étranger qui se trouverait en France ne relèveront plus que des seules autorités françaises. C'est dire qu'il s'agit là non point de rupture mais d'une nécessaire adaptation*'.
- 15 We are extremely well informed about Franco-Danish relations in the late 1950s and the early 1960s and the activities of Christian Fouchet in Copenhagen thanks to his Memoirs. See Fouchet, 1971: 195-203.
- 16 It should not be forgotten that the UK was the spearhead of the creation of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) in 1960, a free-trade organisation which was an alternative to the EEC. However, being pragmatic, the UK, along with Denmark, applied for EEC membership and received permission to open formal entry negotiations in late October 1961.
- 17 Press Conference by General de Gaulle, 14 January 1963. Free translation of the author of '*une Communauté atlantique colossale sous dépendance et direction américaines*'.
- 18 Bjøl, 1992 and Thomsen, 1992.
- 19 The referendum on the enlargement of the EEC was held on 23 April 1972. Voters were asked whether they approved of Denmark, the Republic of Ireland and the United Kingdom joining the EEC.
- 20 After the failure of the Genscher-Colombo initiative in November 1981, the aim of which was to extend the European sphere of competence to security and defence questions, it was decided to choose the WEU as a second-best option. At the initiative of the Belgian and French governments, a preliminary joint meeting of foreign and defence ministers within the WEU framework was held in Rome in October 1984. It was marked by the adoption of the founding text of the WEU's reactivation: the 'Rome Declaration'. In the context of the withdrawal of intermediate nuclear forces, in October 1987 the WEU Ministerial Council adopted a 'Platform on European Security Interests'.
- 21 Branner, 2003: 361.
- 22 Mouritzen and Olsen, 2010.
- 23 See Villaume, 2000.
- 24 Free translation of the author from '*du point de vue militaire, opérationnel et stratégique, c'est comme si nous étions dans la structure militaire (...), la réintégration ne pose aucun problème*'. Laurent Zecchini, 'Livre blanc sur la défense: deux des auteurs s'expliquent', ['White Paper on Defense: Two of the Authors Explain Themselves'], *Le Monde*, 18 June 2008.

- 25 David, 2008: 431.
- 26 'Excerpts From Interview With Nicolas Sarkozy', *New York Times*, 23 September 2007.
- 27 *The French White Paper on Defence and National Security*, English version. June 2008. Online, <http://www.archives.livreblancdefenseetsecurite.gouv.fr>.
- 28 This historical expression, which refers to an act of penance or submission, was used by the French scholar Yves Boyer. 'La France et l'OTAN ou le retour à Canossa', ['France and NATO or the Return to Canossa'], *Le Monde*, 24 September 2007.
- 29 This article is being written shortly before the 2012 presidential elections. Given the main candidates' programmes, it is highly unlikely that any future president will go back on Sarkozy's decision.
- 30 Free translation of the author for '*Les intérêts de défense de la France resteront au cœur des enjeux de la construction de la politique européenne de sécurité et de défense commune, le renforcement de nos partenariats européens et le retour de la France dans la structure intégrée de l'OTAN. La France face aux évolutions du contexte international et stratégique.*' Document préparatoire à l'actualisation du Livre blanc sur la défense et la sécurité internationales. Online, <http://www.sgdsn.gouv.fr>].
- 31 Tertais, 2001.
- 32 It could even be argued that it is no coincidence that both countries were involved at the outset in the creation of the Council of the Baltic Sea States (1992) – even if, in fact, this was created at the initiative of the German Hans-Dietrich Genscher and the Dane Uffe Ellemann-Jensen – and the Union for the Mediterranean (2008). It should also be remembered that, while Denmark exercises sovereignty over territories in the north (namely Greenland and the Faroe Islands), the French overseas territories, with a few exceptions, are in the South.
- 33 Calleya, 2005: 112.
- 34 See, for instance, Hoffmann, 1964, 1993, 2000.
- 35 One of the most pertinent analyses of de Gaulle's conception of *grandeur* is Hoffmann (1960). For a more contemporary perspective, see Krotz and Sperling, 2011.
- 36 Hoffmann, 1962.
- 37 Quoted by Grosser, 1984: 193.
- 38 Bozo, 2000.
- 39 Free translation of the author of '*la principale différence entre le point de vue français et le point de vue scandinave sur l'OTAN. concerne les relations avec les États-Unis. (...) la soi-disant hégémonie américaine ne pose pas de problème aux Scandinaves. Non seulement la participation des États-Unis à l'Alliance atlantique leur semble normale, mais les gouvernements les majorités parlementaires des deux pays la croient absolument nécessaire à l'alliance si l'on veut rendre plausible la dissuasion. L'idée d'une défense purement européenne ne leur sourit guère*'. Haagerup, 1966: 231.
- 40 Mouritzen, 2007: 155.
- 41 Wilkinson, 1956: 395-396.
- 42 Mouritzen, 2007: 155.
- 43 Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, 'Beacon falters in fight for freedom', *The Australian*, 7 April 2008.
- 44 Miles, 2005: 95-96.
- 45 Quoted by Moreau Defarges, 1984: 206.
- 46 Miles, 2005: 101.
- 47 It is worth noting that the Danish parliament unanimously authorised Danish participation in Operation Odyssey Dawn in Libya on 13 March 2011.

- 48 A relevant comparison of what we argue can be made with Clint Eastwood's masterpieces *Flags of Our Fathers* and *Letters from Iwo Jima*, two films about the Battle for Iwo Jima. *Flags of Our Fathers* was taken from the American perspective whereas *Letters from Iwo Jima* was taken from the Japanese one.
- 49 Jervis, 2009.
- 50 Holbraad, 1991.
- 51 A good illustration was when, in February 2003, Jacques Chirac vehemently rebuked those countries which had signed the 'Letter of the 8' by way of showing their solidarity towards the US, as well as to the ten countries belonging to the Vilnius Group. '*These countries have been both, let us say, badly brought up and slightly unaware of dangers which entail too rapid an alignment with the American position*' (Free translation of the author of '*Ces pays ont été à la fois, disons le mot, pas très bien élevés et un peu inconscients des dangers que comportait un trop rapide alignement sur la position américaine*').
- 52 Treacher, 2001.
- 53 According to Brezinzski's expression. Brezinzski, 1998: 61.
- 54 2006 and 2007.
- 55 we should not forget the emergence of a younger generation of Danes who transcend these clichés. See, for instance, Henrik Breitenbauch, 'Frankrig: vores nye strategiske partner', *Berlingske*, 13 July 2011.
- 56 Fortmann, Haglund and Hlatky, 2010: 2.
- 57 Rieker, 2006.
- 58 Everybody remembers the headlines in the French newspaper *Le Monde*: 'Nous sommes tous américains'. Jean-Marie Colombani, 'Nous sommes tous américains', ['We are all Americans'], *Le Monde*, 13 September 2001.
- 59 Thomas Friedman, 'Our War with France', *New York Times*, 18 September 2003.
- 60 Rynning and Ringsmose, 2008.
- 61 If Denmark participated in all the military operations within the UN and NATO, she did not take part in those led by the EU. In the EU Concordia mission, which was under French command, only Denmark (and Ireland) did not contribute. In June 2003, whereas the UN appealed for humanitarian assistance in the Democratic Republic of Congo, the EU, under the ESDP, deployed a force of 1,800 mostly French troops in Operation Artemis. Once more, the Danes were not there.
- 62 Rynning, 2001.
- 63 For France, at least until the 1970s.
- 64 Mozaffari, 2000: 328.

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The Arab Spring and Denmark's Promotion of Democracy in the Arab World

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Introduction

The emergence in early 2011 of a popular movement which, in a matter of months, created unprecedented opportunities for political change in the Arab region placed Western governments in a quandary: after a decade of high-profile promotion of democracy in Arab states, by the end of the 2000s most of these governments appeared to be downscaling and rolling back their efforts to push for democratic change in the region.

The present article analyses how the endogenously driven political process of change that occurred in the Arab region in 2011 impacted on Danish foreign policy in that region with particular reference to Danish efforts to promote democracy. The article does not treat Denmark's military involvement in the region in any depth.²

The article presents three interrelated arguments. First, by the turn of the decade the Danish government, in agreement with our core strategic partners, in particular the US, was in the process of downscaling its democracy promotion programs in the Arab region. Secondly, the Arab revolts that spread from North Africa to the rest of the Arab Middle East during the spring and summer of 2011 constitute a rupture with the region's recent political history of authoritarianism for two reasons: their capacity to mass mobilize previously non-political groups and actors into new forms of political action, and their capacity to produce unprecedented new opportunities at the regime level. Although the Arab revolts are taken to constitute a historical rupture from authoritarianism in the region, I argue that this rupture may not be replaced by a democratic political order. Thirdly, the article argues that, on the basis of a broad consensus among Danish parlia-

mentarians that the goals and values of the actors behind the Arab revolts overlapped with the aims and values that had been promoted by Denmark in the region over the past years, the two Danish governments that held office during 2011 decided to expand and enlarge their democracy promotion programs in the region. With the revamping of Denmark's efforts in this regard a number significant policy shifts occurred, the most important of which was the government's decision to align with the Obama administration in de-securitizing Islamism and Islamist actors more generally. The article ends with a discussion of how these adjustments may affect Denmark's ability to push for democratic change in the Arab world in the future. It argues that the government's decision to elevate the outcome of endogenously driven political processes into the success criteria for Danish foreign policy raises concerns about the government's ability to keep the program running if a democratic outcome does not immediately materialize in the aftermath of the Arab revolts.

The Failure of Democracy Promotion in the Arab World

In recent decades the Arab region has been the object of a major Western political engineering project. Following the end of the bipolar world order, and riding on the tide of the Third Democratization wave, a broad coalition of Western actors, national, international and non-governmental, engaged in promoting liberal democracy in the Arab region. Although US democracy promotion in the early 1990s did not prioritize that region, in 1995 the EU launched its Barcelona Process, which aimed at creating a 'ring of friendly countries' in the southern Mediterranean neighbourhood by stick and carrot measures involving, for example, conditionality for cooperation based on assessments of the Arab countries' performance in the fields of human rights and democracy. US democracy promotion in the Arab region took a leap forward in the wake of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. Pitched by President Bush in several speeches during 2002 as a central US security priority, in 2003 the US administration formulated a full Middle East strategy based on the claim that terrorism should be overcome by winning Arab hearts and minds over to a 'universal' set of liberal democratic ideals and values represented by the US and its allies. To realize this strategy in 2002

and 2003 the US government created a number of policy instruments such as the 'Middle East Partnership Initiative', which provided funding for the promotion of Arab civil society and educational, economic and political reforms,³ as well as the 'Middle East Free Trade Area', which offered economic trade agreements with the US in return for political reform.⁴

The US engagement in democracy promotion in the Arab World was backed, at least rhetorically, by a number of Western and Arab international actors such as the UN, the World Bank, the OECD, the Arab League, the G8 and numerous national and international NGOs. It was further underpinned by national democracy promotion programs launched by individual Western countries, including Germany, France, Britain, Holland, Sweden and of course Denmark.

The Danish engagement in generating political change in the Arab World consisted in military and civil support to the broader US security policy priorities in the region. Already in December 2001, the liberal-conservative government (VK) had provided militarily assistance to the US in its 'War of Terror' in Afghanistan.⁵ In March 2003, the government, under protests from the opposition parties, used its marginal parliamentary majority to support the US-led war in Iraq without a clear mandate from the UN, thereby opening up close unilateral cooperation with the US at the expense of Denmark's tradition of multilateral engagement.⁶ Simultaneously, the VK government launched its own civil political reform program targeting the Arab region, this time with broad parliamentary backing. Compared to other development initiatives run by DANIDA, 'the Arab Initiative', as the Danish reform program was entitled, was granted a relatively modest annual budget of DKK 100 million.

From the outset the Danish program was explicitly framed as a distinct 'Danish way' of engaging in the region. In particular it sought to downplay the democracy-related jargon, which in the wake of the war in Iraq had come under criticism in European policy circles as an excuse for American unilateralism. Instead the Danish government presented its civil engagement as a combination of promoting intercultural dialogue between Denmark and the Arab world and promoting democratic reforms.⁷ As the then Minister of Foreign Affairs in the VK government, Per Stig Møller, explained, the dialogue track was meant as a tool for handling what he believed to be the practically inevitable 'clash of civilizations'. By promoting democratic norms and the values of freedom among Muslims, the government hope to be able to marginalize radical Islamist fundamentalism.⁸ The reform track was explicitly framed as a multilateral engagement based on the suggestions devel-

oped by the UN's Arab Human Development Report,⁹ namely promoting knowledge-based societies, promoting women's participation and promoting good governance.¹⁰ On the technical level the Danish program was designed to operate through 'partnerships' between the Danish government and its Arab counterparts, as well as between non-governmental organizations in Denmark and in the respective Arab countries. Activities should be demand-driven, reflecting local actors' assessments of reform possibilities and needs rather than the prejudices and ideas held by the Danish partner organizations. On an ethical level the modality of the activities was that they should be implemented in an atmosphere of mutual respect and recognition.

In spite of the attempts to frame the Danish reform program in the Arab region as a distinct 'Danish' initiative, the overlap in program modalities, core democratic aims, timing and geographical preferences suggests a close strategic alignment with American democracy promotion programs, an interpretation that is further backed by Denmark's close military support to the US engagement in the region.

The Danish program to promote democracy has in general received good reviews and good evaluations.¹¹ In late 2010, data from the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced that, within its annual budget of DKK 100 million for the period 2009-2010, the Danish program had involved 220 Danish and 440 Arab non-governmental organizations and state institutions in its activities.¹² Within the broader focus areas identified by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Danish programs had identified eight priority areas, namely gender equality (receiving 21% of the budget), media and press freedoms (17%), youth participation (15%) and some smaller programs receiving between 10% and 6 % of the budget, namely labour-market reform, good governance, culture, academic collaboration and dialogue.¹³

In spite of good results and impressive numbers of partners and projects, by 2010 the Danish resort ministry had been forced to conclude that, while the basis for knowledge-based societies and gender equality had been expanded during the past decade, 'until 2010 the predominantly authoritarian regimes in the region seemed to have cemented their power rather than moving towards political reforms. Hence only a few reforms were implemented which served to strengthen general freedom rights'.¹⁴ That observation was confirmed in numerous reports by academics and NGOs.¹⁵ According to the annual reports published by Freedomhouse, during the 2000s the Arab world continued to be ranked as the least free region in the world – experiencing even a slight setback in liberties during the decade.¹⁶ By 2010, not a

single Arab country had experienced a peaceful transfer of power for several years (except in cases of intra-family transfers of power, as in Morocco and Jordan in 1999 and Syria in 2000). Nor, in spite of recurrent electoral events, had any Arab country experienced free and fair elections to its governing institutions with the exception of the elections in Algeria in 1991-1992, which were annulled in a military coup, the brief electoral success in Yemen in the early and mid-1990s, and the elections in Palestine in 2006 that were won by the internationally shunned Hamas movement. Media freedoms remained restricted in most countries, although journalists were allowed increasing room for manoeuvre within clearly defined limits in countries like Egypt, Qatar and Lebanon. On the social level the persistence of authoritarian rule was correlating with broad processes of popular de-politicization and social fatigue. Elections saw low and falling participation rates, membership of political parties also fell, and a number of the region's political movements, such as Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, appeared gradually to be reorienting their activities towards social and religious issues rather than political ones.¹⁷

Scholars have in general provided three types of explanation for the disappointing results of international efforts to promote democracy in the Arab region. The first explanation focuses on political will in the international community. Sayyad, for instance, noted in 2007 that 'foreign interest in the promotion of democracy in the Middle East has been too feeble, inconsistent with other policies, and lacking public support in Western countries themselves'.¹⁸ An often mentioned example of this inconsistency and lack of will is the disproportionate allocation of funds to security apparatuses, as in the case of Algeria or Egypt, where the democracy promotion program's annual budget of USD 25 billion is dwarfed by the annual military budget support of USD 1.2 billion.¹⁹ In line with this argument, scholars have pointed to the broader security policy reassessment in Washington that took place in 2006. As Andersen points out, two factors in particular seem to have caused concern in Washington.²⁰ On the one hand, the stabilizing effect in Iraq that at least some parts of the administration in Washington appear to have expected would emerge from the military removal of Saddam Hussein did not materialize. On the contrary, political violence escalated massively in Iraq during 2004, with bombs and assassinations directed against the civil population and continually rising armed resistance against the US troops posted to the country. Furthermore the destabilization of Iraq pointed to the increased role of the largely anti-Western Iranian regime in regional politics in the strategically important oil-rich Persian Gulf. On the other hand, the US pressure on key regimes to take meaningful steps towards

democratic reform allowing for more free and fair elections resulted in the ascent to power of anti-American Islamist actors rather than the hoped for pro-Western liberal democrats. This process was particularly observable in Egypt in 2005, where, under a slightly more open electoral process resulting partially from US pressure, the Muslim Brotherhood dwarfed the secular opposition parties by winning a landslide victory of 20% of the seats in parliament. Another case in point was the elections in Palestine in 2006 that led to the anti-Israeli Hamas movement forming a government. Observing these phenomena, US policy-makers adjusted their regional priorities towards a more traditional American Middle East policy stressing the regional stability produced by the incumbent authoritarian rulers. In practical policy terms this meant that the US kept its democracy promotion programs running, while at the same time downscaling the political pressure on authoritarian Arab governments to reform, as seen, for instance, in the US decision in 2008 to accept the Egyptian government's demand that the US only provide funding for non-governmental organizations that had been 'legalized' by the Egyptian Ministry of the Interior – a process that de facto meant that the US cut its funding to those organizations that were taking a critical stance in opposing the Egyptian government. In private conversations key Arab reform actors were notified by Washington that the US would not be able to deliver the harder measures it had previously promised against authoritarian Arab governments.²¹

For the Danish government in particular, the escalation of the cartoon crisis in 2006 prevented the government from assuming the role of front-runner in the region that the government otherwise seemed keen on. The crisis not only isolated Denmark in the diplomatic arena and forced Danish program partners to keep their identity concealed for security reasons (and in some, presumably few, cases to disengage completely from collaborating with Danish partners).²² It also undermined Denmark's ability to pose as a credible example of virtuous democratic values that a broader Muslim and Arab audience should aspire to and imitate in its own political culture. Rather, by 2006 for the broader Arab public Denmark had become a representative of European 'Islamophobia'. This meant that the initial aim of using dialogue as a tactical measure to engage proactively in the 'clash of civilizations' was replaced by a strategy of appeasement using 'communication initiatives' and 'public diplomacy' to contain transnational conflict and pave the way for a normalization of relations between Denmark and the Arab world.

The second explanation has focused on political will and abilities in the Arab region. Within the so-called 'post-democratization' perspective,²³

scholars have pointed out that the authoritarian regimes in the region are both highly resilient and very flexible entities. In this perspective, the absence of democratization in the Arab region reveals more about the abilities and will of local political elites in the region to ensure their own survival than it does about a lack of will to see democracy prevail among international actors. Arab regimes are, in short, too strong, too smart and too cautious to allow the international community to push them into reforming themselves out of power through democratization and social reform.

Apart from the analysis of a lack of political will and the abilities of the international community to exert pressure through democratization, scholars have put forward a third and more theoretically informed explanation of the failure of democracy promotion in the Arab world. For example, recalling that political theory over the past fifty years has not been able to provide scientifically proven answers regarding how democracy emerges, Schlumberger points out that democracy promotion relies on popular rather than scientific knowledge.²⁴ In a similar line, Kienle has demonstrated how the basic assumptions on which Western democracy promotion is based are falsifiable. An example is the tendency for democracy promotion programs to support middle-class actors on the basis that a strong middle class will facilitate democratization. While it is true that there are numerous cases where these two phenomena coincide, there are also numerous and convincing cases of the opposite, a point the German-born Kienle makes with a reference to the strong middle class support for the German Nazi Party. Assumptions like this, he concludes, reflect *correlation* rather than academically proven *causation*.²⁵

No matter how the political, empirical and theoretical factors work together, the relative failure of international efforts to promote democracy gave observers and actors the general impression by the end of the decade that very little had been achieved. Denmark, of course, was no exception, and although the Danish democracy promotion programs were kept running and Danish troops continued to be posted to Afghanistan (Denmark withdrew from Iraq in 2007), both public and political interest was dwindling. Although the Danish democracy promotion programs in the Arab World were conceived as long-term engagements explicitly stating that tangible results could only be expected after decades, not years, the poor results during the 2000s did erode the the VK government's political will to sustain its engagement. In spring 2010, Denmark's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lene Espersen, who had assumed the position in February of that year, responded to this by shutting the Danish embassies in Algeria and Jordan, the latter in

particular having been a key priority country for Danish democracy promotion efforts over the past decade. Simultaneously, a Danish embassy was opened in Abu Dhabi, the aim being to: 'promote Danish interests' in what the Minister called 'one of the biggest markets in the Persian Gulf with the aim of stimulating growth and employment in Denmark'.²⁶ In November the same year, during the negotiations over the financial bill for 2011, the Minister was forced to accept a demand from a party supporting the government, the Dansk Folkeparti, to remove the 'Arab' reference from the title of the program and to include funding of DKK 10 million to promote Israeli-Arab peace-building activities. This point that had repeatedly been rejected in recent years out of fear that the inclusion of an Israeli component in the program would open the way to potential populist campaigns against democracy activists in the Arab countries or the disengagement of skilled Arab activists who feared such campaigns.²⁷ Indeed, by late 2010 the political will to participate in the front line of international democracy promotion that had characterized Danish involvement in the Arab region at the beginning of the decade had ceased, and observers openly speculated about whether these changes pointed towards a general downscaling or even closing down of Danish involvement in the region.²⁸

The Endogenous Dynamics of Arab Reform

The events that spread from North Africa to other parts of the Arab world in 2011 and that have been given the name of 'the Arab Spring' represent an endogenously driven rupture with the region's recent political and social history. Two factors in particular points to this conclusion.

The first is that the events of 2011 constitute a multi-dimensional process of political mobilization – or politicization – that in its most immediate form represents a break with the social and political fatigue that has characterized Arab societies in recent decades. As I have argued elsewhere,²⁹ the process has taken place in at least four different arenas positioned outside the space of the regimes that therefore represent new arenas for political action.

The first of these new Arab political arenas is the street. During 2011, an unprecedentedly high number of contentious political events occurred in the Middle East and North Africa, whether in the form of sit-ins, strikes,

demonstrations or protest marches. In Tunisia and Egypt, it was these mass protests at street level that sparked the divisions in the regimes and later acted as a watchdog for what the Egyptian activists dubbed the 'revolutionary principles'.

The second arena is the ballot box. For obvious reasons the revival of ballot boxes only took place in those countries that went through deep political reforms or revolutionary changes in 2011, namely Tunisia, Egypt and (to a lesser degree) Morocco. In Egypt and Tunisia electoral participation doubled from an estimated 10-15% participation in the past decade to 50% participation in parliamentary elections in Tunisia in 2011 and 60% in Egypt in 2001 and 2012. As in all three countries, voters saw that the candidates they had voted for actually won seats.

A third new political arena that emerged in 2011 is the region's international political institutions, which for decades had been dormant and deprived of real political influence. In particular, 2011 witnessed the revitalization of the Arab League and the Gulf Cooperation Council and an increase in their political importance. During 2011 these institutions affirmed their role in the political processes in the Middle East and North Africa, first, in providing the necessary mandate for the UN resolution calling for a no-flight zone over Libya, and secondly in ousting Syria from the League.

The mere revitalization of the mobilization capacities and political influence of these arenas for political participation in North Africa and, to a lesser extent in other parts of the Arab region is likely to alter fundamentally the nature of the political game in the Arab world in the future.

The second reason to consider 2011 a break with the recent political history of authoritarianism in the Arab region is its impact on these regimes. Again this has been most evident in the North African sub-region, where popular protest started in December 2010 and where the political consequences of these protests during 2011 were most visible and profound, with three regimes collapsing and the remaining two regimes pre-emptively initiating political and social reform programs in order to ensure their survival.

The collapse of the regimes in Egypt and Tunisia followed similar patterns. Initially the civilian political elites built around Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali and Hosni Mubarak attempted to quell the protests through police repression combined with promises of wide-ranging political reforms. As the social base of the protest kept growing, and as the civil institutions of the state became increasingly paralyzed and incapable of containing the revolts, the political elites turned to the military establishment, which in both cases refused to intervene and preserve the regime through military repression. In

consequence Ben Ali fled the country and Mubarak was placed under house arrest.

In Tunisia, had historically the military had had little say in politics. During 2011, it continued to stay out of politics and opted for the role of neutral observer, allowing and enabling the civilian actors to compete for and eventually agree upon the political transition process that in October culminated in the first free and fair elections in an Arab country for decades.

In Egypt, the military has traditionally had a key role in ensuring regional stability as the kingpin of the US-brokered Camp David peace agreement with Israel. Prior to that, since 1952, it was the single most dominant player in state-building as a recruitment base for all the independent republic's four presidents. Hence the military stepped into the political scene in February 2011, when the *ad hoc* institution that assembles in times of war, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, forced Mubarak out of office and assumed the president's executive powers. The to some extent inevitable involvement of the military in politics remains at the time of writing the single most discussed and unresolved conflict in Egypt's transition towards a new post-Mubarak political system.

In Libya, regime collapse was triggered less by an elite splitting between the army and its civilian members (although factions did occur within the armed forces). Rather factions followed regional, geographical and 'ethnic' lines of demarcation within Libyan society that Kaddafi's regime itself had nourished through the elaboration of a government system of patronage. Hence in certain areas the regime retained its ability to resist the combined attacks of Libyan rebels and international air power operating under the UN-sanctioned no-flight zone, while completely losing control of the others. In the end, the fall of Kaddafi in late autumn was brought about only with the assistance of strong NATO military support.

The regimes in the two remaining North African countries, Morocco and Algeria, did not collapse during 2011, nor did any of them experience the same broad civilian revolts that the other countries had experienced. In consequence the two regimes adopted comparable, yet distinct, pre-emptive policies aiming at bolstering their legitimacy and accommodating demands they themselves controlled, rather than attempting to react belatedly to demands formulated by an emerging collectivity of actors and protesters. In Morocco, the King initiated a top-down political reform program leading to a revision of the constitution and the country's freest election since independence, paving the way for the moderate Islamist PJD to form government. In Algeria, the government took a number of steps to increase political liberties,

although none that fundamentally altered the distribution of power,³⁰ while at the same time increasing public spending on social housing, salaries and basic commodities, and launching swift repressive measures against public demonstrations being staged in the capital.³¹

In the other sub-regions of the Arab World, the Levantine area and the Gulf area, events were equally dramatic although both political and social changes appeared less 'deep' than they did in North Africa. In Syria, Bahrain and Yemen (until President Saleh stepped down in the latter), these regimes reacted with indiscriminate repression against protests in what appeared to be a learning curve originating in Kaddafi's initial success in ensuring regime survival through coercion. In a number of the Gulf monarchies, with Saudi Arabia as the main example, the regime used petro-dollars to provide increased pensions and welfare spending in processes that resembled the initiatives taken by the Algerian regime. Finally in Iraq, Sudan and Palestine, countries that had all recently experienced protracted armed conflict, massive political mobilization did not occur, and these regimes responded with what looked mostly like a wait-and-see policy.

Although multi-faceted and not representing a single political trend, the multitude and depth of the changes happening at regime level during 2011, in particular in North Africa, suggest that a profound break has occurred in the Arab region's recent political history.

By early 2012, it was possible to conclude that, excluding the Libyan case, the largely endogenous process of politicization and regime change that took place, notably in North Africa during 2011, has created a far broader political platform for change and renewal than all the international political engineering programs put together over the past ten to fifteen years. New collective actors have emerged, and established actors have increased their bids for political influence in a process that has placed the incumbent authoritarian regimes in a quandary: while some have collapsed others have survived, but none have gone through the process unchanged. While this multifaceted development does not allow us to conclude whether this points towards more or less democracy or authoritarianism at the regional level, the process of mobilization and politicization had in itself expanded the opportunities for political change more than any other series of events in the postcolonial period of Arab history.

Change and Continuity in Danish Promotion of Democracy

Danish policy responses to the Arab Spring throughout 2011 were based on a broad parliamentary consensus encompassing three central issues. The first point of agreement concerned an assessment of the significance of the events in the Arab world. Four days into the protests in Egypt, on 29 January, and in line with statements issued by a number of European leaders, the Danish Prime Minister, Lars Løkke Rasmussen, explained on Danish television: 'The Arab people wish to see political, economic and social reform. That's what needs to be delivered'.³² Although the Dansk Folkeparti, which was supporting the VK government, took a critical position of sceptically awaiting on developments, the government itself and the opposition largely followed this line by enthusiastically framing these events as a popular demand for political and social change that inspired hope and pointed towards a new democratic beginning.³³

The second point of agreement between government and opposition concerned the assessment of Denmark's role in democracy promotion in the region over the past eight years. In a parliamentary debate on 23 March 2011, the Minister of Foreign Affairs explained to her colleagues: 'It is with particularly great satisfaction that I during these weeks assess the efforts that Denmark has made since 2003 in promoting reform and democracy in the Arab World. Through Partnership for Dialogue and Reform – previously called the Arab Initiative – we have supported many of the groups that are now demanding that their voices be heard: human rights groups, youth, media actors and women. We have been a part of giving these groups hope for democracy and freedom through an engagement that has been driven by demands from the countries' local civil societies.'³⁴ This celebratory assessment of Danish democracy promotion continued under the new government, which took office in autumn 2011. Hence Denmark's new Minister of Foreign Affairs in the S-R-SF government, Villy Søvndal, expressed his satisfaction with the program on several occasions, as when in December, with reference to democracy promotion in the Arab world, he to explained Danish academics and activists that the former VK government had, indeed, done *some* good things. The consensus among the parties ceased, however, when discussions were broadened out to include other aspects of the VK government's Middle East policy. In particular, the attempt in late March

2011 by the then Minister of Development Cooperation, Søren Pind, and former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Uffe Ellemann Jensen, to frame the Arab Spring in 2011 as a consequence of the removal of Saddam Hussein in 2003³⁵ provoked immediate and strong condemnation from leading voices in the opposition.³⁶

The third and last point of consensus between the Danish political parties concerned the question of how Denmark should respond to the Arab Spring. In late March an unprecedented alliance of all parties in parliament agreed to provide military assistance to the NATO alliance that was to uphold the UN-sanctioned no-flight zone in Libya.³⁷ On the civilian side, a broad coalition of parties backed a proposal from the opposition to scale up the existing program framework for democracy promotion in the Arab region.

Based on this consensus, the Danish governments that held office during 2011 each introduced their own initiative to expand and bolster the existing democracy promotion framework. On 24 March, the Minister of Development Cooperation, Søren Pind, allocated DKK 75 million from his recently created 'Freedom Fund' to support the 'democratic transition in Tunisia and Egypt' and 'democratic forces' in North Africa more generally.³⁸ In December, the new S-R-SF government presented a revamped and expanded 'Arab Initiative' with an increased annual budget of DKK 275 million for 2012 (compared to DKK 100 million in 2010 and DKK 175 million in 2011).³⁹

The two initiatives closely resemble the previous programs in both their aims and priorities. Hence the revamped initiative from December continued to have the double aim of previous years: to 'support the ongoing reform and democratization processes in the Middle East and North Africa' and to 'foster dialogue, understanding and collaboration between Denmark and the Arab World'.⁴⁰ Furthermore, both programs prioritize the development of the rule of law and good governance, as well as the development of Arab civil society.⁴¹

There are, however, also a number of novelties. The first of these is that for the first time both policy initiatives provide for economic development assistance to those countries that are judged to be 'in transition', namely Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya.⁴² A second, perhaps more important novelty consists in downplaying the scenario of an Islamist security threat, which motivated initial US and Danish foreign policy thinking in the wake of the attacks of September 2001 and by 2005-2006 had become a key factor behind the decreasing international pressure for democratization. Following Barack Obama's repositioning shortly before Mubarak stepped down, in which he downplayed the electoral strength of the Muslim Brotherhood,⁴³ the Danish

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lene Espersen, together with the government's coalition partner, Venstre, made it clear that the Danish government was willing to collaborate and even provide funding for Islamist organizations like the Muslim Brotherhood provided they acted democratically.⁴⁴ The reconciliatory line towards Islamists has indeed been continued throughout the year and picked up by the S-R-SF government. Hence, the current Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Villy Søvndal, reflected on the US-Islamist rapprochement mooted by Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in early July⁴⁵ when, in his opening speech on the occasion of the re-launch of the 'Arab Initiative' in December 2011, he explained the Danish position regarding the newly elected Islamist governments in Tunisia, Morocco and (soon) Egypt: 'We will be true to [Denmark's] ideals and recognize those governments that the [Arab] population chooses in free elections while at the same time expecting them to respect democratic rules.'⁴⁶ As such, the Arab revolts seem to have paved the way to the desecuritization of Islamism at the political level.⁴⁷ In the Danish context, in which the public and political debates about the character and role of Islamism in local and world politics has been particularly polarized in the wake of the Cartoon Crisis and the rising terrorist threats, this policy shift has proceeded remarkably smoothly.

Closely related to the desecuritizing of Islamism, the two Danish governments of 2011 were relatively consistent throughout the year in avoiding the 'conflict over values' and 'culture' that the VK government had emphasized in its early years in office and when launching the democracy promotion program in 2003. In the revamped 'Arab Initiative' of 2011, the S-R-SF government relegates the role of 'dialogue' to a minimum function: 'The idea behind the Arab Initiative is that the best way to promote dialogue and network formation is by establishing concrete collaborative programs in which sister organizations and experts work together with projects directly targeting concrete issues in reform and democracy development. Hence the initiative will, as a guiding principle, not support particular dialogue projects, but seek to incorporate communication, dialogue and network formation within concrete partnership programs.'⁴⁸ It is true that in numerous instances prior to 2011 in practice the Danish democracy program operationalized its dialogue activities in ways that roughly correspond to the ideal stated in the text of the new program of 2011. In that regard the novelty of the 2011 program text may be seen as conceptual rather than practical. Thus the downscaling of the dialogue track from its previously prestigious position as a core aim of the program to a secondary outcome of the reform projects reflects a deeper repositioning of the way the new government conceives of its relationship

with the Arab world. While dialogue was previously aimed at avoiding the outbreak of an open clash of civilizations between Muslims and Europeans, the new government explains that the Arab revolts have revealed the existence of a 'community of values' between the Arab region and Europe.⁴⁹ This new position also allows the new Danish government to downplay the importance of the negative public image that Denmark acquired in the Arab World in the wake of the Cartoon Crisis. While this was, indeed, the target of much political and media concern and was targeted in a number of policy initiatives, the new program of 2011 smelted anti-Danish feelings into a broad mould of rather stereotypical anti-colonialism that cannot and will not be addressed politically: 'Many [people] in the Middle East and on *the Arab Street* have traditionally regarded the policies of the West in the region as an expression of opportunist power politics. The implementation of activities under the Arab Initiative accepts the scepticism that exists on the Arab Street as a condition for the work'.⁵⁰

Taken together, the revamped democracy promotion program of 2011 includes a number of significant changes in the conceptions of both Danish foreign policy preferences in the Arab World and the relationship between Denmark and the Arab region in itself. It seems relatively safe to conclude that these changes were primarily a result of the change in the opportunity structures within the Arab region and only secondarily a result of the government rotation during 2011, in which the liberal-right VK government was replaced with the centre-left S-R-SF government. There are in particular two reasons for such a conclusion. First the significant changes in Danish policy had already been formulated in early spring 2011 by the outgoing VK government, namely the decisions to provide support to Islamists, to provide financial assistance to countries in transition and to downscale (or, as was the case in the March policy initiative, completely ignore) the intercultural dialogue track while praising the shared liberal democratic values of the Danes and Arab populations. These core decisions were based on the broad parliamentary consensus that emerged during 2011, and not on either of the two governments' own visions for a readjusted civilian foreign policy. The second reason to believe that the changes were not the result of a Danish government reshuffle but reflected political changes outside Denmark is the close alignment between Danish policy repositioning and the repositionings of the US administration and EU leaders. As demonstrated above, the Danish changes were announced only after consultation with (or at least observation of public changes in) the strategic positioning on these very issues by the Obama administration and the EU. That said, there are a

number of rather symbolic changes in the policy that carry the clear mark of the new centre-left government. One such issue is the deliberate insistence by the new Minister of Foreign Affairs to change the name of the Danish democracy promotion program yet again, this time by reviving its old name and thereby readopting the specific 'Arab' profile of the program. While the move, symbolically marks the end of an era in Danish politics in which the VK government allowed its ally, the Dansk Folkeparti, a strong say in all issues related to Islam and Muslims, the symbolism should not be allowed to overshadow the political importance of keeping the promotion of Arab democracy separate from Denmark's involvement in fostering Israeli-Arab peace-making.

The Arab Spring: a Reason for Optimism?

There are reasons for some optimism when assessing the potential for Danish and international efforts to promote democracy in the Arab region. Let me limit myself here to pointing out the two most important ones. The first reason for optimism emerges from within the region and consists in the endogenously driven process of mobilization and politicization that has broadened the opportunities for political and social change. It is unclear whether the process will lead to democracy, but for the first time in decades the possibility has emerged. As such the year 2011 provided an unprecedented opportunity for international actors to engage in partnerships to push for democracy in the region. While there are numerous examples of the continuation of the flawed policies and double standards in involvement in international democracy, the past year has also shown a willingness amongst Western governments to take action when opportunities increase. The Danish government has been at the forefront of these efforts.

The second reason to be optimistic is that 2011 saw the emergence of a strong international consensus among policy-makers in the West to desecuritize Islamism. The decision removes a key obstacle to effective international democracy promotion in the region that academics and activists have pointed out for years: that democratization will most probably favour Islamist opposition groups, at least in the short term, and that a Western Middle East policy based on the principle that Islamists are a threat to Western interests is at odds with a democratic development. Hence desecuritizing Islamism

is the precondition *sine qua non* for genuinely promoting democracy in the region.

Unfortunately there are also reasons for concern and worry about the perspectives for the promotion of democracy in the Arab region. Putting aside the important but open-ended question of where political development in these sub-regions and national states is heading, I shall limit myself to pointing out two core concerns for a successful continuation of Danish democracy promotion policies in the region.

The first is theoretical in nature. 2011 did not solve the problem of theorizing democracy promotion. Indeed, the theoretical uncertainty over how to do democracy may even increase as the empirical realities of the region change in the immediate future. Although scholars have typically formulated the knowledge accumulation that has taken place within the area of democracy promotion in authoritarian Arab settings as 'lessons in what not to do' rather than lessons in how to promote democracy, the ongoing change in the Arab political and social context sparked by the Arab Spring will reduce the relevance of these 'negative lessons'. Governments will, in other words, work in increasing theoretical darkness.

The second reason is political in nature and concerns the dynamics of scaling Danish foreign policy successes both up and down. As I have demonstrated, the Danish government has based its policy response to the Arab Spring on the assumption that this development in the region constitutes an important momentum for pro-democratic forces and on the assumption that this momentum is a Danish foreign policy success. Although I have argued that the policy outcome in 2011 is positive, I believe that the relationship between these two assumptions gives cause for concern. First of all, as I have pointed out above, it is far from clear that we are facing a democratic momentum. The process of mobilization and politicization has unleashed and initiated a number of political processes, some of which appear, in the short term, at least, to be pro-democracy, while others do not so. As such there is no guarantee that we are not heading towards a period of prolonged stagnation, repression, roll back and closure of democratic opportunities in the region. We may face protracted civil war in Syria, state failure in Libya, enforced authoritarianism in the form of military dominance over civil political institutions in Egypt and continued despotism in the Arabian Peninsula. Basing an assessment of Denmark's foreign policy success on the degree of democratization that emerges in the region will inevitably risk jeopardizing our ability to stand firm through periods of decreasing democratic opportunities. Just as the Danish government began rolling back its

democracy promotion programs at the end of 2000s, we may face a situation in which stagnation and a closing of opportunities gives way to a long period of disappointing results for democracy promotion in the region. Basing our criteria for foreign policy success on the actions of local actors whose agenda the Danish government – or any government, for that matter – hardly understands may, indeed, build vulnerability into the policy framework a to negative outcomes, or perhaps even the lack of positive outcomes. In that respect the lesson of the past decade of failed democracy promotion may be that Western governments will have to prepare for years of poor results. This will require the development of a long-term strategy for Danish involvement in the region, rather than a demand-driven program that provides support for our presumed friends in the region just when they appear to be in a favourable position.

Notes

- 1 Rasmus Alenius Boserup is a Carlsberg Research Fellow at the Danish Institute for International Studies. The author wishes to thank Lars Erslev Andersen, DIIS, as well as reviewer Morten Valbjørn, Aarhus University, for valuable comments and suggestions.
- 2 For an analysis, see Jakobsen and Møller in this volume.
- 3 For further information on MEPI, see <http://mepi.state.gov/>.
- 4 For further information on MEFTA, see <http://www.ustr.gov/trade-agreements/other-initiatives/middle-east-free-trade-area-initiative-mefta>.
- 5 In December 2001, the VK government, which had taken office only two months before, passed a law through parliament with broad support authorizing Denmark to provide military assistance to the UN-sanctioned and US-led military campaign against 'terrorist networks' in Afghanistan; see <http://www.ft.dk/samling/20061/almdel/fou/bilag/54/334861.pdf>.
- 6 http://webarkiv.ft.dk/Samling/20021/beslutningsforslag_fremsaettelse/B118.htm.
- 7 MFA, 2011.
- 8 Andersen, 2009: 119.
- 9 AHDR, 2003.
- 10 MFA, 2011.
- 11 E.g. Mohanna et al., 2009.
- 12 MFA, 2011.
- 13 MFA, 2011: 6.
- 14 MFA, 2011: 5.
- 15 See e.g. Schlumberger, 2007.
- 16 Aggregated data from Freedomhouse reveals that the Arab world has kept its position since the 1990s, while countries in Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa and South-East Asia have experienced a gradual increase in political liberties. Source: www.freedomhouse.org (see also Schlumberger, 2006: 35-36).
- 17 Hamzawi and Brown, 2010.
- 18 Sayyad, 2007: 216.
- 19 Schlumberger, 2006.
- 20 Andersen, 2011.
- 21 Interview by the author with Hisham Kassem, Cairo, April 2011.
- 22 Increased security restrictions among its partners in particular were advised by the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the wake of bombing of the Danish embassy in Islamabad in 2008.
- 23 E.g. Bellin, 2004; Heydemann, 2007 and Posusney, 2004.
- 24 Schlumberger, 2006.
- 25 Kienle, 2007.
- 26 <http://www.u-landsnyt.dk/nyhed/14-04-10/lukning-af-fire-danske-ambassader>.
- 27 http://jp.dk/indland/indland_politik/article2241463.ece. The new program name was 'Partnership for Dialogue and Reform'.
- 28 http://jp.dk/indland/indland_politik/article2078629.ece.

- 29 E.g. Boserup and Tassinari, 2012.
- 30 Darbouche, 2011.
- 31 In December the government passed a reform package that, among other things, included the deregulation of the broadcast media sector, as well as reforms of the electoral and party laws (Darbouche, 2011).
- 32 Lars Løkke Rasmussen on TV2 News: <http://nyhederne-dyn.tv2.dk/article.php/id-36961519:løkke-kræver-pres-fra-eu-på-egypten.html>. All translations from Danish to English by the author.
- 33 *Forespørgsel nr. F 31: Forespørgsel til udenrigsministeren om situationen i Mellemøsten og Nordafrika (hasteforespørgsel)*. 23 March 2011.
- 34 *Forespørgsel nr. F 31: Forespørgsel til udenrigsministeren om situationen i Mellemøsten og Nordafrika (hasteforespørgsel)*. 23 March 2011.
- 35 http://jp.dk/indland/indland_politik/article2393940.ecc.
- 36 http://jp.dk/indland/indland_politik/article2394050.ecc.
- 37 For an analysis, see Møller and Jakobsen, this volume.
- 38 *Notits, Udviklingsministeren, j.nr.: 5.D.109.a., 5.D.84.a.*. 24 March 2011. The program states that 'the people of Tunisia and Egypt have toppled the authoritarian leaders through their brave protests and clearly indicated that they want freedom and democratic rights'.
- 39 *Målsætninger og retningslinjer for gennemførelse af aktiviteter under Det Arabiske Initiativ (DAI)*, Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. December 2011: 5.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 The March 2011 allocation provided DKK 20 million to civil society and DKK 35 million to rule of law and good governance, while the 2012 program allocates 60% of the DKK 275 million. Source: *Målsætninger og retningslinjer for gennemførelse af aktiviteter under Det Arabiske Initiativ (DAI)*, Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. December 2011, and *Notits, Udviklingsministeren, j.nr.: 5.D.109.a., 5.D.84.a.*. 24 March 2011.
- 42 The March 2011 allocation provided a total of DKK 20 million to support economic growth and social justice, while the forecast for 2012 will allocate 35% of the budgeted DKK 275 million for this purpose. Source: *Målsætninger og retningslinjer for gennemførelse af aktiviteter under Det Arabiske Initiativ (DAI)*, Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. December 2011, and *Notits, Udviklingsministeren, j.nr.: 5.D.109.a., 5.D.84.a.*. 24 March 2011.
- 43 <http://politicalticker.blogs.cnn.com/2011/02/06/obama-egypt-has-options/>.
- 44 <http://www.dr.dk/Nyheder/Politik/2011/02/12/165118.htm>.
- 45 <http://edition.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/meast/06/30/egypt.muslim.brotherhood.us/index.html?iref=allsearch>.
- 46 Opening speech by the Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Villy Søvndal, *Lanceringen af de Arabiske Initiativ, 9 December 2011*. Politikens Hus, Copenhagen.
- 47 For an analysis of securitization discourses related to Islam and Islamism in Danish politics during the 2000s see in particular Gad, 2011; also Rytter and Poulsen, 2011.
- 48 *Målsætninger og retningslinjer for gennemførelse af aktiviteter under Det Arabiske Initiativ (DAI)*, Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. December 2011: 7.
- 49 *Målsætninger og retningslinjer for gennemførelse af aktiviteter under Det Arabiske Initiativ (DAI)*, Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. December 2011: 9.
- 50 Ibid.

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Good News: Libya and the Danish Way of War

Peter Viggo Jakobsen and Karsten Jakob Møller¹

'I have good news' – this is how a smiling Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs Espersen announced the decision to send F-16 fighter jets to Libya to the media.² No one batted an eyelid. The notion that it was good news that Denmark was going to war was almost universally shared. All parties in parliament, all major news outlets and 78% of the population applauded the decision. This level of public support was the highest polled among the nations participating in the initial phase of the air campaign.³

This appetite for war should come as no surprise. It had already been evident during the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's (NATO) air war over Kosovo in 1999 when the Danes also topped the polls conducted among NATO member states, and news late in the campaign that Danish F-16s had dropped bombs on Serbian targets was greeted with pride and joy.⁴ It is also visible in the fact that Danes remain the top supporters of NATO's mission in Afghanistan, even though Denmark, with 42 soldiers killed, has suffered the highest number of casualties per capita.⁵ This was further underlined in early 2012 when Danes were the strongest supporters of launching a ground invasion in order to stop the Iranian nuclear program.⁶

This demonstrates Denmark's remarkable journey from Venus to Mars, as Kagan would have put it.⁷ From the defeat to Prussia in 1864 till the end of the Cold War, Denmark resided on Venus with a defence and security policy that was characterized by a peacekeeping and mediation approach. Force was reserved for purposes of national defence, and only if it seemed feasible – which it did not when the Germans invaded in 1940. When the United States asked Denmark for combat troops during the Korean War they received a hospital ship. Use of force beyond self-defence was a red line that was never crossed during this period. The 34,100 Danish troops serving on United Nations (UN) peacekeeping missions during the Cold War were

only allowed to shoot in self-defence, and it was a source of national pride that Danish peacekeepers were regarded as better than most when it came to achieving their mission objectives without opening fire.⁸

Denmark's military engagements in Bosnia (tanks in Tuzla), Kosovo, Afghanistan, Iraq and most recently Libya took Denmark to Mars. The last twenty years have witnessed the reintroduction of medals for bravery, war heroes, homecoming parades, war monuments, an official remembrance day, military funerals and a proper support system for veterans and their families. TV documentaries and heroic accounts of Danish exploits in Afghanistan are selling like hot cakes, and 50,000 cars have bumper stickers expressing support for the troops.⁹ Denmark has become a Martian celebrating its martial prowess, a warrior nation. It has come to view the use of force as a legitimate and useful tool of statecraft, and the military instrument has played a central role in its foreign policy in the past fifteen years. As a result, Denmark has become a member of the select club of 'strategic actors', which consist of the great powers and countries like Israel and Australia that share this view of the military instrument.¹⁰

In the process Denmark has developed its own distinct way of war, and it is our argument that it was this way of war that shaped the Danish approach to the Libya campaign. Our argument has three parts. First we introduce the components of the Danish Way of War. Then we demonstrate how the characteristics of the Libyan operation fitted the Danish Way of War perfectly. The concluding part discusses the war's implications for future Danish defence and security policy and predicts that Denmark is likely to remain a strategic actor.

The Danish Way of War: Ends, Ways and Means

We think of this concept as an ideal type that captures its defining features and structure it by means of Yarger's Ends, Ways and Means framework.¹¹ This helps to make the concept clearer and more useful as an analytical tool, but it also demonstrates that Denmark's does have a grand strategy to guide its use of force, even if it is rarely articulated.¹² In Yarger's framework the *Ends* represent the objectives that Denmark goes to war to protect and promote. The *Ways* constitute the strategic concepts and guidelines that are employed

to accomplish these objectives. The *Means* represent the resources that Denmark employs in the field, such as diplomats, military units, humanitarian assistance and development aid. The means are left out of the analysis below for two reasons. The choice of means will depend upon their availability, the nature of the conflict, allied requests and domestic politics. Secondly, there is nothing at this level that sets Denmark apart from other countries, except that it has very limited means in comparison to many of its allies and that it usually will be unable to make decisive contributions to the military effort. What really sets Denmark apart is its willingness to let its principal allies decide where, when and how force will be used. Therefore, our principal focus in analysing the Danish Way of War is not military doctrine (how), as is usually the case when the concept is applied to the United States and other great powers,¹³ but why (ends) and with whom. The name of the game for Denmark is not to win wars or even battles but to support the right cause and the right allies in order to gain goodwill, prestige, security and influence.

Ends: Security, Human Rights, Democracy and Prestige

The defence white papers and foreign policy strategies published in the post-Cold War era identify two principal objectives for Danish foreign and security policy. Unsurprisingly the first is to protect Denmark's territorial integrity and economic prosperity from external threats. The second is to promote and protect the values on which Danish society is based, namely freedom, democracy, human rights, the market economy, sustainable development and an international society based on respect for the rule of law.¹⁴ These objectives figure prominently in the arguments and decisions that Danish decision-makers have made concerning the use of force since 1990, when the deployment of a small frigate in the Persian Gulf put Denmark on the road to Mars.¹⁵ The strategic narrative that Denmark employs to legitimate its use of force combines the need to protect Denmark and its citizens from external attacks with the need to promote democracy, human rights, the rule of law and development in order to prevent such threats from arising in the first place. In this narrative, national defence equals the promotion of democracy, human rights, peace and stability abroad with all means necessary, including the use of force.¹⁶ The following quote from Foreign Minister Ellemann-Jensen justifying the deployment of Danish troops to Croatia in 1992 represents a typical example:

The war in the Balkans is not a distant war. It is our values, our way of life and, in the final instance, our freedom that are being challenged in former Yugoslavia.

*If we are not ready actively to defend these values, we undermine our own security in the long run. War and peace are no longer a question of defending Denmark's borders. If stability in Europe is to be made secure – and that goes without saying – we have to do our part.*¹⁷

To 'do our part' and build a reputation as a trustworthy ally and partner in NATO, the European Union (EU), the UN and the United States, which underpin Denmark's security and values, has been a third objective driving Denmark's use of force. Although formally speaking prestige and reputation can be seen as a way to achieve the two first objectives, it has served as an objective in its own right in Danish defence and security policy. The priority attached to improving Denmark's prestige in NATO and establishing a 'special relationship' with the United States has been so high that it is hardly an exaggeration to say that during the last fifteen years Denmark has competed with the United Kingdom for the position of its staunchest ally.¹⁸

Ways: Comprehensive, Multilateral, United, Mean and Clean

The Danish Way of War is shaped by five guiding principles. First, Denmark fights to support and demonstrate relevance and trustworthiness to its great power allies in NATO, especially the United States, in order to preserve the security guarantee that they provide. The German invasion of 1940 shattered the illusion that a policy of neutrality could keep Denmark out of war, and national defence has since been conceived as a matter of seeking alliances. Lacking the capacity to take the lead in any major operation, Denmark generally leaves decisions concerning how, where and when to use force to its great power allies and fights under their command without questioning their strategic or operational choices.¹⁹ This has been the case in all the operations mandated to use force beyond self-defence that Denmark has taken part in since the end of the Cold War. The important thing for Denmark is not how or where the war is fought, nor is it essential to win. The key is to make 'a real contribution and to make a difference' as Minister of Defence Gade once put it.²⁰ Since 9/11 Denmark has therefore adopted a 'plug and play' principle, made its armed forces available to its allies with very few national restrictions (caveats) and accepted their use in combat operations involving a high risk of casualties. The orders given to Danish commanders serving in Helmand province since 2006 essentially boil down to: respect the laws of war and cooperate closely with your British commander.²¹

Secondly, Denmark fights to promote and protect UN norms and principles. A mandate from the United Nations is considered fundamental, and

a decision to use force without one will always be a topic of heated debate. That said, the Kosovo experience, when Russia prevented NATO from obtaining a UN mandate for its air campaign, has meant that a 'mandate' from a united NATO (or EU) is perceived as an acceptable second-best solution.²² In 2001 the formal requirement for a mandate from the UN or the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe was therefore removed from the act regulating the tasks of the armed forces.²³ A Danish use of force without such mandates is highly unlikely. It is not inconceivable, as Danish participation in the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 demonstrates, but this was an exception. The decision to go to war was highly controversial and only passed through parliament with a slim majority of eleven votes. A new principle introduced by the Thorning-Schmidt government in the autumn of 2011 requiring a two-thirds majority in parliament before Danish forces can be deployed on operations abroad will prevent this from happening again.²⁴

The Iraq war also ran counter to the third principle shaping the Danish Way of War, the need for broad parliamentary support. All Danish military deployments abroad since World War Two have enjoyed such support. Iraq was the only exception to this rule, and the lack of broad support ended up becoming a political liability for the Fogh Rasmussen government, which in the end was forced to withdraw from Iraq sooner than it would have liked to prevent the war from becoming an issue in the 2007 general election. The collective lesson learned by Danish politicians from the Iraq war is therefore that going to war without broad support is something to be avoided because it is politically risky domestically and because premature withdrawals may irritate the allies that Denmark is concerned to support.

The fourth principle guiding the Danish Way of War is the insistence on the comprehensive approach, that is, the belief that force must be used with an eye to creating the conditions for the liberal peace characterized by democracy and human rights that Denmark seeks to promote. This requires the use of civilian and military instruments in a coordinated and concerted manner. Denmark has made an effort to push this idea within the EU, the UN and NATO,²⁵ and the comprehensive approach has also shaped its attitude to operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as its anti-piracy activities off the coast of Somalia.²⁶ Although the comprehensive approach concept was coined and introduced in 2004, its logic has shaped the Danish Way of War since the early 1990s. Denmark's military deployments in the Balkans were supplemented with humanitarian assistance delivered by Danish NGOs, support for diplomatic initiatives in the relevant international organisations, economic support for development and reconstruction, ef-

forts to enhance civil-military coordination, and the deployment of civilian experts and police officers.²⁷ What the comprehensive approach principle did was to emphasize the need for joint civil-military analysis and planning at the strategic level and better coordination of the resources and the civilian and military personnel employed in a specific operation. The comprehensive approach principle means that deployment of military forces always will be supplemented with non-military means. These instruments and resources will typically be channelled through the EU and the UN, the Red Cross and (Danish) NGOs.

The final and most recent guiding principle is the 'the clean hands' approach, entailing a need to stay clear of tasks that may bring Denmark into conflict with its obligations under international law.²⁸ Reports that prisoners captured by Danish forces in Afghanistan and Iraq have been subjected to torture and maltreatment by allies and the local authorities have led to the adoption of procedures that leave the apprehension, interrogation and detention of prisoners to allies and the local authorities. To avoid legal responsibility for questionable practises undertaken by the private security firms guarding Danish camps and civilian personnel, Denmark also leaves the hiring of such firms to its allies.

The Danish Way of War in Libya: The News Gets Better and Better

From the Danish Way of War perspective, the Libyan war became even better news than the Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs Espersen probably anticipated when she announced the decision to go to war. It not only served the three ends that Denmark fights for, it also proved possible to conduct it in a way that met the Danish Way of War's five guiding principles.

Interests, Values and Profile Go Hand in Hand

Libya was the perfect war from a Danish perspective as it met the three principal objectives that Denmark fights to achieve. The principal justification for war provided by Danish decision-makers was the need for swift action to prevent genocide and to facilitate the provision of humanitarian assistance to the people of Libya. The longer term objective was to establish a stable, peaceful and democratic Libya that could serve as a force for stability and in-

spiration in the region.²⁹ As the Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs Espersen pointed out, Denmark had an interest in enhancing stability in northern Africa in order to increase trade, but also to avoid the negative effects of disorder such as economic breakdown, refugee flows, terrorism and the spread of armed conflict to neighbouring countries, interests that were also reiterated and elaborated upon in the Danish Libya strategy agreed to by all the political parties supporting the war. According to Espersen and the Danish Libya strategy, Danish interests and values went hand in hand in Libya. Danish interests in trade and stability were best served by promoting the Danish values of democracy and human rights and by exploiting the opportunity created by the Arab Spring to this end.³⁰ Prime Minister Løkke Rasmussen agreed, underlining the importance of preventing Qaddafi's brutal behaviour towards his own population from strangling the Arab Spring at birth.³¹

Libya also provided Denmark with a perfect opportunity to 'do its part' and signal its reliability and trustworthiness to its principal partners. Prime Minister Løkke Rasmussen highlighted Denmark's 'obligation to take on an international responsibility' and did not view it as a problem that the war was initiated by small great power trio consisting of France, the United Kingdom and the United States. In his view it was not the number of countries that mattered but the fact that it was 'the right ones'.³² This made it much easier for Denmark to increase its profile and demonstrate its relevance and reliability to them. Being visible and in the lead was an objective in its own right for the government, and since only nine countries volunteered for the bombing missions, Denmark was able to bomb way above its weight, even though it only contributed four fighters (two were held in reserve) to the air campaign (see Table 1). It was Denmark's luck that the Libyan war took the form of an air campaign and that the Danish air force was not engaged in international operations elsewhere. If the Libyan war had been fought on the ground Denmark would not have been able to play a key role, since it would have been incapable of providing more than a limited number of Special Forces or a light reconnaissance squadron at such short notice. As it turned out, the Danish contribution became highly visible and was highly praised.³³

Table 1. *Precision-guided munitions by nation during Operations Odyssey Dawn and Unified Protector*

States	No. of precision-guided munitions
USA	-
France	-
United Kingdom	1420/234*
Denmark	923
Italy	710
Canada	696
Norway	588
Belgium	472
United Arab Emirates	-
NATO Unified Protector Total	7642

*Typhoon contribution until 23 September 2011 only.

Sources: Canadian Department of National Defense 2011, Forsvaret.no 2011, Forsvarsministeriet 2011; Kington 2011; La Libre.be 2011; Luff 2011; UN doc. 2012, para 605.

Plug and play with France, the United Kingdom and the United States

In keeping with its plug and play principle, Denmark left all the strategic decisions concerning 'where, when and how' to its great power allies. Denmark supported virtually all the actions and proposals made by its great power allies without question. Once President Obama had made it clear that Qaddafi had lost all legitimacy in late February, this line was immediately adopted in Copenhagen;³⁴ when Obama questioned the notion of a no-fly zone, Danish Prime Minister Løkke Rasmussen questioned it too;³⁵ when the United States made it clear on 17 March that it wanted to go beyond a no-fly zone, this immediately became government policy in Denmark;³⁶ on March 29, when the great powers suggested that Qaddafi might be allowed to go into exile, the Danish government immediately supported this idea;³⁷ the Danish Libya strategy published on 27 April simply expressed its support for the activities being pursued by the Arab League, the UN, the EU and NATO;³⁸ and when the mandate for the Danish military contribution was renewed in parliament in August, the new mandate was aligned with NATO's so that a possible renewal could reflect whatever NATO decided to do.³⁹ The government carefully shied away from formulating national objectives, exit dates or benchmarks that might collide with the policies formulated by the great powers.⁴⁰ As Prime Minister Løkke Rasmussen responded, when pressed by journalists to formulate a more proactive Danish policy, 'Although I want

Denmark out in front, we have to take our size into account, and that does not permit us to take the lead'.⁴¹

In accordance with its plug and play principle, the Danish priority was to make a 'real' military contribution to the allied campaign. The Danish government wanted to be ready to fight the moment the decision to go to war was taken. Speed and flexibility were seen as of the essence, and the armed forces were told to initiate contingency planning for possible land, sea and air contributions on March 3. Five days later the air force was told to prepare a deployment of six F-16s. On 18 March the F-16s were put on twelve-hour alert,⁴² and they took off for Italy the following morning before the command and control arrangements were in place and before the government had any idea about what they might be tasked to do.⁴³ The Danish planes were operational in Italy just 57 hours after the UN Security Council had authorized the implementation of the no-fly zone, and the first to arrive and join the three great powers that initiated the campaign. This feat triggered a phone call from a surprised chief of the Norwegian Air Force, who wanted to know from his Danish counterpart 'how on earth the planes could deploy so fast?'.⁴⁴

The F-16s were made available to the coalition without any caveats, and the Air Force decided to deploy with all available weapon systems to make the planes as useful and flexible as possible. The latter decision was questioned by the Defence Command, who failed to see the need for all these weapons in an operation mandated to police a no-fly zone. The Air Force insistence on flexibility paid off as the F-16s soon were employing all the precision-guided munitions in their inventory. Major-General Margaret H. Woodward, the Joint Force Air Component Commander of Operation Odyssey Dawn, the initial US-led operation (19-31 March 2011), became so impressed by the versatility of Danish F-16s that she nicknamed them the 'rock stars of the campaign'. When they arrived on March 19, the allies were not sure what to expect from the Danes. The Danish pilots were consequently not allowed to carry out bombing missions until they had demonstrated what they were capable of.⁴⁴ Once they had accomplished their first bombing mission on March 23, they quickly moved to the centre of the action. By March 31, when the United States handed over command to NATO, the Danish F-16s had dropped more bombs (102) than any other nation except the United States.⁴⁵ The Danish F-16s maintained their high profile during NATO's Operation Unified Protector, dropping another 821 bombs, 11% of the NATO total (see Table 1).

Supporting the UN and the Responsibility to Protect

The no-fly zone mandate provided by the UN Security Council enjoyed pride of place in the Danish justification to go to war.⁴⁶ Prime Minister Løkke Rasmussen hailed the decision in the UN Security Council as ‘historical’ and stressed that in this ‘unique’ situation Denmark had a ‘historical obligation’ to support it.⁴⁷ He also stressed the importance of the UN’s *Responsibility to Protect* principle, which gives the international community an ‘obligation to intervene to prevent genocide.’⁴⁸ The importance of the UN mandate and the support of the Arab League, which made it difficult to portray the air campaign as yet another Western crusade against a Muslim country, were also echoed in the justifications provided by the Danish Ministers of Defence and Foreign Affairs and by members of the opposition parties supporting the decision.

At the same time, it is also clear that the government and a large majority in parliament would have supported a decision to go war without a UN mandate if the resolution had been vetoed by China and Russia because of the perceived need to act quickly to prevent genocide. In keeping with the principle that was adopted in response to the lessons learned in Kosovo, this course of action was justified with reference to humanitarian necessity and the fact that it enjoyed strong support from most EU and NATO governments, the United States and the Arab League.⁴⁹ The Socialist People’s Party, which opposed the Danish participation in NATO’s air campaign over Kosovo in 1999 under similar circumstances, was this time in favour of acting without a UN mandate. The chairman of the Socialist People’s Party Søvndal justified this change of heart by referring to the need ‘to protect a civilian population against a complete lunatic like Qaddafi’.⁵⁰

War by Domestic Consensus (Almost)

The decision to go to war enjoyed unprecedented support. It was the first time ever that all the parties in parliament had voted in favour of going to war. Although the four members of the Red-Green Alliance withdrew their support after twelve days on the grounds that the coalition had violated the UN mandate and sided with the rebels in their fight against the Qaddafi regime,⁵¹ the level of parliamentary support remained the highest ever throughout the campaign, as no other party defected. This high level of support was also reflected in the media, among commentators and by the public at large. While critical voices could be found and several Danish experts criticized the government for lacking a clear end state,⁵² the media coverage was predominantly positive.

The historical level of support in parliament did not simply fall from the sky: it resulted from a process of continuous consultation with all parties in parliament that began when it became apparent that force might be used. The government bill that provided the basis for going to war was carefully drafted so as to take the concerns of all parties into account. The explicit rejection of ground troops in the bill and in the subsequent Danish Libya strategy was a reflection of this process, as this was a red line for several parties, including the Danish Peoples Party and the Red-Green Alliance.⁵³ The same was true of the government's rejection of American and British proposals to arm the rebels, which were opposed by all parties and 50% of the population.⁵⁴

The government usually waited to propose policy changes it knew would be controversial domestically until they had been adopted by Denmark's allies in the EU and NATO. Once the allies moved ahead, the political parties in Denmark usually followed. Thus the government waited until the end of April to say explicitly that it wanted to remove Qaddafi.⁵⁵ By then it had tacitly been pursuing this policy for over a month by allowing the Danish F-16s to provide close air support for advancing rebel forces. Similarly, the Danish recognition of the rebel National Transition Council as the 'only legitimate representative of the Libyan people' had to wait until late June. It was only then that it was possible for the government to persuade all the parties behind the war to support this move.⁵⁶

The Danish Libya strategy published on 27 April and its renewal in August also reflected this consensus approach. It was a compromise document resulting from a process of consultation involving all the parties supporting the war.⁵⁷ Since the strategy was written in order to make everybody happy, it was not an operational document. It did not set clear and precise goals, identify and prioritize resources or establish clear links between ends and means. Instead, it listed all the positive things that Denmark (i.e. the political parties, ministries and humanitarian organisations involved) wanted to achieve in Libya in cooperation with all relevant countries and organizations. Rather than provide operational guidance, the strategy served the unstated dual purpose of creating and maintaining domestic support in parliament and in the public at large, and to provide the practitioners in the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defence with ample room to manoeuvre.

Four Paths to Peace

The logic of the comprehensive approach – that civilian and military instruments should be used in a concerted and coordinated manner in order to

create the conditions for lasting peace – ran like a common thread through official statements, the parliamentary bill authorizing the F-16 deployment and the Danish Libya strategy. In the latter the comprehensive approach was translated into four paths: political, military, humanitarian, and support for development and reconstruction, which were pursued simultaneously. The overall objective was to make the use of military force and humanitarian assistance superfluous as quickly as possible so that the process of creating a new form of democratic governance, good governance and jobs could be initiated. Peace was to be won through cooperation and dialogue with the new emerging Libyan leadership. The strategy envisaged a demand-driven process with the new Libyan leadership in the driver's seat. The role of Denmark and the international community was to act in support and guide the new Libya on the path towards democracy, human rights and economic growth.⁵⁸

In practical terms, Denmark's F-16 contribution to the air campaign was accompanied by efforts to influence the political process in the international Contact Group on Libya, which was set up in March 2011 in order to coordinate international policy and be a forum for the discussion of humanitarian and post-conflict support. Moreover, Denmark also became a member of the Friends of Libya Group, which replaced the contact group in September 2011. Danish members of parliament visited the Libyan Transition National Council in June 2011 in order to signal their support and acquire a sense of their political objectives and aspirations.

In support of its humanitarian objectives, Denmark spent €3.7 million on humanitarian assistance (including mine clearance) and €269,000 to support the UN's peace-making efforts during the war. In support of post-conflict stabilization Denmark donated close to €1 million to projects run by Danish NGOs to support human rights activities, the rehabilitation of torture victims, media development and business development. Denmark also donated €201,756 to the UN's electoral support mission. To support post-conflict development and strengthen bilateral trade, Denmark opened a diplomatic representation in Tripoli in late February 2012.⁵⁹

When in Doubt do not Attack

In keeping with its 'clean hands' principle, the Danish government did not support the calls for 'more aggressive bombings' that were made by France and others at various points during the campaign.⁶⁰ Instead, it repeatedly reiterated the need to take great care not to harm the civilians that the bombing campaign was aimed to protect. According to Danish Minister of Defence Beck, Denmark 'was among the nations that gave priority to avoiding

civilian losses. When in doubt do not attack. That is the motto our pilots deployed with'.⁶¹

Since Denmark followed the US rules of engagement (ROE) during Operation Odyssey Dawn and NATO ROE during Operation Unified Protector, the claim that Denmark gave greater priority to avoiding civilian casualties than other nations is open to question. Denmark followed these ROE without caveats, and there is nothing to suggest that Danish legal advisors were more restrictive than their colleagues from other nations.⁶² They did not need to be because the ROE were very restrictive. Great care was taken to avoid civilian casualties because they could undermine the humanitarian rationale of the campaign. The targeting process was guided by the principle of a 'zero expectation of civilian death or injury'. Targets had to provide a definite military advantage, they were selected on the basis of multiple intelligence sources, strikes were timed to minimize the risk of civilian casualties, all aerial munitions employed were precision-guided and of minimum size, and strikes were often called off, sometimes at the last moment, because the risks to civilians were deemed too high.⁶³ Danish legal advisors and pilots also aborted strikes on a number of occasions when civilians were too close to the target.⁶⁴

Reports that Danish planes had dropped the bombs that killed Qaddafi's youngest son and three of his grandchildren in an attack on May 1 led to demands from the Danish People's Party, the Socialist People's Party and the Red-Green Alliance for greater openness, because as a matter of policy the Danish Air Force refused to confirm or deny whether Danish planes had participated in this or any other specific attacks.⁶⁵ The government refused to do so, citing operational security and NATO procedures, and this was also the line adopted when NATO refused to disclose details on a small number of strikes that were identified as problematic in a report by the UN Human Rights Commission in early 2012.⁶⁶ This line of argument was accepted by all parties except the Red-Green Alliance and the Liberal Alliance, and it never became an issue for the public at large.⁶⁷ The efforts by the government to convince its critics and the general public that it had conducted a 'clean' war was facilitated by the fact that Denmark's degree of openness concerning its strike missions was on a par with most NATO allies, that NATO kept the level of civilian losses to a historic low and avoided mistakes like the bombing of the Chinese embassy in Kosovo in 1999, and that the Libyan rebels treated its defeated enemies better than many feared. It was strengthened further by the conclusion drawn by the UN Human Rights Commission in its analysis of the war:

The Commission recognises the large numbers of sorties and the proportionally low number of civilian casualties in comparison to other campaigns figures show the campaign conducted by NATO was conducted with precision weapons and a demonstrated concern to avoid civilian casualties. The vast majority of airstrikes hit military targets outside of population centres and did not endanger civilians. For the few targets struck within population centres, NATO took extensive precautions to ensure civilians were not killed.⁶⁸

Implications for the Future: Not Whether but Where and How

From the Danish Way of War perspective the war in Libya was very good news indeed. It enabled the Danish government to fight for its principal objectives (national security, democracy, human rights, international law and prestige) in a high-profile way that made a military difference in coalition with its principal allies in NATO, with UN support and in a comprehensive and clean manner. Denmark received high marks for its disproportionate bombing contribution from its allies, the war enjoyed unprecedented domestic support, the military commitment was short, the price was affordable, even cheap (€43 million) in comparison to Iraq and Afghanistan, no casualties were suffered, and no controversies erupted concerning Denmark's adherence to international (humanitarian) law.

The war was 'good value for money', Danish Minister of Defence Hækkerup asserted when journalists confronted him with the price tag for the war, and he declared himself ready to commit Danish forces to similar wars again in the future.⁶⁹ In their presentation of the Thorning-Schmidt government's 'new security policy', the Ministers of Defence, Development and Foreign Affairs also used the Libya war to argue that Denmark must continue its activist approach: 'Whether we should engage ourselves [internationally] is not the question, it is where and how'.⁷⁰

The contrast between the expensive long ground wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and the cheap short one in Libya could hardly be greater, and this is a major reason why the Thorning-Schmidt government likes it so much. The government stated repeatedly before and after its election that Denmark will never again commit itself to long costly ground wars.⁷¹ In making this argument the Danish government takes great comfort from the fact that

the strategic guidance issued by the Obama Administration in early 2012 is based on this premise as well.⁷² Similarly, it is also 'conventional wisdom' in NATO these days that the alliance will not undertake new large ground operations after its withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2014. Taking their cue from the United States, NATO officials also envisage a future characterized by capacity-building, training and mentoring, partnerships, small-footprint approaches and 'smart defence',⁷³ that is, increased pooling and sharing of resources, allowing member states to reduce their defence budgets while retaining a combined collective alliance capability to counter future threats.

If this sounds too good to be true, it is because it is. It would be wildly optimistic to base future defence planning on such a best-case scenario. The defence planners, who predict that NATO and the United States will not undertake new protracted ground operations in the future, failed to predict the war over Libya. History is littered with wars that occurred out of the blue and completely changed the 'conventional wisdom' concerning force planning and mission types. Who predicted the Korean War, which forced the United States to rebuild its armed forces following the large draw-down that had occurred after the end of World War Two? Who predicted the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the subsequent UN-mandated war to reverse it? Who predicted the September 11 attacks or that they would trigger the largest nation-building operations undertaken by the United States since World War Two – and this by a US president who had vowed not to use American troops for nation-building during his election campaign?

It is not difficult to envisage scenarios where protracted ground commitments by Western forces might be needed in the near future. Should Israel attack the Iranian nuclear program, a swift deployment of combat-capable troops will be required to protect the vital oil and gas installations in the Persian Gulf from possible Iranian revenge attacks. What if the turmoil produced by the Arab Spring creates the need for a ground deployment to prevent massive refugee flows and human rights violence somewhere in the Middle East or North Africa?

Although Denmark and its Western allies have fought so-called 'wars of choice' since the end of the Cold War, they have still found themselves in protracted land operations in the Balkans, Iraq, Lebanon and Afghanistan. Nothing suggests that this will change in an increasingly globalized world where conflicts in faraway places can quickly influence Western security interests, and emerging powers like China, Brazil, India, South Africa and Turkey show limited willingness and ability to accept a greater responsibility for managing international peace and security.

This begs the question whether a Danish government will say no to a future request from the UN, NATO or a US-led coalition for ground forces when (not if) the need arises. If the other characteristics of the Danish Way of War apply, such a request can be likened to a mafia-style offer that any Danish government will find it next to impossible to refuse. On their journey to Mars, Danish decision-makers have become accustomed to red carpet treatment in the White House and praise in NATO. Denmark's ability to 'make a difference' with its armed forces has become a source of national pride and has generated expectations at home and abroad that Denmark will 'do its part' when the United Nations, NATO and its major allies call upon it to do so. France, the United Kingdom and the United States have lost no opportunity in telling members of the Thorning-Schmidt government that they were very impressed with the Danish performance in Libya and that they count on them to keep up the good work.⁷⁴ Mars therefore has its attractions, and if the smart defence reforms that Denmark is about to embark on together with its NATO partners result in closer integration between the Danish armed forces and other members of the strategic actors' club such as France, the United Kingdom and the United States, then Denmark is there to stay.

Notes

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- 2 Eskesen, 2011.
- 3 *Politiken*, 2011.
- 4 Jakobsen, 2000.
- 5 Jakobsen forthcoming.
- 6 The other nations polled were Germany, the other Nordic countries, the United Kingdom and the United States. YouGov-Cambridge, 2012.
- 7 Kagan, 2002.
- 8 Jakobsen, 2006: 101.
- 9 Jakobsen, forthcoming.
- 10 Rynning, 2003: 24.
- 11 Yarger, 2008: 136-146.
- 12 The lack of strategy has been a recurring criticism of the Danish use of force. See, for instance, Breitenbauch, 2008; Rasmussen, 2011a; Struwe, 2011.
- 13 See, for instance, Boot, 2003; Cohen, 2011; Weigley, 1973.
- 14 See, for instance, Act no. 122, 2001, § 2; Bruun, 2003; Danish Ministry of Defence, 2009; Redegørelse R14 2010 and Redegørelse R5 2011.
- 15 Jakobsen, 2009; Redegørelse R5 2011.
- 16 See Jakobsen, 2009; Ringsmose and Børgensen, 2011; Salquist, 2009.
- 17 Ellemann-Jensen, 1992.
- 18 Jakobsen, 2000; Mouritzen, 2007.
- 19 The only exception to this rule was a proposal for a military intervention to stabilize Albania in 1997 when Denmark held the chairmanship of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The Danish proposal was rejected by Germany and the United Kingdom, who did not want the OSCE involved. Italy then put together a coalition of the willing and launched an intervention to which Denmark made a token contribution.
- 20 Cited in Jakobsen and Thruelsen, 2011: 78.
- 21 Jakobsen and Thruelsen, 2011. The first eight commanders wrote their own directives which were then approved by the Army Operational Command. Since then the commanders have been given a general directive by the Army Operational Command but they retain a relatively high degree of freedom concerning its implementation.
- 22 Denmark's EU opt-out on defence prevents participation in EU-led military operations, but a majority in parliament is in favour of removing it and supporting EU operations militarily as well. However, when the referendum that is required to overturn the opt-out will be held is anybody's guess.
- 23 Jakobsen, 2006: 90-91.
- 24 Regeringen, 2011: 40.
- 25 Jakobsen, 2008; Stepputat, 2009.

- 26 Regeringen, 2006; Udenrigsministeriet and Forsvarsministeriet, 2008; Udenrigsministeriet, Forsvarsministeriet, Justitsministeriet and Økonomi- og Erhvervsministeriet, 2011.
- 27 Jakobsen, 2006, Chapter 4.
- 28 Defence Minister Hækkerup (2012) insisted in his first major speech that it is possible to go to war without getting your hands dirty.
- 29 Udenrigsministeriet, 2011: 1.
- 30 Hansen, 2011; Udenrigsministeriet, 2011: 19-21.
- 31 Statsministeriet, 2011a.
- 32 Østergaard and Skærbæk, 2011.
- 33 Daalder and Stavridis, 2011; Gates, 2011; The White House, 2012.
- 34 Statsministeriet, 2011b.
- 35 Statsministeriet, 2011a.
- 36 Andresen, 2011.
- 37 Redaktionen, 2011; Statsministeriet, 2011c.
- 38 Udenrigsministeriet, 2011.
- 39 Christensen, 2011.
- 40 Statsministeriet, 2011a.
- 41 Østergaard and Skærbæk, 2011.
- 42 Briefings by the Commander of the Tactical Air Command and his Chief of Staff at HQ Tactical Air Command, 9 January 2012.
- 43 Statsministeriet, 2011a and 2011d.
- 44 Off-the-record conversations with Danish F-16 pilots.
- 45 As of 28 March, the United States had dropped 455 precision-guided munitions and the other participating nations 147. US Department of Defense 2011. The Danish contribution to this number was somewhere between 65 and 81. Flyvertaktisk Kommando, 2011a and 2011b.
- 46 Udenrigsministeriet, 2011.
- 47 Statsministeriet, 2011a.
- 48 Statsministeriet, 2011e.
- 49 Petersen, Christian Braad and Esben Agerlin Olsen, 2011.
- 50 Lehmann, 2011a.
- 51 Kristensen, 2011.
- 52 Klinken, 2011; Rasmussen, 2011b.
- 53 Beslutningsforslag B 89 2011.
- 54 Jensen, 2011; Jonshøj and Meyhoff, 2011.
- 55 *Ritzau*, 2011a.
- 56 Petersen, 2011.
- 57 Rottbøll, 2011; Stougaard, 2011.
- 58 Udenrigsministeriet, 2011.
- 59 Udenrigsministeriet, 2012.
- 60 *Ritzau*, 2011b.

- 61 *Ritzau*, 2011c.
- 62 Off-the-record interviews with Danish legal advisors involved in the targeting process during both operations.
- 63 UN doc. 2012, Annex II; interviews with Danish legal advisors.
- 64 Off-the-record interviews with Danish legal advisors and pilots participating in the campaign.
- 65 Crone, Klarskov, Brøndum and Tønner, 2011.
- 66 Lehmann, 2011b.
- 67 Aagaard, 2012.
- 68 UN doc. 2012, para. 649.
- 69 Hækkerup, 2012b.
- 70 Søvndal, Hækkerup and Bach, 2012.
- 71 Svendsen, 2011.
- 72 Panetta, 2012.
- 73 Fogh Rasmussen, 2011
- 74 *DR P1 Radioavisen*, 2012; conversations with Danish diplomats.

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The Blind, the Deaf and the Dumb! How Domestic Politics Turned the Danish Schengen Controversy into a Foreign Policy Crisis¹

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Apart from the debt crisis, 2011 became the year of ‘challenging the Schengen agreement’ in the European Union. Schengen moved to the top of the political agenda in April 2011 when Italy decided to provide migrants from Tunisia with a temporary visa so they could move freely in the Schengen area for a three-month period.³ The Tunisian immigrants fled to the Italian island of Lampedusa after the uprising against President Ben Ali and his subsequent fall from power. Italy and Malta in particular became favorite destinations for Tunisian immigrants. France in particular was outraged that in order to cope with the immigrant problem – but probably also in order to be provocative – Italy had opened its borders to other EU member states and even encouraged immigrants to head for Paris and other, remoter destinations. President Sarkozy thus threatened to close the French borders with Italy, as most of the Tunisian migrants were aiming directly for Paris, where many of them had relatives. The Franco-Italian dispute turned into a larger debate about amending the current Schengen regime to make it possible for member states to shut their borders temporarily in cases of an influx of immigrants. The European Commission has concurrently put forward a proposal which addresses exactly this problem.

The Danish Schengen Debacle

Meanwhile in Denmark another rather heated Schengen-dispute broke out. At the end of April 2011 in the middle of negotiations about a large economic 2020 reform program, the Danish People's Party (DPP) (which for ten years had been the formal parliamentary support for the Danish conservative-liberal government) launched a demand to reintroduce border controls on Denmark's borders. The wording was later amended to 'permanent customs control in Denmark (strengthened border control)',⁴ but there was never any doubt what the DPP meant. They had a domestic policy need to signal a reintroduction of traditional border controls as a quid pro quo for supplying votes for the government's policy of radically reducing the early retirement benefit (*efterløn*).⁵

There is little doubt that increasing the retirement age was an extremely difficult pill to swallow for the DPP.⁶ Many DPP voters were among the main beneficiaries of the early retirement regime, and a national election was approaching. As the DPP's voter pool consisted largely of anti-immigrant and Eurosceptic voters, the DPP apparently hoped that a reinvigoration of the border control issue might distract attention from the rise in the pension age. However, as we shall see below the Danish Schengen crisis caused outrage in Germany and in other European countries and drew sharp warnings from the European Commission. The Commission ultimately threatened to take Denmark to court for breaking not only Schengen but also the European Union's rules on free movement. Moreover the whole dispute enjoyed massive media coverage internationally. Large news organizations such as the *New York Times*⁷ and the *Wall Street Journal*,⁸ together with leading newspapers and radio and television broadcasters in Germany and Sweden covered the story, one that, as time went on, seemed more and more like a farce. Initially, however, the criticism was severe and threatened seriously to damage Denmark's reputation.⁹ Journalists from faraway destinations thus travelled on missions to Denmark to try to figure out what had happened to this small privileged spot on the planet which was known for hosting the world's happiest population. A simple Google search for the words 'the Danish Schengen crisis' shows just how much attention the debacle attracted in the international media, with no less than 767,000 hits.¹⁰ The present analysis will be centred on a rather detailed analysis of what actually happened in Danish politics when the Danish border control agreement was negotiated, but it will also focus on the strong reactions from Germany, the Commission and the broader international environment.

The Overture

In the leading German political magazine *Der Spiegel* of 16 May 2011 one could read headlines like ‘Spirals of mistrust’ and ‘Danish threat to Schengen agreement under fire’.¹¹ As the magazine put it:

The tiny country of Denmark is threatening one of the European Union’s core principles – freedom of movement – out of self-interest. But other member countries are outraged and expect the European Commission to staunchly reject their plans to reintroduce border controls.

But what actually happened in the ‘the tiny country of Denmark’ in the spring of 2011, which, as *Der Spiegel* noted, is ‘smaller than Lower Saxony’? How could it get so far as almost to ruin Denmark’s otherwise well-known reputation for being a law-abiding member state and dutiful complier with EU law?¹² That things really had developed into the worst diplomatic crisis for Denmark since the cartoon affair¹³ is shown by the fact that the first thing the incoming Danish Prime Minister Helle Thorning-Schmidt did when making her first public statement to her Europe partners after taking office was to renounce the former government’s border control agreement. She also made this clear when she visited the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, for the first time after taking office on 17 November,¹⁴ and it was on the very top of her agenda when she made her maiden speech to the European Parliament.¹⁵

It is easy to tell that many things went terribly wrong in the handling of the Schengen issue in Denmark. There is little doubt, however, that the gravest mistake and misjudgement made by the sitting liberal-conservative government was that it naively believed that an internal national debate on border control could be kept away from the attention of an international audience in 2011. It was, however, equally naïve to expect that, without any international consequences, the government could step back and leave the floor for a whole month to a massive DPP campaign celebrating the deal as a clear ‘reintroduction of Danish border control’ in all the national media.¹⁶ It was obvious to most observers, however, that letting the DPP ‘oversell’ the agreement for so long without being challenged on its substance was not only part of the deal made with DPP, but was also what made the whole issue explode into a major foreign-policy crisis.

At first glance, accepting the DPP’s proposal (and rhetoric) seemed to

be the easy way out for the ruling minority government. It confirmed support for the government's reform plan and – so it was believed – launched a deal over border controls with the DPP which was meant for national consumption only. It soon became clear, however, that threatening massively to strengthen the controls on the Danish borders in order to please its populist supporting party could not be kept behind closed doors, and the whole affair turned into the most serious diplomatic crisis since the Muhammad cartoon affair in 2005.¹⁷ I will first examine the politics surrounding the agreement in some detail and then move on to see what went wrong when it was communicated to both the Danish and the international public.

Agreeing on Border Controls

The agreement between the government and the DPP on the reintroduction of some kind of border control was controversial in Denmark for another reason than its mere substance. It thus came as a surprise to many that the DPP was allowed to influence the government's EU policy. Previously the DPP had been completely excluded from influence in this area. For decades there had been a consensus among the big parties in the Danish Folketing on Denmark's EU policies, leaving the Eurosceptic parties and movements out in the cold. When the parties met for negotiations in the Ministry of Finance in April 2011 and the Minister of Finance Claus Hjort Frederiksen himself welcomed the idea of reintroducing stronger controls on the Danish borders to fight cross-border crime, this tradition suddenly ended.¹⁸

At this early stage, however, the political announcements on the issue were already causing strong reactions. In order to please the DPP voters the narrative launched by Pia Kjærsgaard, the leader of the DPP, deliberately signalled a serious attack on Denmark's European commitments where free travel and free exchange of goods and people was a fundamental value. This narrative was *not* – as the government tried to explain one month later – just about a few extra random customs checks at the border in harmony with the Schengen agreement. What was important, including for the escalation of the crisis, was in other words not the legal substance of the deal (which for a long time remained very unclear), but exactly its marketing in the public arena for the first few important weeks.

On 27 April, the Liberal Party MEP Jens Rohde warned against making an agreement with the DPP on border controls, but he did not wish to interfere with the 2020 negotiations.¹⁹ As we will see below, however, it was exactly the silence and inaction in this whole Schengen debacle from an otherwise pro-European conservative-liberal government which was most alarming, especially when the international reactions started piling up. The defence of Schengen, of free movement and of the European project in Denmark as such, had thus to come from outside the government, that is, from academics, foreign correspondents in Denmark,²⁰ Danish industry and a few former politicians.

No Solid Legal Analysis

When seen from a purely internal perspective, initially it was thus not the agreement with the DPP itself that caused raised eyebrows among political analysts. Though the substance and entire rhetoric surrounding the agreement was under attack, it was more importantly the handling of the entire affair in the self-proclaimed pro-European government which caused not only concern and severe criticism, but also laughter. It thus puzzled quite a few Danish observers that the Minister of Finance, Claus Hjort Frederiksen, who was in charge of the economic reform negotiations and an experienced minister, had accepted the DPP's demands without any prior solid judicial analysis from the Ministry of Justice, and without any formal or informal consultations with Germany, the European Commission or the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.²¹ It appeared downright amateurish. Frederiksen and his colleagues in the liberal-conservative government never the less defended the DPP position by saying that more border controls were needed in order to help prevent narcotics smuggling and other types of transborder criminal activity from coming into the country. This concern was, however, completely rejected by the National Commissioner of the Danish Police, who on several occasions emphasized that reintroducing border or customs control was not the right way to fight cross-border crime. Moreover, a later study based on access to ministerial documents (*aktindsigt*) by the Danish newspaper *Jyllandsposten* demonstrated, that because there really was no rise in transborder crime, the Ministry of Taxation which was to implement the border agreement had to ask the civil servants in the Ministry of Justice to

'produce' documentation in support of the government claims.²² The Ministry of Justice did not want to contribute to this, however, and instead – on several occasions – criticized the Ministry of Taxation for launching 'undocumented claims' about the rise in crime rates. The same criticism and request for documentation came from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs who was constantly approached by the European Commission and Denmark's other European partners for verification of the rising crime rates as an argument for increased border control.

The question was (and in fact remains until this day) why Frederiksen, one of the government's most experienced figures, forced through an agreement that was so badly prepared and so unfounded. It was thus entirely impossible for the press at any time during the negotiations and the later public discussion of the proposal to acquire any legal documentation confirming that the agreement on permanent border controls made with DPP was in fact legal and in accordance with the Schengen agreement and the EU's internal market rules. This remained the case even when the written documentation was explicitly requested by the press and the opposition. This was all the more peculiar as the government had repeatedly confirmed that the agreement was definitely in accordance with Denmark's international and not least European obligations.

The course of events suggests, however, either that prior consultations with the Ministry of Justice had not yielded the desired result or, as seems more likely, the Ministry was not consulted until after the agreement with the DPP had already been announced. Prior contact with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs could also have prevented an escalation of the crisis. Had the Ministry been involved, it would certainly have consulted Denmark's neighbours and the Commission immediately. In the Schengen convention, Chapter 1, article 2, makes it explicit that:

1. Internal borders may be crossed at any point without any checks on persons being carried out.
2. Where public policy or national security so require, however, a Contracting Party may, *after consulting the other Contracting Parties*, decide that for a limited period national border checks appropriate to the situation will be carried out at internal borders. If public policy or national security requires immediate action, the Contracting Party concerned shall take the necessary measures and shall inform the other Contracting Parties thereof at the earliest opportunity.²³

In the case under scrutiny here, however, there was no immediate threat to either ‘public policy’ or ‘national security’. As mentioned above even a minor rise in transborder crime could simply not be detected. Moreover, as emphasized in the Schengen agreement, even limited border checks should not be undertaken without consulting with the convention’s other partners beforehand, in this case in particular Germany, Sweden and the European Commission. Already at this procedural stage one could thus argue that Denmark had violated its Schengen obligations.

We can only speculate, however, what was actually going on in minds of the negotiators when the deal was struck. Several things suggest that, exactly because it was the finance and taxation ministries that were involved and thus not the ministries which ordinarily deal with international affairs, there was simply no one present to warn the politicians about the potential risks involved. Many observers have noted, however, how strange it was that a minister like Frederiksen, with ten years’ experience in government, was not able to analyse the situation and predict the potential diplomatic crisis it gave rise to. Why did he not begin by involving those with knowledge and competence in the field? And why did he not listen when those with knowledge and competence in the field later warned against the possible illegality of the entire agreement and the undocumented claims about rising crime rates?

The First Phase and Initial Reactions

The agreement on reintroducing permanent controls on the borders caused strong reactions in the Danish public and beyond already in its introductory phase. On 4 May the European Commission acknowledged that increased border controls could be necessary in the future under certain circumstances.²⁴ However, the Commission also made it clear that consistent implementation of the Schengen agreement was central and that decisions should not be arbitrary.²⁵ The EU Commissioner for Home Affairs, Cecilia Malmström, also emphasized that temporary border controls must be approved at the European level and should not be subject to unilateral action.²⁶

On 10 May, in his speech to the European Parliament, the Commission President, José Manuel Barroso, stated that ‘free movement is to Europe what foundations are to buildings. Remove it and the whole structure is undermined’, and he warned countries against reintroducing border controls

unilaterally. Barroso did not mention Denmark explicitly, but the speech made it clear that the question of migration and border controls was making its way to the very top of the agenda.²⁷ In Denmark, only the day after Barroso's speech on 11 May, the Liberal Party, the Conservative People's Party, the Danish People's Party and the sole MP from the Christian Democrats, Per Ørum Jørgensen, made an agreement about strengthened border controls.²⁸ The immediate reaction from the European Commission was that this might infringe Denmark's Schengen obligations but that more information about the actual deal was needed.²⁹ That very same evening the Danish government officially informed the Commission for the first time about its plans.³⁰ The following day 'Aktstykke 128' was put forward.³¹ An 'aktstykke' refers to a funding application from a minister to the Danish Parliament's Financial Committee. It does not require legislative action.

It is quite obvious that the Danish government was very late in informing the European Commission of its intentions. Despite assurances from the Danish Prime Minister, Lars Løkke Rasmussen, to President Barroso, that Denmark intended to stay within the Schengen rules, the conflict escalated. Germany, who had also not been informed about the agreement through official channels, reacted strongly, and already in the evening of 11 May – the very day the law or 'Aktstykke' was submitted – all the major German news stations³² reported on the agreement reached in Denmark. What is even more remarkable, however, is that in the morning of 12 May the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Guido Westerwelle, called his Danish colleague Lene Espersen to express his strong regrets and tried to warn Denmark against taking any unilateral actions in relation to border controls. He also sent out a very strongly worded press release mentioning his concerns and his telephone call to the Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs.³³ What Westerwelle did not know, however, was that Espersen was in Greenland and that she, together with her Ministry of Foreign Affairs, had been kept completely outside the government's agreement with the DPP. It had all been left in the hands of the Ministry of Finance, and in particular the Ministry of Taxation.

Political Stumbling and International Condemnation

Over the summer the border control issue was still not resolved, and despite the Danish government's new assurances that Denmark was introducing not *border* but merely *customs* controls, the Commission was far from satisfied. The Commission argued, for instance, that erecting physical buildings is not in accordance with the Schengen agreement, and that forcing cars to slow down at the border was also infringing the treaty. Carrying out personal checks of passengers, which was also part of the plan (at least at some point), was also not in accordance with the current rules.³⁴

However, the Danish government completely rejected the accusations. The Danish Minister of Taxation, Peter Christensen, bluntly stated that the European Commission should take Denmark to court if it had anything to complain about. At the same time the government, individual ministers like Søren Pind and the leader of the DPP, Pia Kærsgaard, worked hard to silence the increasing academic and civil society criticism of the agreement.³⁵ This sparked its own side story in the media about a liberal-conservative government otherwise happy to celebrate the freedom of speech in a bizarre attempt to curb dissenting voices in the public debate.

There is little doubt that the Commission represented a strong dissenting voice, as well understanding that it had to be tough on Denmark in the Schengen/free movement dispute. The fear of contamination spreading to other countries was real, and the EU's rules regarding free movement were clearly being jeopardised. The Danish agreement also caused immediate reactions from MEPs in the European Parliament, for example, from Ulrike Rodust and Olle Schmidt.³⁶ MEPs like Joseph Daul and Manfred Weber also issued a statement calling the Danish border control deal 'unacceptable'.³⁷

Interior Ministers' Meeting in Brussels

Already on 12 May, the day after the publication of the agreement between the government and the DPP, the EU's interior ministers attended an extraordinary meeting in Brussels about the conditions under which a country should be allowed to reintroduce border controls.³⁸ The discussion was originally sparked by the controversy between France and Italy when Italy had opened its border to France to let the immigrants travel on to Paris. But due to recent developments in Denmark, the agenda shifted. Here the Danish Minister for Integration, Søren Pind, defended the Danish agreement, arguing that the controversy was due to misunderstandings. He noted that the case had been interpreted as if Denmark was about to reintroduce passport controls but that the measures were really about strengthening customs controls.³⁹ Pind also made it clear that Denmark would continue to abide by the Schengen agreement.⁴⁰

On 13 May the Danish Prime Minister, Lars Løkke Rasmussen, and the President of the European Commission, José Manuel Barroso, held a telephone conversation about the Danish border control deal. Later that same day Barroso criticized the reintroduction of controls on the Danish borders in a letter to the Danish Prime Minister. He urged Denmark to refrain from unilateral initiatives and instead to work closely with the European Commission.⁴¹ Also on 13 May the EU Commission President's spokeswoman, Pia Ahrenkilde, made it clear that the Commission had received an assessment from its legal services, which raised serious doubts about whether the border agreement was in line with the Schengen agreement.⁴²

The matter was complicated by the fact that the Danish government had promised its supporting party, the DPP, that border controls would be in place very quickly. The parties had earlier proposed a time horizon of three weeks.⁴³ However, the European Commission urged the Danish government to refrain from any further action until the EU had approved the agreement. The EU Commissioner for Home Affairs, Cecilia Malmström, also expressed strong concern over the agreement as presented.⁴⁴

A Border Agreement With No Legal Basis

While the question of border controls was at the centre of attention in Europe and beyond, the reform of the early retirement benefit was finalized on 13 May,⁴⁵ with more resources also being allocated to the police etc.⁴⁶ One could say that, even though the Danish government was clearly under pressure at this point, it did not hesitate but stood firm in condemning the reinforced criticism coming from national and international experts. The ink was barely dry on the agreement, however, before the international criticism caused a new stir. Again it seemed as if the international condemnation of the agreement completely surprised the Danish government. At the same time the DPP started accusing the Liberals and Conservatives of trying to camouflage the fact that the new agreement not only involved customs officers but also extra personal checks. Meanwhile the government emphasized that the agreement did not break the EU's rules.⁴⁷ The government argued that the EU's criticism would come to a halt when the European Commission received the answers to its questions about the planned border controls it had asked for but which were not even ready when the legal agreement was drawn up between the government and the DPP. The European Commission had kept asking for more information but had acquired nothing but unclear, fuzzy answers, something which clearly indicated that no judicial evidence of the agreement's legality existed at the outset.

On 18 May the Director General for DG Home Affairs, Stefano Manservigi, sent a letter to the Danish government containing eleven questions about the border agreement. As a follow-up to the letter, a number of Danish civil servants visited the European Commission on 27 May in order to specify details regarding the agreement. At this meeting the Danish participants reemphasized that the aim of the agreement was to strengthen customs controls rather than reinstating controls of persons at the border. The problem with this explanation, however, was that it was fundamentally contradicted by the narrative placed simultaneously in the Danish media by the DPP. That narrative was not about customs checks and a few extra police officers tracking down international criminals. It was a narrative addressed specifically to the Danish public (and sanctioned by the government) emphasizing the need for protection from criminal outsiders and for the reintroduction of old-fashioned control systems. This was something the rest of Europe – so DPP's Peter Skaarup emphasized – would thank Denmark for when they came to realize that the Schengen agreement itself had failed.⁴⁸

In the meantime the European Commission – which seemed just as confused about this double message as anyone else – expressed the view that evaluation of the compatibility of the planned controls with the Schengen agreement would depend upon their actual implementation. At the meeting in Brussels it was also agreed that the Danish government would provide the European Commission with additional information about the initiatives on the Danish border and send a written reply to Manservisi's letter. The Commission received an answer 41 days later.⁴⁹

The German Reaction and Clumsy Responses

As already noted, the international reaction to the deal was strong and unambiguous, creating headlines far beyond Europe. However, it was the German reactions which were the strongest. Westerwelle's telephone call to the Danish Foreign Minister on 12 May was – as emphasized above – pretty remarkable, precisely because it followed so promptly. The massive news coverage in Germany in May and June 2011 is evidence of the fact that our brother nation to the south in particular had a very hard time understanding what was actually going on and why Denmark seemed to believe that anyone coming from south of the Danish border was a criminal. How could something so serious and precious as the freedom to travel, such a basic value in the European integration project, be sacrificed over night for domestic populist purposes? This was very difficult to come to terms with. It was probably even harder to understand how a serious governmental coalition would give in and even join in a populist mode of campaigning against Europe just to be able to close a budgetary deal.⁵⁰

However, as Westerwelle's sharp criticisms and warnings on of 12 May had not borne fruit and not eased the German-Danish relationship, on 7 June the German Deputy Foreign Minister Werner Hoyer published a commentary in the Danish newspaper *Berlingske Tidende*, where he warned against playing with the fire of nationalism.⁵¹ The following day both the German Minister of the Interior, Hans-Peter Friedrich, and the German Ambassador in Denmark, Dr. Johann Christoph Jessen, launched similar criticisms of the government's border control agreement.⁵² The German ambassador also criticised the Danish Minister for Taxation, Peter Christensen, who had ear-

lier stated that he did not see a problem with the agreement, as there were 350 German customs officers employed in northern Germany alone.⁵³ The ambassador stressed that the German customs officers had a wide range of obligations and that their numbers alone did not say anything of relevance about German customs controls. The unusually forceful criticism from the German ambassador later provoked strong reactions from the leader of the DPP, Pia Kjærsgaard, who, in a letter to the editor of *Politiken*, requested that Christoph Jessen stopped intervening in Danish affairs, and even hinted at Germany's past and its experience with 'emotive nationalism'.⁵⁴

Christoph Jessen's account of the German customs officer's duties was not the only clarification needed. In general there was a lot of confusion about the controls that took place at the borders of other EU countries, and soon a dispute arose about how the new Danish act differed from or was similar to border control systems in other European member states. The Minister for Taxation, Peter Christensen, had earlier insisted that Poland, Portugal, Finland, Sweden, Lithuania and Germany had border control systems parallel to the one Denmark was about to introduce. However, these countries quickly rejected the comparison as ludicrous.⁵⁵ On 8 June the Danish Tax and Customs Administration thus had to come forward admitting that the information about these countries had not come from an official enquiry. The Minister had thus once again not checked his facts before speaking up publicly in this increasingly farce-like controversy.⁵⁶ This also contributed to the impression of a tremendously clumsy and unprofessional handling of the entire border affair. It was only on the same day (8 June), however, that Denmark sent information to the European Commission about the border control agreement for the first time.⁵⁷

Unfortunately even more confusion followed the next day when the Minister of Taxation stated that the border control agreement was founded on a judicial assessment from the Ministry of Justice. On 7 June, at a meeting in the Financial Committee, the government parties had given the impression that such a thorough judicial assessment existed. The Minister of Justice promised on that occasion that he would forward it to the Financial Committee if it existed in writing. It turned out that it did not exist after all. On 9 June the Minister of Justice, attending a meeting at the Council of Ministers in Luxembourg, admitted that no written assessment of the agreement had ever been undertaken.⁵⁸ At a press briefing that same day in Luxembourg the Minister never the less stated that the Danish border control agreement was not in violation of the Schengen agreement.⁵⁹ The question everybody asked themselves at this point, however, how he could reach such a firm conclusion

without actually presenting a solid legal analysis?

More criticism was directed at the Danish government on 9 June when the Confederation of Danish Industries, the Danish Chamber of Commerce and Horesta (the trade association for the hotel, restaurant and tourism industry in Denmark) warned that increased border controls, not to mention the fuss the entire controversy had created internationally, was hurting the Danish business community as well as Denmark's relations with other countries.⁶⁰ The Minister for Finance, Claus Hjort Frederiksen, admitted that the controversy had been detrimental to Denmark's reputation.⁶¹ Meanwhile, the Danish Foreign Minister, Lene Espersen, finally – and after a lot of criticism for not having done anything to try to limit the damage to Denmark's image abroad – called the German Foreign Minister, Guido Westerwelle, in the hope of reaching some kind of understanding.⁶² In the middle of June she set in train more diplomatic efforts to try and soothe Denmark's European partners by setting up meetings to explain the Danish position. However, just as in the Danish cartoon crisis, these efforts came too late to convince very many of Denmark's real intentions (if anyone knew what in fact they were!). What the government never seemed to understand was that what caused so much stir in Europe was first and foremost the nationalist and anti-European rhetoric surrounding the entire border controversy. Added to this was the impression of a government which, from the outset, had sold out on all European aspirations and given up on any attempt to inject some sensitivity and decency into the debate on Europe. Again it ended up being the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs which had to do the cleaning up, while Denmark's reputation abroad had already been seriously damaged.

The Final Deal and Further Complications in Parliaments

It was expected that the border agreement would be finalized in the Financial Committee on 9 June, but the continued lack of a proper judicial assessment perpetuated the uncertainty.⁶³ On 10 June the Christian Democrat Per Ørum Jørgensen, on whose mandate the government depended, demanded to see the written judicial assessment of the border agreement before signing up to it.⁶⁴ Later that same day he agreed – without receiving the written judicial assessment – to support the border agreement in exchange for a minor

revision to it and increased funding for the agricultural sector.⁶⁵ The revision to the agreement involved the same parties as the original agreement: the Liberal Party, the Conservative People's Party, the Danish People's Party and Per Ørum Jørgensen. The revised agreement states that it *must be* completed within the framework of the Schengen agreement, while the previous wording stated that it *could be* completed within the framework of Schengen.⁶⁶ Both the Liberal Party and the DPP afterwards claimed that the revision was without significance.⁶⁷

Just as it finally seemed that the Danish government would get its border agreement through the financial committee, the opposition put its foot down and hindered it.⁶⁸ The opposition made it clear that it would put forward a motion (*beslutningsforslag*) on 14 June that would involve the withdrawal of *Aktstykke* 128. The motion induced the Financial Committee to cease considering the agreement, as the motion had to be heard by a session in the Danish parliament.⁶⁹ The government parties had a majority supporting the agreement in the Financial Committee, but that was not the case in parliament. Here the Christian Democrat, Per Ørum Jørgensen, would again be the central ninetieth mandate.

That same day, the Ministry of Justice released a very brief notice about the border agreement and Denmark's obligations under EU law.⁷⁰ The assessment stated that the border agreement was in accordance with Denmark's obligations under Schengen and the Maastricht Treaty. The Danish government also informed the European Commission about the revision that was made to the border agreement on 10 June.⁷¹ But the EU Commissioner for Home Affairs, Cecilia Malmström, still argued that, even though Denmark had already provided a lot of information about the border agreement, much more information was needed.⁷²

On 14 June the opposition put forward their motion as expected.⁷³ On 21 June the first hearing of the motion took place in the Danish Parliament. The motion was then referred to the Committee for Taxation (*Skatteudvalget*),⁷⁴ which issued its opinion (*betenkning*) on 27 June.⁷⁵ Thus, the motion could be passed on 1 July 2011, the last day of work before the summer holidays in the Danish parliament.

However, a number of events took place before this. As noted above, by mid-June the Danish Foreign Minister, Lene Espersen, was busy trying to calm the international criticism of the Danish border agreement. She visited Berlin on 15 June and Sweden the following day.⁷⁶ On 17 June she was invited to a consultation (*åbent samråd*) in the European Committee of the Danish parliament about the border agreement and the international reac-

tions to it.⁷⁷

On 20 June Commission President, José Manuel Barroso, indicated that it might in the future be possible to accept a reintroduction of temporary border controls if the decision is taken in close consultation with the EU and not unilaterally.⁷⁸ The decisive element, however, again was that it should be possible to detect objectively a clear ‘threat to national security and/or public policy’. A closing of national borders within the Schengen area should never, the Commission argued, be something that a state could decide on an arbitrary basis and without close consultation with its neighbours and the Commission. Later, in September 2011, Barroso’s suggestion was followed up by two legislative proposals⁷⁹ set out to amend the current Schengen regime. At the time of writing the proposals are still being negotiated within the European Parliament and the European Council.

The uncertainties about the judicial status of the Danish agreement were also rekindled on 20 June, when the Liberal MP and former Minister Birthe Rønn Hornbech and MP Per Ørum Jørgensen of the Christian Democrats again demanded assurances that the border agreement did not conflict with the Schengen agreement. Per Ørum Jørgensen’s understanding of the revised agreement of 10 June was that all initiatives should be approved by the EU beforehand. But that was not the understanding of the DPP.⁸⁰ Birthe Rønn Hornbech, on the other hand, was still demanding an actual written judicial assessment of the agreement.⁸¹ But their demands turned out to be short-lived. Birthe Rønn Hornbech calmed down after a telephone conversation with the Prime Minister.⁸² Per Ørum had a meeting with the Ministers of Justice, Taxation and Finance, as well as with Kristian Thulesen Dahl of the DPP, on 22 June. Following the meeting he declared himself ready to support the government parties, the DPP and their border agreement.⁸³ Both Rønn Hornbech and Ørum Jørgensen were, however, absent from the June 21 debate in the Danish parliament on the border agreement.

The Committee for Taxation had called the Minister of Justice, Lars Barfoed, and Minister of Taxation, Peter Christensen, to a consultation on the opposition’s motion to withdraw the border agreement on 22 June.⁸⁴ Here the two ministers were faced with new questions about the judicial background to the agreement and the government’s contacts with its international partners about it.⁸⁵

On 23-24 June a meeting of the European Council took place.⁸⁶ At the top of the agenda were Greece and border controls. The Danish Prime Minister chose not to attend a pre-meeting with the liberal party leaders in Brussels in the afternoon where, among others, EU Commissioner Cecilia

Malmström and the German Deputy Foreign Minister Werner Hoyer were present.⁸⁷

On 24 June EU Commissioner Cecilia Malmström stated that Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen had promised that no part of the border agreement would be implemented without the EU's permission. That conflicted with the perception that had been given in the Danish parliament and the statements of the Minister for Taxation, Peter Christensen. The DPP was appalled and stated that it would never give the European Commission a veto over the border agreement.⁸⁸ Again we have here an example of a government which speaks with two tongues, one meant for national consumption, the other for our international partners.

Revising the Current Schengen Rules

Following the meeting in the European Council, it was announced that the European Commission would work on and later present a revision of the Schengen rules as suggested in the Council conclusions regarding migration and asylum policies. The new two proposals which were presented formally on 22 September 2011 suggest – as mentioned above – that a member state should be permitted to close its borders temporarily if an immigration influx is threatening, but only after detailed consultations with Brussels and only if a threat to public policy/security can genuinely be detected. Apart from this, most of the proposal is focused on controlling the outer borders of Europe. The Commission thus hoped to be able to convince both the European Parliament and the member states that it would introduce new rules making it possible to shut borders with member countries that are unable or unwilling to guard their borders with third countries.⁸⁹ The Greek borders with Turkey have created severe problems in this respect in recent years.

As mentioned earlier, the vote on the opposition's motion to withdraw Aktstykke 128 about the border agreement took place on 1 July.⁹⁰ The motion was not carried, however, and the Financial Committee could thus finish considering the border agreement,⁹¹ which happened the same day.⁹²

A German Return Call

On 2 July Germany's Foreign Minister, Guido Westerwelle, again urged the Danish government to abandon the reintroduction of strengthened controls on the Danish-German border.⁹³ Despite the warnings from Germany and many others, the first additional customs officers were stationed on the Danish border crossings on 5 July.⁹⁴

However, the criticism of the border control did not cease after its legislative adoption. On 7 July the Polish Prime Minister, Donald Tusk, criticized the new Danish border controls in his opening speech to the European Parliament under the Polish EU Presidency.⁹⁵ The following day leaders from the Swedish Chambers of Commerce urged the Swedish Government to retaliate against Denmark's border controls.⁹⁶ Even though the European Commission had requested the Danish government to refrain from any further action until the EU had approved the agreement, on 5 July the government deployed fifty customs officers⁹⁷ at the border crossings and started planning the construction of customs buildings.

On 14 July a delegation from the European Commission visited Denmark in order to look more closely at the border control measures.⁹⁸ Following the visit the European Commission stated that the delegation had not received sufficient justifications for the increased border measures.⁹⁹ On 20 July the Minister for Taxation, Peter Christensen, urged the European Commission to file a lawsuit against Denmark, as he was furious at the Commission's continued interference in the Danish border issue.¹⁰⁰ The Minister also criticized the European Commission for not having sent the letter mentioned above, as it said it would. It later turned out that the letter had been sent and the Ministry for Taxation had received it on 19 Tuesday.¹⁰¹ The spokesperson for the European Commission, Michele Cercone, stated on 20 July that the Commission would not file a lawsuit against Denmark at this point. The Commission had expressed its worries but had not as yet drawn any conclusions.¹⁰²

Afterword

On 25 July the European Commissioner for Home Affairs, Cecilia Malmström, stated in a press release that from a formal point of view neither France nor Italy had violated EU law when the countries closed their borders as a reaction to the increasing numbers of immigrants coming from North Africa. It seemed, however, that the exercise Denmark had undertaken – partly because of its permanent character – was evaluated differently. When the former Liberal-Conservative government lost the national elections on 15 September, the border dispute with the Commission had still not been resolved. Probably due to fact that the incoming government had already announced beforehand that its first act in office would be to withdraw the border control act altogether, the Commission had decided to take a ‘wait and see position’ on the matter and thus avoid further confrontation. The new Centre-Left government kept its promise, and the decision to roll back all initiatives initiated by the previous government was loudly applauded by the European Commission, the European Parliament and Denmark’s closest neighbours. The retreat was mentioned and commented on at almost all occasions when Danish politicians met their European counterparts in the months following the change of government. The international press and media have also had a continued interest in the matter several months after the issue had been buried politically, perhaps because they saw the matter as yet another symptom of Danish stubbornness in relation to Europe. The issue of reinstating borders internally in Europe has, however, resurfaced several times in other European countries too since the Danish border case. Several countries have raised border issues, and most recently, during his presidential campaign, France’s President Sarkozy threatened to withdraw France from the Schengen agreement altogether. It seems, in other words, that borders and international crime still trigger strong emotions on our otherwise borderless European continent.

Conclusions

The story of the Danish border control dispute is a story about a small European nation still struggling with its own identity. It reinforces the view that Europeanness and Danishness are fundamental opposites. The more we give away in terms of joining forces in the management of external borders and the international fight against transborder crime, the less Danish we become. This may very well explain our opt-outs and thus why the European integration process – for every little step it progresses – is seen as a loss to national identity. This is in fundamental contrast to the modern way of thinking about Europe in Germany. Here joint solutions and common European values are seen as an extension of German identity. Europe is never seen in opposition to being German and – as was obvious in the Danish-German debacle – any Danish attempt to question common European values is regarded as an insult not only against such values, but also against the European idea.

The Danish Schengen debacle, however, also tells us how fragile the European Union actually is when a forty-year-old and normally law-abiding member like Denmark challenges the Union's most basic principles without much hesitation. The reactions from outside Denmark were thus entirely understandable, as the Schengen regime is so closely connected with other basic values in the European Union, such as free movement and the internal market. If Schengen is challenged instead of being strengthened and reinforced, it will not only compromise border regulations but will endanger Europe itself. This was exactly what the liberal-conservative government seemed unable to understand when it invited the DPP to join the negotiations in April 2011.

Notes

- 1 The author wishes to thank Christina Bach Harboe for excellent research assistance; Marc-Christoph Wagner, correspondent in Denmark for ARD, for substantial comments and help with the section on German reactions to the Danish border control agreement and the article as a whole, and reviewer Christine Ingebritsen, University of Washington, Seattle.
- 2 Marlene Wind is a Professor and the Director of the Centre for European Politics at the Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen.
- 3 <http://www.euractiv.com/en/global-europe/france-prepares-shut-border-italy-news-503909>
- 4 <http://www.fm.dk/Nyheder/Pressemeddelelser/2011/05/-/media/Files/Nyheder/Pressemeddelelser/2011/05/Graensekontrol/permanent%20toldkontrol%20i%20danmark.ashx>; see also: <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/0,1518,762064,00.html>
- 5 <http://www.dr.dk/Nyheder/Politik/2011/05/13/193152.htm>
- 6 <http://www.b.dk/politiko/df-kraever-graensebomme-for-efterloen>
- 7 http://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/14/world/europe/14border.html?_r=1
- 8 <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748704681904576317331781636572.html>; <http://politiken.dk/politik/ECE1317426/new-york-times-df-danser-sejrsdans/>; http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/25/world/europe/25denmark.html?_r=2&ref=world
- 9 On 17 June the leading government negotiator of the deal on 'permanent toll control (strengthened border control)', Finance Minister Claus Hjort Frederiksen, admitted that the whole affair had damaged Denmark's reputation: <http://cphpost.dk/news/national/government-locked-dispute-over-borders>
- 10 In comparison, 'The Danish cartoon crisis' back in 2005 has had 6,110,000 hits today, seven years later. The interesting question is, of course, whether the Schengen crisis has also damaged Denmark's reputation and respectability in Europe when seen in a longer time frame.
- 11 <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/0,1518,762791,00.html>; see also www.nytimes.com/2011/05/14/world/europe/Schengen, where the headline was 'Denmark warned over border control'.
- 12 See Falkner; Treib; Hartlapp and Leiber, 2005; see also Kelstrup, Martinsen and Wind, 2008.
- 13 <http://politiken.dk/politik/ECE1303477/eu-ekspert-danmark-er-ved-at-gentage-muhammed-fejlen/>
- 14 <http://nyhederne-dyn.tv2.dk/article.php/id-45738527:tak-fordi-i-nedlagde-de-sm%C3%A5-gr%C3%A6nsehuse.html?rss>
- 15 <http://cphpost.dk/eu/thorning-schmidt-we-must-restore-faith-european-project>
- 16 <http://nyhederne-dyn.tv2.dk/article.php/id-39757405:pia-k-de-fleste-f%C3%A5r-et-venligt-nik.html>
- 17 http://topics.nytimes.com/topics/reference/timestopics/subjects/d/danish_cartoon_controversy/index.html; see also H. Larsen, 2007.
- 18 However, the tradition of doing business only with the (large) pro-European parties in the Danish parliament (Folketinget) was restored by the new centre-left government winning the national elections on 15 September 2011: <http://www.b.dk/politiko/hjort-aaben-for-oebet-graensekontrol>
- 19 <http://www.b.dk/politiko/dfs-graensekrav-kan-blive-virkelighed>

- 20 For a very good example, see <http://politiken.dk/debat/ECE1305147/df-drejer-historien-hjul-tilbage/>; see also <http://www.altinget.dk/eu/artikel/graensekontrol-og-populisme/>; <http://politiken.dk/politik/ECE1304641/ellemann-og-engell-graensesagen-skader-danmark-markant/>
- 21 <http://apps.infomedia.dk/Ms3E/ShowArticle.aspx?outputFormat=FullandDuid=e2b13d46>
- 22 See <http://apps.infomedia.dk/Ms3E/ShowArticle.aspx?outputFormat=Full&Duid=e32ea1bb>, 'Grænsekontrol: Embedsmænd var på jagt efter gode argumenter' by Mads Bonde Broberg, April 11th 2012.
- 23 Author's emphasis. See the Schengen convention: http://www.personvern.uio.no/pvnpn/regler/schengen_c.html
- 24 <http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/11/532andformat=HTMLandaged=0andlanguage=ENandguiLanguage=fr>
- 25 <http://www.information.dk/telegram/267140>
- 26 <http://www.b.dk/politiko/vko-enige-om-oeget-graensekontrol>
- 27 <http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SPEECH/11/322andformat=HTMLandaged=0andlanguage=ENandguiLanguage=en>
- 28 <http://www.b.dk/politiko/vko-og-per-ocerum-indfoerer-graensekontrol-1>
- 29 <http://www.b.dk/politiko/eu-venter-paa-info-om-dansk-graensekontrol>
- 30 <http://www.b.dk/politiko/pind-i-forsvar-for-ny-graensekontrol>
- 31 <http://www.ft.dk/dokumenter/tingdok.aspx?samling/20101/aktstykke/Aktstk.128/index.htm>. See also: <http://www.skat.dk/SKAT.aspx?oId=1949461>
- 32 <http://www.tagesschau.de/multimedia/sendung/ts26602.html>, which is the most viewed German television station, covered the story in depth on May 13. See also ARD from 12 May: <http://www.dradio.de/dlf/sendungen/europasheute/1456116/> (Das Ende der Offenheit)
- 33 Pressereferat, Mittwoch, 12. Mai 2011: Grenzkontrollen: Bundesminister Westerwelle bittet dänische Außenministerin um Aufklärung.
- 34 For a solid judicial analysis and evaluation of the Danish collision with the Schengen regime, see C. Willemoes Jørgensen and K. Ensig Sørensen, 2011. See also 'Notat om forlig om permanent toldkontrol i Danmark (styrket grænsekontrol) af 11. maj 2011', revised 10 June 2011 by Gerd Battrup, Institut for Grænseregionsforskning (14 June 2011). See also M. Wind, 'Grænsekontrol og populisme' on Altinget 16 May 2011: <http://www.altinget.dk/EU/artikel/graensekontrol-og-populisme>
- 35 In particular, the present author had to tolerate severe accusations for criticizing the border control agreement during the months of May and June 2011.
- 36 <http://www.information.dk/267873>
- 37 http://president.eppgroup.eu/index.php?option=com_contentandtask=viewandid=710andItemid=27andlang=en
- 38 <http://www.euractiv.com/en/future-eu/ministers-agree-need-new-eu-border-rules-news-504810>
- 39 <http://www.b.dk/politiko/pind-i-forsvar-for-ny-graensekontrol>
- 40 <http://www.euractiv.com/en/future-eu/ministers-agree-need-new-eu-border-rules-news-504810>
- 41 http://ec.europa.eu/commission_2010-2014/president/news/letters/pdf/20110513_en.pdf
- 42 <http://www.euractiv.com/en/future-eu/barroso-warns-denmark-border-checks-news-504847>
- 43 <http://www.b.dk/globalt/eu-til-danmark-staa-helt-stille>

- 44 <http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/11/296&format=HTML&anged=0&andlanguage=EN&andguiLanguage=fr>
- 45 <http://www.b.dk/politiko/efterloensreformen-cr-paa-plads>
- 46 Kristian Klarskov, 'EU-kritik ryster regeringen', *Berlingske Tidende*, 13 May 2011, 1st section: page 20.
- 47 Ole Bang Nielsen and Morten Crone, 'Danmark straffes for at pille ved EU's arvesølv', *Berlingske Tidende*, 14 May 2011, 1st section, p. 14.
- 48 <http://www.dradio.de/dlf/sendungen/europaheute/1481026/>
- 49 <http://www.eu-oplysningen.dk/upload/application/pdf/b6ebf294/2010476.pdf>
- 50 See again <http://politiken.dk/debat/ECE1305147/df-drejer-historiens-hjul-tilbage/>
- 51 Werner Hoyer, 'Europa må ikke sakke bagud', *Berlingske Tidende*, 7 June 2011, 1st section, p. 27.
- 52 <http://www.information.dk/270636>
- 53 <http://www.b.dk/politiko/den-dansk-tyske-graensestrid-spidsen-til>
- 54 <http://politiken.dk/debat/ECE1303512/bland-dig-udenom-ambassadoer/>
- 55 <http://www.information.dk/270626>
- 56 <http://skat.dk/SKAT.aspx?oId=1947799&vId=0>
- 57 <http://www.eu-oplysningen.dk/upload/application/pdf/b6ebf294/2010476.pdf>
- 58 <http://www.b.dk/politiko/graenseaftale-uden-skriftlig-juridisk-vurdering>
- 59 <http://www.information.dk/270633>
- 60 <http://www.b.dk/nationalt/erhvervslivet-advare-er-imod-graenseaftale>; <http://www.information.dk/telegram/270546>
- 61 <http://www.information.dk/270740>
- 62 <http://www.information.dk/270718>
- 63 <http://www.information.dk/270633>
- 64 <http://www.b.dk/politiko/per-oerum-holder-vko-paa-pinebaenken>
- 65 <http://www.b.dk/politiko/oerum-fik-landbrug-for-ja-til-graenseaftale>
- 66 <http://www.fm.dk/Nyheder/Pressemeddelelser/2011/06/20110610%20Styrket%20graensekontrol.aspx>
- 67 Arne Hardis, 'Din mund siger nej', *Weekendavisen*, 17 June 2011, 1st section, p. 4
- 68 <http://www.b.dk/politiko/hjort-det-vaerste-jeg-har-oplevet>
- 69 <http://www.b.dk/politiko/derfor-kan-graensekontrollen-falde>
- 70 <http://www.justitsministeriet.dk/pressemeddelelse+M551b435058e.html>
- 71 <http://www.eu-oplysningen.dk/upload/application/pdf/b6ebf294/2010476.pdf>
- 72 Morten Crone, 'Grænseftale uden skriftlig jura', *Berlingske Tidende*, 10 June 2011, 1st section, p. 4.
- 73 <http://www.ft.dk/dokumenter/tingdok.aspx?samling/20101/beslutningsforslag/B144/index.htm>, <http://www.eu-oplysningen.dk/nyheder/euidag/2011/maj/schengenDK/21062011/>
- 74 <http://www.ft.dk/dokumenter/tingdok.aspx?samling/20101/beslutningsforslag/B144/tidsplan.htm>;
<http://www.ft.dk/dokumenter/tingdok.aspx?samling/20101/beslutningsforslag/B144/baggrund.htm>

- 75 <http://www.ft.dk/dokumenter/tingdok.aspx?samling/20101/beslutningsforslag/b144/bilag/8/1015609/index.htm>
- 76 <http://um.dk/da/-/media/UM/Danish-site/Documents/Om-os/Ministrene/UM%20rejsaktivitet%20juli%202011.ashx>
- 77 <http://www.eu-oplysningen.dk/nyheder/euidag/2011/maj/schengenDK/samraad/>
- 78 <http://euobserver.com/22/32521>
- 79 At the Justice and Home Affairs Council meeting on 22 September, the Commission presented two new legislative proposals which aimed to change the rules governing the Schengen evaluation mechanism and the rules for the temporary re-introduction of border controls at Schengen internal borders in exceptional circumstances. See: <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/homepage/showfocus.aspx?lang=en&ndfocusID=77055>
- 80 <http://www.information.dk/telegram/271445>
- 81 Hans Davidsen-Nielsen, 'Rønn: Jeg er meget, meget ulykkelig over denne sag', *Politiken*, 20 June 2011, 1st section, p. 5.
- 82 Jakob Nielsen, 'Rønn og Ørum udeblev fra grænsedebater', *Politiken*, 22 June 2011, 1st section, p. 8.
- 83 *Ritzaus Bureau*, 22 June 2011, 11.58 am.
- 84 http://194.255.119.21/Folketinget/udvalg_delegationer_kommissioner/Udvalg/Skatteudvalget/Nyheder/2011/06/SAU_aabent_samraad_om_B%20144_styrket_graense_kontrol.aspx
- 85 <http://www.ft.dk/samling/20101/beslutningsforslag/b144/samsp/a/1011831.pdf>
<http://www.ft.dk/samling/20101/beslutningsforslag/b144/samsp/b/1011833.pdf>
<http://www.ft.dk/samling/20101/beslutningsforslag/b144/samsp/c/1011834.pdf>
- 86 http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/123075.pdf
- 87 Jens Bostrup and Kåre Pedersen, 'EU giver grønt lys for røde grænseblink', *Politiken*, 23 June 2011, 1st section, p. 7.
- 88 Jens Bostrup, Kåre Pedersen, Peter Wivel and Martin Kaae, 'EU forventer vetoret om grænsekontrol', *Politiken*, 24 June 2011, 1st section, p. 6.
- 89 <http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/11/781&format=HTML&ndaged=0&language=en&guiLanguage=en>
- 90 <http://www.ft.dk/dokumenter/tingdok.aspx?samling/20101/beslutningsforslag/B144/index.htm>
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What did Denmark Gain? Iraq, Afghanistan and the Relationship with Washington

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The terrorist attacks on New York and Washington in September 2001 led to a major shift in Denmark's overall foreign and security policy. By contributing troops to the American-led operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, the military activism that had also been the main thread running through Danish security policy in the 1990s took on a new and more potent form. Danish soldiers became more directly involved in armed confrontations than previously, and whereas the military interventions in the Balkans of the previous decade were aimed primarily at addressing humanitarian sufferings and putting an end to the armed conflicts of others, the operations in the early 2000s were to a much greater extent about defeating a direct opponent. In other words, Denmark became a 'strategic actor'.²

It was not, however, only the character of the military activism that changed in the wake of the tragic events of 11 September 2001. Denmark also altered its position vis-à-vis the United States. While the governments of Poul Schlüter and Poul Nyrup Rasmussen had already aligned themselves closely with the American foreign policy priorities of the 1990s,³ the pro-American line was given even more emphasis under Anders Fogh Rasmussen.⁴ The Atlantic orientation which had characterised Danish foreign political thinking in the years following the end of World War II was replaced by a new form of 'super Atlanticism'.⁵ Relations with Washington thus went from being cordial in the 1990s to reach a historical high in the first decade of the new millennium. Together with the United Kingdom, Denmark became the United States' preferred partner in Europe.

The main goal of this chapter is to investigate the extent to which Denmark's military contributions to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have influenced US-Danish relations. Specifically, we aim to uncover the degree to which Denmark was rewarded by the Bush administration for its military

efforts. In other words, what did Denmark gain from the Americans as a result of its participation in the wars in the years from 2001 to 2009? To what extent was Denmark's standing and access to key American policy-makers enhanced? And to what degree was increased access translated into more tangible benefits?

The chapter's main conclusion is that the Danish military contribution to the missions in Iraq and Afghanistan enhanced Denmark's standing in Washington to a considerable extent. This, in turn, led to significantly greater access to American policy-makers. It became easier for Danish ministers, diplomats and officials to engage their American counterparts. To a certain extent Denmark also reaped more tangible benefits in the US, although it is difficult to tell exactly *how* great these gains actually were. We do argue, however, that Denmark could most probably have obtained more from the Bush administration if Danish policy-makers had been more strategic in their approach to the US. In this respect, we believe that Denmark could benefit from the United Kingdom and the greater strategic maturity that has characterised London's approach to the sole superpower.

The chapter's structure is based on a distinction between benefits in the shape of *reputation/standing*, *access* and *concrete gains*. In a certain sense, there is a hierarchy between these categories: a good reputation generally facilitates access to key policy-makers, while access is often a prerequisite for influencing the foreign policy priorities of the superpower. At the same time, and perhaps more importantly, access to the White House, Pentagon and State Department also serves as a platform for gaining insights into the foreign-policy thinking of the incumbent administration.

We commence the chapter with a brief examination of how the deployment of Danish troops to Afghanistan and Iraq impacted on Denmark's standing in Washington. In other words, how was Denmark's reputation affected by the military contributions to American-led operations? In the following two sections, we explore how enhanced prestige translated into increased access and, to a more limited degree, concrete gains and influence. We round off the chapter with a brief conclusion and final section that puts into perspective how Denmark – inspired by the United Kingdom – could try to make better use of its good standing and broad overall access to American policy-makers.

Denmark's Reputation in the US

The deployment of Danish troops to Iraq and Afghanistan undoubtedly pushed Denmark's reputation in the United States in a positive direction. Denmark, in foreign ministry parlance, 'notched up foreign policy points'. Or as a high-ranking Danish official put it: 'Danish market value in Washington soared as a result of Iraq and Afghanistan'. This impression is confirmed by a Norwegian diplomat in Washington, who argues that Denmark (unlike Norway) belonged to the 'exclusive inner circle in Washington'. Prior to 2001, Denmark was already regarded as a close, loyal and serious ally; however, unwavering Danish participation first in Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan and later in Operation Iraqi Freedom in Iraq and ISAF in Afghanistan noticeably enhanced Denmark's standing in Washington even further. According to the interpretation of one interviewee, the deployment of troops led to 'Denmark stepping completely out of the shadow of footnote politics'. Or, as a former White House employee put it: 'Anything that was labelled Denmark was wonderful'. Denmark moved up from being a 'close' ally to becoming a 'key' ally.⁶

Danish participation in the Iraq war had the greatest impact. While the country's relatively large and robust military contribution to the war in Afghanistan definitely earned (and continues to earn) considerable recognition in the Pentagon and the White House, it was Denmark's relatively long-term participation in Operation Iraqi Freedom that had the greatest political value when seen from an American perspective. At a time when the rationale of the American decision to invade Iraq was being questioned in several European capitals, the Fogh government's military and indeed political support for the invasion and subsequent occupation of Iraq went down particularly well in Washington. Also, Denmark was in Iraq from the very beginning and, according to a former official in the White House, the Bush administration held the relatively few European countries that supported policy in Iraq *from the outset* in high regard.⁷ The same goes for those governments who – despite increasing domestic pressure and sectarian violence in Iraq – *kept their troops* in Iraq. The Fogh government delivered in this respect too. The Americans were fully aware that the decision by the Fogh government to closely follow their lead generated a great deal of criticism both domestically and internationally, but that only enhanced Denmark's standing even further. In the words of the American official mentioned above:

Fogh Rasmussen took tough decisions and stood by them. Denmark did not run from the decisions it took. What Fogh did was noticed ... Despite our mistakes in the first term, Denmark stood by the US and by the tough decisions. In the second Bush term we made it easier to be our friend, but Fogh was a friend when it was most difficult for Denmark. That was noticed.

In terms of being an investment in the politics of prestige, Denmark's participation in the Iraq war thus grew in value the more the other coalition countries withdrew.

The White House also noticed that Denmark always presented its criticism of American foreign policy in general – and the management of the Iraq war in particular – in a way that was regarded by the Americans as 'pragmatic and mature'. As a former civil chief in the Pentagon remarked: 'Denmark did not take cheap shots at America'. The general perception thus seems to have been that the Danish government may well have disagreed with the Bush administration on particular issues, but the criticism was always discreet and low-key⁸ and it was always expressed with due regard to the fact that it was impossible – in the eyes of the White House – to change certain elements of American foreign policy. This was the case, for example, with regard to the International Criminal Court (ICC), where Danish policy-makers and diplomats were fully aware that Washington could not be persuaded to join the so-called Rome Statute and become subject to the jurisdiction of the ICC. For this reason Denmark worked towards achieving a more limited but probably more realistic shift in the American position on the issue. The Danish government thus 'limited itself' to relatively subdued criticism of the Bush administration for trying to obstruct the activities of the ICC in various ways.

A Swedish diplomat with experience of Washington explained to us that Denmark's unwillingness to criticise the Americans publicly generated a good deal of frustration among other European states, who frequently had to abandon efforts to get Denmark to back a common European critical stance towards aspects of the Bush government's foreign policy. According to this particular diplomat it was quite clear that Denmark did not wish to criticise the Americans or fall out with the White House in any way.

Another factor that enhanced Denmark's reputation in Washington was the fact that the Danish government – unlike a number of other European countries – did not obviously try to exploit its good standing. In contrast to states like Poland and the Czech Republic, Denmark was not perceived as an

ally that had committed troops to Iraq solely to get something in return. As a former diplomat in the Bush administration noted: 'It is wrong to do something because it will be perceived as good in Washington. You should do it because it is the right thing to do. And that is what Fogh did'. The Americans regarded those states that sought to enter into a 'transactional relationship' with the US with suspicion. As a former Bush diplomat put it:

The Poles thought they were in a bazaar. 'We do not get enough out of it. We want this and that'. That approach was frowned upon in the White House, and that was never the Danish approach. Denmark never wanted anything specific in return ... You expect haggling with the Pakistanis, but not with the Danes.

A former chief in the American State Department explained: 'Denmark did not push very hard for rewards – but for good reasons. Too much aggressiveness can backfire'. Somewhat paradoxically, then, Denmark's standing in Washington was strengthened by the fact that Danish politicians and diplomats did not in a very direct way seek to reap rewards. The logic seems to have been that a good reputation can improve even further if you do not try too hard to draw specific favours from it in return. At the same time, all our interviews with former staff of the Bush administration indicate that greater recognition could be earned in Washington if the military support for American-led operations was largely motivated by moral considerations about doing the 'right thing'. Thus the gains in terms of reputation were linked to the apparent motives.

Many American diplomats further state that Denmark's special status in Washington should also be seen in the light of Denmark's general reputation for being a country with a foreign policy profile based on ideals and principles. Denmark's general international reputation was, in other words, an asset in the political efforts to gain prestige with the US. For the Bush administration, backing from a small European nation with a strong tradition of support for multilateralism and the UN was thus of greater political value than the more extensive military contributions from, for example, the Ukraine and Georgia. Seen from the White House, the presence of Danish forces in Afghanistan and in particular in Iraq helped create legitimacy. This was true both with regard to both relations with the international community and domestic opinion. Norwegian diplomats echo this interpretation. According to a former Norwegian diplomat in Washington, it was important for the Americans to have representatives from what Donald Rumsfeld

somewhat patronisingly called 'old Europe' present in Iraq. With parts of 'old Europe' on board, it was easier for the Bush government to insist that those European governments that were highly critical of the war in Iraq were motivated by domestic policy agendas.

Denmark's Access to us Policy-Makers

Denmark's favourable reputation with the United States undoubtedly led to better 'access' to American policy-makers. Possibly the most obvious indication of this is the way in which the Americans handle official state visits and face-to-face time with the President. Time with the President is something state leaders *earn*. As a former official with detailed knowledge of Danish-American relations under George W. Bush explained: 'time with the President is a reward for good behaviour.' Thus the frequency and character of state visits are a significant indication of a country's reputation with the US.

Historically Denmark has been a close American ally, and our interviews left us with the clear impression that Danish politicians and diplomats have traditionally had good access to American policymakers. However, there is no doubt that Denmark's access improved even further by virtue of its particularly favourable status under Anders Fogh Rasmussen. The Prime Minister's ability to take 'tough decisions' that were in line with American policy opened doors in Washington and, according to a senior official in the White House under the Bush administration, Fogh was treated exceptionally well in Washington. The clearest indication of this is the number and nature of the state visits between Fogh and Bush. Anders Fogh Rasmussen was neither the first nor the last Danish Prime Minister to make a state visit to the US, and George W. Bush is not the only American President to come on an official visit to Denmark. In fact Bush's predecessor Bill Clinton and his successor Barack Obama have both been on official state visits to Denmark. The unusual aspect of the relationship between Fogh and Bush was the *frequency* and *character* of the state visits. Fogh had annual meetings with Bush and, quite extraordinarily for a Danish prime minister, he was not just invited to the White House and to the official presidential country residence at Camp David, but also to the President's private ranch in Crawford, Texas. These frequent state visits were a direct result of Denmark's enhanced reputation in the US.⁹ As a key American source explained with regard to American

motives for inviting the Danish prime minister to Camp David: 'Let's invite Fogh to Camp David to reward his tough decisions and good behaviour'.

Anders Fogh Rasmussen's special access to the top officials in the American administration did not, however, only take the form of state visits and face-to-face time with the President. According to a central source at the White House, Fogh – and this is extremely untypical – could always get in touch with President Bush over the telephone if he needed to discuss something with him. Furthermore Bush widened the circle of states that were consulted before major American foreign and security policy decisions to include, among others, Denmark. In doing so, Bush departed from traditional diplomatic procedure in Washington, whereby American relations with Europe were coordinated through London, Paris and Berlin. Under Bush, Denmark for US policies'. Fogh's increased access to Washington, in other words, not only served the interests of Denmark, but to a large extent also the interests of Fogh himself and his government.

Meeting	Venue
March 2002	Fogh visit to the White House
May 2003	Fogh visit to the White House
April 2004	Fogh visit to the White House
May 2004	Fogh visit to the White House
May 2005	Fogh visit to the White House
July 2005	Bush visit to Copenhagen and Marienborg
June 2006	Fogh visit to the presidential country residence at Camp David, Maryland
February-March 2008	Fogh visit to President Bush's ranch in Crawford, Texas

Table 1: *Bilateral meetings between Anders Fogh Rasmussen and George W. Bush, 2002-2008*

Denmark's enhanced standing in Washington not only opened doors at the highest level: on several occasions Danish diplomats were invited to join special forums reserved for the United States' closest allies. For example, Denmark was included in a small circle of eight close allies who periodically attended breakfast meetings in the White House with the President's national security advisors – something that was quite unusual. These meetings not only served as a forum for discussing current security policy issues, but also as an opportunity to brief America's closest allies on significant up-coming American security policy decisions. Danish diplomats also seem to have had

especially good access to the Americans in the area of international law. Danish military participation in Iraq and Afghanistan, for example, contributed towards making Denmark part of a so-called 'West Point Group', with the top legal advisor in the State Department meeting at intervals with the highest legal advisors from the defence and foreign ministries of a number of European states. Diplomats from the international law department of the Danish Foreign Ministry were also regularly included in the 'Bellinger dialogue',¹⁰ whereby the US tried to create a greater degree of consensus between America and Europe in matters of international law. According to a key American source, the legal advisor from the Danish foreign ministry was 'among the most active' in this network.

Denmark's favourable standing in the United States also helped to increase its access to the US on a more *informal* level. According to a key American source in the White House, the Danish ambassador, for example, never required to make any particularly formal arrangements for showing up at the White House to discuss a matter with top American officials. All the ambassador had to do was to ring up the White House and let them know that he was on his way. A high-ranking Danish defence policy official also explained that he was allowed more direct access to top officials in the American administration than his predecessors. High-ranking Danish officers and a source in the Danish defence industry also told us that Danish participation in Iraq and Afghanistan made it easier to open the relevant doors in the US and talk to the relevant people: 'Now people know what Denmark is', and there was generally much more goodwill towards Denmark and Danish products. Or, as someone familiar with police cooperation with the Americans noted: 'Before, everything took a very long time and the procedures were often very long-winded. Now we often have one person we can just phone'.

Denmark's enhanced standing in Washington also made it easier for Danish politicians and Danish officials to establish more *personal* relations with significant officials in the American administration, of which the Danes have since been able to make occasional professional use. The political system in the United States is vast and, according to one of the Danish diplomats we interviewed, this is one of the reasons why it is necessary for a small state like Denmark to build up personal relations with those who can 'get the ball rolling'. Fogh clearly had a good personal relationship with Bush, and a key Danish diplomat also stated that it would not have been possible for him (i.e. the diplomat) to build up this kind of personal relationship with his American counterpart had it not been for the Danish government's foreign policy. These good personal relations meant that the diplomat in question

had relatively easy access not only to his American counterpart, but also to the latter's boss, namely the American Secretary of State.

To conclude, it should also be said that, according to several Danish diplomats, Denmark's greater access to the Americans gave Denmark a particularly privileged role in Scandinavia. The fact that it was easier for Danish diplomats to be granted high-level meetings in Washington generated a certain amount of envy in the other Scandinavian capitals. As a key source in Washington explained with regard to comparative diplomatic leverage in Scandinavia during the Bush era: 'The Swedes, Norwegians and Finns were very jealous and pissed off at the level of Danish access. They could not get access'. A former Norwegian diplomat in Washington recounted in similar fashion that officials at the Norwegian embassy in Washington were jealous of the good relations between Denmark and the United States and the greater access this gave the Danes. According to the Norwegian diplomat, Denmark was given more frequent briefings, which were presumably also of better quality than those given to the Norwegians. The Swedish embassy had the same impression and, according to a Swedish diplomat with experience of Washington, it was plain to see that Denmark 'was doing its utmost to please the Americans'. According to him, it was, 'to put it mildly, a charm offensive' and there were murmurings in European diplomatic circles about how Denmark was plainly 'sucking up' to the Americans. The clear imbalance in levels of access meant, according to a Danish diplomat in Washington, that some of the latter's Scandinavian colleagues now and again requested shared Scandinavian meetings with the Americans when they saw 'that it was easier to gain access to high-placed people over here'. Due to Denmark's privileged access, Danish diplomats – in theory, at least – were able to take on a coordinating role with regard to access to the Americans by some of the other Scandinavian countries.

Tangible Benefits

Access Itself as a Concrete Gain

Greater access to American policy-makers can be a gain *in itself*, as it opens the door to information and thus also knowledge about American thinking and the United States' standpoint with regard to current political issues. Many of the Danish diplomats we interviewed underscored the importance

of being informed about American thinking for their work in the US. As a former Danish diplomat explained, a small state like Denmark has to 'fumble in the dark' if it is not informed about how the Americans are thinking. Greater Danish access to the Americans under Fogh, in other words, also made it easier for Denmark to prepare for up-coming American political statements, including any possible shifts in policy. Greater access in the US made daily life easier for civil servants and officers in Denmark, who could frequently avoid often timeconsuming, bureaucratic procedures by liaising with relevant people on the American side on a more informal basis.

Political Influence in the United States

Throughout the Fogh/Bush years, Danish politicians and diplomats tried to make use of their extended access to American policy-makers in order to influence American political thinking by planting ideas and attracting attention to Danish interests and key Danish issues. In this respect, many of those interviewed stated that privileged access to the Americans is especially valuable for a small country such as Denmark, which often struggles to draw international attention to a specific issue of national interest. The question, of course, is whether those Danish efforts have been fruitful. In other words, did Denmark manage to use its increased access to influence American political thinking and lead it in a direction that was compatible with Danish interests?

It must be stressed that it is very difficult to measure whether – and if, so, how – political thinking is influenced. The uncertainty in this section surrounding the impact of Denmark's efforts to influence American thinking is compounded by the fact that our conclusions are based primarily on interviews with individuals who, for the most part, have a vested interest in leaving us with the impression that Denmark profited considerably from its close relations with the US. It should also be pointed out that accurately assessing whether Denmark was able to influence American thinking was not always easy for those interviewed.

In March 2010 the Foreign Affairs Committee of the British House of Commons published a lengthy report on Anglo-American relations, in which it was noted that British diplomacy believed that it was able to exert 'subtle influences on both the substance and presentation of US security and foreign policy' by virtue of its broad access to American policy-makers. The conclusions of the House of Commons' report, however,

are more reticent, since 'hard evidence of these assertions is hard to find'.¹¹ In this connection, one of the witnesses called in the report comments:

*The truth is we can go and talk to the Administration about any issue that we want to, if it matters to us and it matters to the Administration or on the Hill, we have access. We are very fortunate, and I think it is the case that we probably have as good access as anybody, and probably better than most. Access doesn't necessarily mean that what you ask for you are going to get, of course, and I think we need to be realistic about that.*¹²

The reserved tone of the House of Commons appears well-founded, and even close American allies presumably have to be cautious about overestimating the practical significance of a good reputation in the United States. As an expert witness states in the House of Commons report regarding the alleged 'special relationship' between the US and Britain: 'If the special relationship is hyped too much, expectations are exaggerated about what it can deliver and what to expect from it'.¹³

Nevertheless, our general impression is that Denmark was probably able to use its enhanced access to American policy-makers to influence American political thinking on a few issues. Almost everyone interviewed independently pointed out a few areas where they believed that Denmark successfully made use of its favourable access to influence American policy.

First of all, it is our impression that Denmark was able to use its increased access to its advantage with regard to the *Arctic and Greenland*. By virtue of its commonwealth with Greenland, Denmark has considerable interests in the future development of the Arctic region and, as a small state, a particular interest in furthering cooperation and toning down potential tensions in the Arctic.¹⁴ The United States is not a party to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea and, according to several diplomats, the fact that Denmark succeeded in getting the Americans to support the so-called Ilulissat Declaration of 2008 was a major diplomatic achievement. In the Declaration the five Arctic states (Denmark, Norway, Canada, Russia and the United States) stress the importance of existing international law for the resolution of challenges in the region, including the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea.¹⁵ According to a Danish diplomat with inside knowledge of the process, Denmark used its greater access to the Americans, including not least good personal relations with the American administration, to convince the US of the benefits of creating a consensus on international laws concerning the Arctic. According to diplomats the Arctic was 'off the American radar', and without the extremely close contact to people in the American administration the Declaration would not have been possible. One American called Ilulissat an 'achievement of Danish foreign policy', and another

diplomat stated that 'Denmark was able to influence US policy on Greenland because of Denmark's access'.

Our interviews also left us with the impression that Denmark may have been able to use open doors in America to influence American thinking in other areas of security policy. We use the word 'may' deliberately because we do not know if Denmark could have influenced American thinking on these aspects *regardless*, i.e. without privileged access to them. According to many of the people interviewed, during Fogh's term of office Denmark was definitely successful in maintaining American commitment in institutionalised forms of cooperation in Scandinavia and the Baltic. One of the American diplomats explained, for example, that persistent pressure from Denmark was instrumental in leading the US to become involved in the so-called Enhanced Partnership in Northern Europe (e-PINE), concerning cooperation between the United States, Scandinavia and the Baltic states in security policy areas etc. Others interviewed with experience of the American side of the Atlantic point to the fact that Denmark was also able to influence American thinking regarding so-called air policing over the Baltic states. According to American sources the American Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld wanted to discontinue the American commitment until the Danish Defence Minister, Søren Gade, used his good access to persuade him to let it continue. A few of those interviewed also stated that Denmark's favourable reputation in the US was influential in the release in February 2004 of one of its citizens from the American Guantanamo Bay military detention camp in Cuba. An American diplomat with inside knowledge of the detention camp at Guantanamo further explained that, as a consequence of Denmark's participation in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, Denmark was not pressured very hard by America to receive detainees from Guantanamo. As the diplomat told us, Denmark has 'earned the right to say no'. Finally, a number of those interviewed stated that Denmark succeeded in influencing the Americans with regard to adopting the so-called Comprehensive Approach in NATO, involving the joint planning of military and civilian efforts.

In other areas, however, it is much more doubtful how much – if at all – Denmark was able to make use of its greater access to the Americans to influence American thinking. Several interviewees said they believed Denmark had been able to influence the Americans within important areas such as climate politics or the Middle East, and this was certainly also asserted by someone otherwise very sceptical about whether Denmark had gained anything from its close relations with the Americans under Fogh. According to a key Danish diplomat, it was largely Fogh who convinced Bush that it was

time for the United States to engage in the climate debate. According to the source, Bush was not in any way interested in the climate issue, and he only made it an American issue because Fogh, by virtue of his personal relationship with him, was able to influence him in a favourable direction. Some of the individuals interviewed added that Denmark was also able to use the open doors in America to shape American thinking on the Middle East. The Danish Foreign Minister, Per Stig Møller, was very much preoccupied with the Middle East, including developments in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and according to several Danish diplomats the Foreign Minister's efforts to push the so-called 'roadmap for peace' were facilitated by the fact that Denmark 'delivered internationally'. We cannot rule out the possibility that Denmark was (and still is) able to use its increased access to American policy-makers to influence American thinking on the climate and the Middle East, but it is worth noting that Danish diplomats are not the only diplomats who believe that they are influencing American thinking in precisely those areas. For instance, British diplomats believe the same.¹⁶

Military Assistance

Several of those interviewed recalled that the Danish armed forces have benefited from Denmark's close relations with the US in numerous ways. According to a Danish official with intricate knowledge in the field, Denmark's favourable reputation in the US meant, for example, that the military received faster and at times more privileged access to much needed military equipment when compared to the armed forces of other countries. This was the case, for example, with special mine-resistant vehicles, a so-called Blue Force Tracker system (a GPS system that protects against friendly fire) and special night vision binoculars. As the official briefly explained, Denmark 'was given equipment before the others'.

Intelligence

Our general impression in light of the interviews is that cooperation between the Danish and American intelligence services is particularly good, and many of those interviewed stated that cooperation under Fogh and Bush became even closer. However, because much material here is classified, it has not been possible for us to obtain any concrete examples of what forms this enhanced cooperation took. Furthermore, there may very well be significant differences from service to service and case to case in how close cooperation between the US and Denmark is, and thus differences in whether Denmark's improved reputation in the US had any positive impact.

Commercial Gains

In many interviews, we asked whether Denmark had been able to ‘convert’ its enhanced reputation in the US and increased Danish access to American policy-makers into concrete commercial advantages for Danish companies. The table below illustrates that Danish trade and investment in the United States rose quite substantially in the 2000s. The interview feedback was not completely clear-cut, but this could have something to do with the differences in the entities that Danish businesses do trade with in the US. Businesses that do trade directly with the American government, in particular with the American Department of Defense, may be able to notice a positive effect of Denmark’s favourable reputation in the US to a greater degree than companies that sell their products on the private market in the US.

A former Danish diplomat was of the view that Denmark’s enhanced standing has been advantageous to Danish industry, and a representative of a major Danish company operating in the defence industry also stated that the activist Danish foreign policy under Anders Fogh Rasmussen did make it easier for his company to sell its products, for instance, to the American Department of Defense. Denmark’s foreign policy has created respect for the country, and this is noticed by the company when it talks to clients. Denmark’s military participation has also benefited the business in a more indirect way in the sense that it can now demonstrate to potential customers that its products are actually being put to use by the Danish armed forces on the battlefield. This generates respect for the products, the rationale being: ‘If Denmark – which is actually using its military equipment – can make use of the equipment, then it must be good.’ However, another Danish company with years of experience of the American Department of Defense was not quite so positive. As someone with experience of the company stated, it was difficult for him to see that his former company ‘gained anything extra from the fact that Fogh was a good friend of Bush’. And the fact that the company increased its share of the market during the 2000s and landed big, lucrative contracts with the American government ‘had more to do with the quality of the company’s products than with Denmark’s reputation and soldiers on the battlefield’. Another representative of the same company similarly stated that nothing had been handed to them on a platter in the US. As he saw it, ‘nothing is ever given away for free’.

We spoke to representatives from the Danish-American Business Forum, who stated that they found it quite difficult to see how Danish companies could have gained any advantages generally from Denmark’s favourable reputation in Washington. As one of them remarked: ‘I can’t say that any orders

were put into our company' and 'I cannot see how any of these processes got easier by fighting a war alongside the US'. We had the same response from most of those interviewed from large Danish companies, who more or less unanimously agreed that it was general market conditions alone that determined whether Danish companies could sell their products in the US, not whether Danish soldiers were fighting alongside American soldiers in countries such as Iraq and Afghanistan. Many of those interviewed did, however, acknowledge that Denmark's military participation might on a very general level have made it easier for certain industries to gain access to central policy-makers in America, and, likewise, they acknowledged that individual Danish companies might increasingly have obtained relevant information on possible American needs before companies from other countries. In other words, it definitely became easier for some Danish companies trying to sell their products to the American government to make an early, qualified bid for specific contracts. However, most of those interviewed from Danish companies emphasised at the same time that this did not mean that it was easier to land the contracts. As one individual with years of experience noted: 'OK, you might get a pat on the shoulder for being Danish, but you can't make a direct link to contracts'. Many of the American diplomats we interviewed also stated clearly that an enhanced reputation in the United States is not a direct route to selling more goods. It should be stressed here that even Britain had difficulties getting an agreement with the US that would give British companies particular export advantages in the US.¹⁷

Country	Growth in exports to the US 2001-2010	Growth in FDI in the US 2001-2010
Belgium	53.09 %	176.75 %
Denmark	76.46 %	400.00 %
France	26.13 %	19.21 %
Norway	33.59 %	302.33 %
Sweden	17.81 %	95.91 %
Germany	39.53 %	31.17 %

Table 2: Denmark's trade with the US and investment (Foreign Direct Investment) in the US compared with other countries¹⁸

US Support for Fogh's Candidacy for the Post of NATO Secretary General Interviewees were asked to assess whether American support for Anders Fogh Rasmussen's candidacy for the post of NATO Secretary General was a kind

of reward for Danish participation in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. One American diplomat with detailed knowledge of relations between Denmark and the US under Fogh and Bush said that the White House first heard about Fogh's intention to stand for Secretary General during the Danish Prime Minister's visit to the President's private ranch in Crawford, Texas, in February 2008. Fogh revealed his plans to the President during a private moment, during which he requested US backing for his candidacy, which he was duly given.

With regard to the question of whether or not support for Fogh was a reward, the response in our interviews was not quite clear. There did not seem to be any doubt among those interviewed that Fogh would hardly have been considered for the post of Secretary General of NATO had he *not* decided to send Danish troops to Iraq and Afghanistan, and thus there also seems to be a clear link between Denmark's favourable reputation in Washington and American backing for Fogh. However, American support should probably not be seen simply as a 'thank you' to Fogh and Denmark for Danish participation. There may have been an element of 'reward' for Fogh; however, our interviews left the distinct impression that the Americans primarily felt that Fogh shared their view of the world in foreign policy terms and their strategic visions for the development of NATO, and that Fogh's decision to send Danish troops to war in Iraq and Afghanistan showed that the Danish Prime Minister was able to take major tough decisions. *For those reasons* Fogh might be useful for the Americans in NATO. In other words, Fogh received American support mainly because the Americans, like Fogh, felt that there was a need for NATO to be reformed and because the Americans believed that Fogh had proved to be the sort of person who could carry out such a task. In this context it is also worth noting that it was not actually George W. Bush, but in fact his successor Barack Obama who recommended the appointment of Fogh throughout the key negotiations in NATO circles.

The Mohammed Cartoons Controversy

Interviewees were also asked to give their opinion on the significance of Denmark's favourable reputation in Washington in relation to the American reaction to the Mohammed cartoons controversy in 2006. The first official American reaction to the escalating crisis was a press release from the US State Department on 3 February 2006, which declared that the United States 'fully recognize[s] and respect[s] freedom of the press and expression', but that this 'must be coupled with press responsibility. Inciting religious or ethnic hatreds in this manner is not acceptable'.¹⁹ On 4 February 2006, the

White House commented on the developments in a press release, in which the US condemned the burning of the Danish and Norwegian embassies in Syria. In the same press release, the White House expressed its appreciation of Fogh's 'responsible statements in recent days urging tolerance and respect for all faiths and for freedom of the press', before making it clear that the United States 'stand[s] in solidarity with Denmark and our European allies in opposition to the outrageous acts in Syria today'.²⁰ The American diplomats we interviewed recognised that the initial *official* American reaction did not give clear backing to Denmark. According to one American diplomat, the cartoons controversy was 'a delicate issue inside the White House', and there was internal disagreement about how to react. While some figures in the White House felt that the US ought to declare its clear support for its close ally, others were more concerned about their relations with the Muslim world. Another American diplomat in the White House at that time explained that the timing of the controversy made it difficult for President Bush to come out strongly in support of Denmark. At that time things were not going well in Iraq, and Bush already had an 'Arab/Muslim problem' on his hands and thus was not 'eager to get involved'.

According to a Danish source, there was widespread disappointment in the Prime Minister's department about the delayed reaction from the White House and the fact that the initial American support for Denmark was not stronger. According to the source, what happened during the cartoons controversy illustrates that the Americans were in fact not at all as willing to 'go the extra mile for Denmark, as some would have believed'. And this 'was a disappointment to Copenhagen'. Another former Danish diplomat also explained that the White House only officially reacted to the crisis after Denmark had talked to the Americans 'in very plain language'. Many American diplomats stress that the official American reaction does not tell the whole story about the US reaction to the cartoons controversy and that through unofficial channels the US did what it could to help Denmark. Thus many sources state that Washington instructed its American embassies to do their utmost to stand by Denmark during the crisis, including evacuating endangered Danish diplomats if necessary. The same explanation was provided by a Danish diplomat, who said that at the unofficial level it was highly evident that the US truly wanted to help Denmark during the controversy.

Could Denmark Have Gained More from the Americans?

The interviews we conducted have thus shown that Denmark's increased access to American policy-makers in many ways facilitated the everyday work of Danish politicians, diplomats, civil servants and officers, and that Danish politicians and diplomats tried to convert this good access to other, more concrete gains, but that these efforts presumably only bore fruit in individual areas. One of the main reasons for this, of course, is that it is not a straightforward task to translate a favourable reputation with the US into specific advantages; however, our impression is that this also has something to do with the fact that Denmark never pushed particularly hard for anything in return. As an American diplomat with detailed knowledge of Denmark explained: 'Denmark did not push very hard for rewards'. As mentioned earlier, it was the Americans' impression that Denmark was taking international responsibility and was participating in Iraq and Afghanistan because it believed it was the right thing to do, not because Denmark could gain something from the Americans. Furthermore, that was one of the reasons why Denmark's reputation was so good. Unlike the case of Poland, for example, Danish relations with the Americans were precisely not 'transactional', and this boosted Denmark's reputation.

However, many of the interviewees – including those who mentioned the Americans' appreciation of the fact that the Danish government was not particularly eager to turn its reputation to its advantage – did nonetheless say that Denmark might have been able to reap greater benefits from its favourable reputation in the United States. In other words, the Fogh government could have done more to turn its good reputation and greater access into more tangible benefits. Or, as one person with experience of the White House under Bush summed it up: 'The Prime Minister could probably have asked for more'. In this context it is quite interesting to note that Danish diplomats seem to have had the same impression. As one of them explained to us, Denmark has been a good ally for a long time, but 'now maybe it's time for us to reap some more concrete gains, like the British and Canadians'. He continued by saying that Denmark 'did not ask to cash in on what we helped them with'.

Conclusion

Our interviews have shown that Denmark's participation in the wars in Afghanistan, specifically Iraq, helped to boost its reputation and prestige in Washington. Denmark rose from belonging to the relatively large group of close European allies to reaching the very top. Denmark's enhanced standing in the United States meant, among other things, that Danish politicians, diplomats, civil servants and officers had even better access to American policy-makers. Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen was a frequent guest of George W. Bush, and it became easier on virtually all levels for Denmark to present Danish viewpoints to the Americans. And access was *in itself* positive for Denmark.

Furthermore, Denmark tried to use its increased access to influence American political thinking to push it in a direction that was favourable to Denmark. It is difficult to be completely certain about how successful these endeavours were, but Denmark may very well have been able to use its greater access to obtain something that it otherwise would not have been able to obtain, certainly as far as the Arctic and Greenland are concerned. The same could also apply to other policy areas, though here there is presumably reason to be more cautious. Greater access to American policy-makers indisputably provided Danish politicians and diplomats with valuable knowledge about American considerations at the time. Also, the Danish armed forces benefitted from Denmark's good relations with the US. The Danish military certainly received equipment which it might otherwise never have been given. Denmark's favourable reputation seems also to have helped individual Danish companies to make an earlier and more qualified bid for US contracts. However, it is less certain whether American support for Anders Fogh Rasmussen's candidacy for NATO leadership was due to a wish to 'reward' Denmark and Fogh for participation in the war in Iraq and Afghanistan. We cannot know if the US had been even less willing to support Denmark officially during the cartoons controversy if Denmark had not committed troops to Iraq and Afghanistan, but it would appear that Denmark's enhanced standing was not sufficient to secure unequivocal *official* American backing when Danish embassies were set on fire in February 2006. Finally, many of those interviewed argued that Denmark could probably have gained more from its enhanced reputation in the US if it had pursued a more instrumental approach.

US-Danish Relations in Perspective

As described above, there is some evidence that Denmark gained quite extensive access to the Americans owing to its participation in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Yet, on the other hand, it was difficult for the Fogh government to translate this increased access into concrete gains in the US. In our view this is partly due to the fact that Denmark's approach to the US was of an ad hoc character and not particularly focused or strategic. Danish politicians and diplomats – without being lumped together with their more presumptuous Polish counterparts – could presumably have notched up more prestige points if they had tried to use their potential for influence created by greater goodwill and access more systematically. And in this context, there is much to suggest that Denmark would have profited from seeking inspiration from the United Kingdom and repeated British considerations about how a good reputation and a so-called 'special relationship' can serve London's interests. Admittedly, it is also unclear how substantial are the advantages the United Kingdom reaps from its close relationship with the US, but the British approach does nonetheless indicate that British diplomacy clearly believes there are greater opportunities for gaining at least *something* from the Americans if London takes a strategic approach.

The 2010 report from the British House of Commons on Anglo-American relations illustrates that British policy-makers and diplomats pursue an exceedingly strategic approach to relations with Washington. One of the central premises of the report is that Britain's security interests often coincide with those of the Americans, which in itself is an indication of a foreign policy course that is close to the American one, but that the United Kingdom's contribution to American-led military operations nonetheless ought, as far as possible, to be on a scale that maximises British influence in Washington. Former British Foreign Minister Sir Douglas Hurd is quoted in the report as saying:

The US is the world's pre-eminent power; its engagement and decisions are vital to nearly all priorities for British foreign policy – from negotiations to combat climate change and to control nuclear non-proliferation to stabilizing Afghanistan. It is natural for British policy-makers to be as close to their US counterparts as possible and try to influence policy choices ... At the heart of the relationship lies a simple fact. British defence policy rests on the assumption that we will not fight a major war except in partnership with the United States. It follows that it is crucially in our interest to understand and influence American foreign policy. Moreover, our standing in the rest of the world will be shaped in part by the perceived extent of that influence.²¹

Elsewhere in the report, Nick Witney from the European Council on Foreign Relations is quoted as saying:

'In the last major Defence White Paper in 2003, we are saying that the job of the British armed forces is to be sized and shaped so that we can make a chunky contribution to an American-led operation. That will get us to the table, so that we can be there when the decisions are taken'.²²

The United Kingdom's efforts to convert its military support as far as possible into influence on American foreign policy is also reflected in the British government's current considerations – expressed in a number reports and strategy papers – about how defence policy can best support Britain's scope for influence in Washington. The desire to leave their fingerprints on the United States' international activities has quite clearly been a central element of Britain's military planning for a long time. For many years the general assumption in the British system was that, in order to gain influence in American-led coalitions, Britain had to provide fifteen per cent of total troop numbers. Towards the end of the first decade of this century, this assumption had taken the form of a well-established and widely accepted 'fifteen per cent rule'. In connection with the drawing up of the Defence Strategic Guidance of 2008,²³ the fifteen per cent rule was, however, superseded by a more flexible approach to the issue, according to which it was not necessarily troop numbers that were crucial. According to DSG2008, there is:

no specific capability that must be provided, or specific task or mission undertaken, to guarantee influence in coalitions. The UK can maximise its potential to gain influence by maintaining a sufficiently broad range of capabilities to fill critical capability gap within the coalition to be attractive as the partner of choice.

In 2010 the new Minister of Defence, Liam Fox, initiated yet another analysis (*UK Defence Policy and Influence over the US: Review of Existing Policy and Operational Analysis*) of the correlation between British defence policy and influence on American foreign policy. The main finding of the analysis was that there is a significant correlation between 'influence in coalitions' on the one hand and 'overall national military power, commonality of language and culture' and 'hosting the forces of the coalition leader on a nation's own territory' on the other.²⁴

All in all, these reflections leave us with the clear impression that British officials and policy-makers are highly attentive to ensuring that the close relationship with the US is not exclusively rooted in overlapping interests and common ideals, but also in the desire to exert some influence over Britain's

major ally. The many politicians, diplomats and academics quoted in the House of Commons report are far from being in agreement as to how far security and defence policy investments have yielded appropriate gains, but that is not of key relevance to the discussion in this report. What is important at this point is that in Britain there *is indeed* a strategic debate about how goodwill and access can be translated into the greatest possible influence.

In our opinion, Danish policy-makers and diplomats could look to Britain for inspiration and gain more from Denmark's favourable standing in Washington than they did in the 2000s. A more planned and strategic approach to Danish-American relations could, in our view, help to ensure more effective use of the access and prestige enjoyed by Denmark in the US. However, this also means that Danish strategic thinking should not start and end with considerations about how Denmark can most expediently use military power to realise the relatively narrowly defined military campaign objectives such as those of a given coalition effort. It is not sufficient to consider strategically how Denmark can best use its military force and optimally combine its relatively limited military strength with Danish diplomacy and development aid. Danish politicians and diplomats must, like their British counterparts, see their efforts as a means to achieve goals that are linked to both the specific campaign and transatlantic relations. Thus in the case of Afghanistan it is not enough to draw up objectives, priorities and plans relating to how the deployment of Danish troops can contribute to peace and stability in a small part of Helmand Province. Of course, this type of strategic reflection is important, although the deployment of Danish troops will hardly determine the outcome of the war. The point is, however, that Danish policy-makers ought to consider in much more strategic terms how the goodwill accumulated in Washington can best be used as a resource to further Danish interests in other contexts, irrespective of whether Denmark's enhanced reputation is seen as the key goal in the military efforts in Afghanistan or as a convenient spin-off.

However, for Denmark to be able to profit to a greater extent from its gains in terms of prestige and access, two things are needed. First, it is important that Danish policy-makers explicitly pinpoint for themselves and those around them the political objectives they want to achieve using American backing. This may at first glance seem banal, but it is not. For unlike, say, the Baltic states or Poland, Denmark does not currently have anything in particular to gain in terms of security policy from its close relations with Washington. Nor does Denmark, like a number of Middle Eastern and African nations, have an urgent need for economic or military aid.²⁵ Thus the

question demands a deeper strategic discussion: What need does Denmark have for the US? Should Danish policy-makers use their influential position in relation to, for example, the Arctic region, global climate policy and business interests to spread legal norms internationally or to bolster multilateral institutions such as the UN or NATO? It must, of course, be remembered that Denmark's scope of influence in Washington will always be limited. But this does not mean that there are not areas where, adopting a more targeted approach, the American administration could be shifted in a direction that is generally more conducive to Danish interests.

Secondly, it is essential that Danish officials and their political masters – once it has been established what they want to achieve – craft a coordinated strategy with regard to how the accumulated goodwill and increased access to the American administration can be appropriately activated. Starting with an overview of the objectives and means, the strategy should thus be elaborated with input from all the relevant departments. Here it might be worthwhile considering whether the Foreign Ministry in its present structure and form offers the necessary capacity to meet such a task. Certainly a few of those we interviewed who had wide-ranging experience of several areas of the central administration indicated that a more strategic approach would require a new administrative entity to be established that had the competence to coordinate Denmark's US policy, among other things. This entity could, for example, be in the form of a national security advisor directly answerable to the prime minister.²⁶

Notes

- 1 Jens Ringsmose, Ph.D., Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science and Public Management, University of Southern Denmark. Anders Henriksen, Ph.D., Associate Professor at the Faculty of Law, University of Copenhagen.
- 2 Rynning, 2003.
- 3 Villaume, 1999: 56-57; Petersen, 2004.
- 4 Wivel, 2005.
- 5 Mouritzen, 2007.
- 6 See also Mouritzen, 2007: 160.
- 7 See also Mouritzen, 2007: 160.
- 8 See also Wivel, 2005: 417.
- 9 Petersen, 2004: 586.
- 10 See also www.belfasttobrussels.wordpress.com
- 11 House of Commons, 2010: 55.
- 12 Sir David Manning, House of Commons, 2010: 56.
- 13 Sir David Manning, House of Commons 2010: 22.
- 14 Nikolaj Petersen, 2009.
- 15 Petersen, 2009: 35.
- 16 House of Commons, 2010: 55-56.
- 17 House of Commons, 2010: 29-30.
- 18 Source: US Census Bureau; Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce.
- 19 US Department of State, 03.02.2006.
- 20 The White House, *Statement on US Condemnation of Embassy Burnings in Syria*, 04.02.2006.
- 21 House of Commons, 2010: 14.
- 22 House of Commons, 2010: 32.
- 23 DSG2008.
- 24 Interview with official from the British Ministry of Defence, 1 September 2011.
- 25 When we asked diplomats and officials with experience of the Bush administration about the extent to which Denmark could have achieved more in Washington, the majority of them responded in the same way, independently of one another: 'Yes, the Danish government might well have got more, but what more could it have wished for?'
- 26 See Breitenbauch (2008) for an analysis of Denmark's need for a national security advisor (and a national security strategy).

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Danish Domestic and Foreign Policy

**Address by Danish Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen
at his annual meeting with ambassadors in Denmark,
Copenhagen, 1 March 2011**

Ambassadors, Your Excellencies,

Thank you for coming today. I highly appreciate this opportunity to discuss with you the challenges facing Denmark today and issues on the international agenda. At our meeting 11 months ago, I made the point that that period was a particularly dynamic period in Danish politics with a very active debate, new initiatives being launched and lots of talk about elections on the horizon. It seems like not much has changed. I will focus on four main topics: 1) the economic agenda in Denmark, 2) developments in the EU, 3) the situation in the Middle East, and 4) Afghanistan.

Before I go through these points, let me briefly outline some of the key features of the context for Danish politics and our foreign policy priorities:

– In terms of the global economy, the international effort to return to a stable growth path continues in the G20 and elsewhere. The G20 has been effective in addressing the crisis. But the right balance between effectiveness and legitimacy and a workable link to the global institutions with universal membership have not yet been found.

– The economic recovery is gaining ground, yet Denmark and most Western countries are still experiencing growth rates that fall well below levels in Asia and other emerging economic centres. In short, we need to find a new foundation for our future prosperity. Exports are critical for Denmark and we must continue to push for free trade.

– We also need to push ahead with the transition to a green economy.

Just last week, my government took an important step with the launch of our Energy Strategy 2050 that lays a path to a low-carbon economy. And internationally, we need to make further progress on climate change, building on the positive result at COP16. And we must work for a successful and concrete outcome of Rio+20 in 2012.

– The EU is a vital framework for Denmark in terms of our economy and our possibilities to influence global affairs in the future. At the same time, Danish foreign and security policy remains firmly anchored in transatlantic cooperation and our deep-rooted partnership with the United States.

– Over the past year, we have been reminded that we are still faced with a very real threat from terrorism. And our engagement in Afghanistan – while undergoing transition – remains our top security policy priority.

– A central element in Denmark's active foreign policy will continue to be a strong and focused development assistance effort. We see this as a key instrument in promoting Danish values and interest. To ensure that we get the most out of our assistance and make a real difference, we must also be ready to focus on fewer countries and sectors.

– The most remarkable – and surprising – international developments are taking place as we speak in the Middle East and Northern Africa. It is too early to say where this will end. But there is no doubt there we are witnessing a fundamental, historic shift. This will have a profound impact on the lives and freedom of millions of people who until recently could not have hoped for such a change. It will also fundamentally change our own foreign policy towards this region and the way we support democracy and human rights. We have a responsibility to assist the people in their quest to create a better future. I expect that we will see a changing balance in the international community's engagement in the Middle East in favour of strengthened support for democracy, rule of law and human rights. This is a development that Denmark fully supports.

1) The Economic Challenge in Denmark

I will revert to the Middle East. But indeed the quest to create a better future also applies to the domestic context in Denmark. Like most other European countries, we face two fundamental economic challenges. Firstly, we have to consolidate our public finances after the crisis. In May last year, we passed a fiscal consolidation plan that ensures compliance with EU's recommendation and is a significant step towards reaching fiscal balance in 2015. However, looking beyond 2015, we are still faced with challenges. Secondly, we need to improve our long-term growth and employment potential through

forward-looking reforms. How to respond to these two challenges is the dominant theme in Danish politics at the moment.

The economic crisis worsened a number of challenges that were present even before the crisis hit us: Increasing global competition from the emerging economies and demographic changes have forced us to take a critical view of our productivity and growth potential. Otherwise we will not be able to sustain our welfare society that our populations take for granted.

The crisis has shown how fast the world's economic gravity is shifting towards the emerging markets. While most developed countries have experienced low or even negative growth, countries like China and India have had growth rates in the range of 8-10 pct. And now that we are back on a more stable, positive path, these countries are only accelerating their growth.

The growth of the emerging economies is a positive development as it will bring improved standards of living and new wealth to these countries. It will also act as an important engine for the global economy in the years to come. We must be ready to seize these opportunities.

However, it is also clear that the relative position of Europe and other Western countries in the global economy is under pressure. We must be realistic. We risk losing influence. This underlines that business as usual is not a viable path for us. The truth is that we face tough competition in all parts of the value-chain, including innovation, research and development. To address this, my government has proposed a wide range of reforms. A few examples:

- Primary school reform to ensure better results through clear national goals and more freedom to schools and teachers.
- Using our state education grant scheme more proactively to encourage students to complete their studies and start working.
- Increasing competition in different sectors and improving public-private cooperation in delivering welfare services. We are strengthening the market for venture capital up to 10 billion DKK in a public-private partnership – with a focus on small and medium sized enterprises.
- Reforming disability pensions and flexi-job schemes.
- And paving the way for a society fully independent from fossil fuels – built on renewables. We have set the goal that Denmark should be among the three leading countries in the world with regard to energy efficiency and renewables by 2020. As mentioned, just last week we announced the first national strategy in the world on how to become fully independent of fossil fuels by 2050.

Another important challenge is to increase work supply: Today only 50 pct. of Danes in the working age actually work. Last year, we reduced the

duration of unemployment benefit from 4 to 2 years. And in my New Year's speech, I launched the proposal to phase out our voluntary early retirement pension scheme ['Efterlønnen']. The purpose of these reforms is to increase our work supply while also contributing to sound public finances.

As you know, reforming our early retirement scheme is politically extremely sensitive in Denmark. My proposal has been hotly debated over the past months and it will no doubt be a centrepiece in the upcoming election campaign. But I am fully convinced that it is the right thing to do in the current situation with limited public resources for core welfare services and falling labour supply due to demographic changes.

A central part of my government's growth and employment strategy is our national Growth Forum. We asked the Forum to address a number of the fundamental challenges:

- 1) Competitiveness. How do we ensure that Denmark can continue to be able to develop, produce and sell products that are competitive internationally? In recent years, our wages have risen more than in comparable countries, whereas our productivity growth is lower than most other OECD-countries.
- 2) Education. Denmark needs to improve the quality of its education system – not least our primary school system. And we must ensure that a higher share of young people receive a qualifying education.
- 3) Competition. Competition is weak in Denmark, as only a small part of the economy is exposed to foreign competition. Increased competition can open the productivity potential of both the private and public sector.
- 4) Green growth. To take advantage of the dramatic global increase in the demand for green technology, we need to continue to invest for the long-term in research, innovation and development in this field. Danish companies have a strong global position but the competition is getting tougher, not least from emerging economies. There is no room for complacency.

The work of the Growth Forum is coming to an end. I have asked the Forum to summarize their main proposals on how to take action to support growth. Later this month, the Forum will present a final strategy on how to prepare our economy for the future. The strategy will contain a number of recommendations with extensive reforms in education, the labour market and competition as well as proposals for substantial improvements in the framework conditions for growth and innovation in all areas of society.

We have made it through the economic crisis in a better shape than we could have feared when the crisis hit. I was reminded of this when I took part in the World Economic Forum in Davos a few months ago. The organizers had made the Nordic model a key theme and asked the Nordic leaders to share our experiences and views on how we have handled the crisis. I made the argument that a key feature of the Danish model was our willingness to adapt to changing circumstances.

There is confidence in the Danish economy. However, this has only been achieved through a willingness to make the hard choices and consolidate our public finances. And we need to continue to take on the necessary reforms.

There are no easy solutions or quick fixes. In my view, a sustainable growth policy for Denmark must build on these five basic elements: 1) sound public finances, 2) sufficient labour supply for our private companies, 3) a strong education system, 4) more competition and 5) an efficient public sector. This is the course we must take if we are to maintain the trust in our economy and create a long-term basis for growth, employment and prosperity.

The opposition in Denmark is taking a different approach and – in my view – has yet to provide concrete and specific answers to these fundamental challenges. We will no doubt continue to debate this intensely in the election to come.

2) The European Agenda

Denmark's central economic challenges also have a strong international and European dimension. Throughout the last year, we have witnessed a severe debt crisis in Europe. Several countries found themselves unable to access financial markets on normal terms because public debt and deficits had grown out of control. The EU has tackled the crisis through determined and common action:

- Vulnerable countries have been helped through large-scale loan packages.
- We are in the process of establishing a permanent crisis mechanism that will kick in when the temporary mechanism expires in 2013.
- We have strengthened the EU's Stability and Growth Pact to create better incentives for budget discipline.
- And last but not least: All governments have committed themselves to delivering the necessary fiscal consolidation and structural reforms.

Although Denmark is not a member of the Euro-zone, I strongly welcome all of these decisions. Financial stability is in the interests of all 27 member states. We need an effective European safety net that can help vulnerable countries in the future. And we need strong decisions at both the

European and the national level to ensure that we do not need to activate this safety net in the first place.

The debt crisis is strongly linked to the other important challenge that Europe faces – speeding up growth and job-creation. Europe urgently needs to increase its competitiveness and growth potential in view of the increased competition from emerging markets and demographic challenges.

For this reason I strongly welcome the new initiative to strengthen co-ordination of our economic policies through a so-called ‘Competitiveness Pact’. And again: This challenge is shared by all 27 member states – not just the Euro-zone. With its focus on labour market reforms, retirement age, competition and sustainable public finances, the initiative is clearly in line with my government’s domestic reform agenda. At the same time, we must further develop the internal market and remove remaining barriers that hinder our consumers and businesses from reaping the full benefits. As a small and open economy, Denmark has a strong interest in free trade – in Europe as well as globally.

The aftermath of the debt crisis will no doubt set the frame in 2012 when Denmark takes over the EU Presidency. We intend to use the crisis to make the EU stronger. We will work to ensure that the EU achieves the long-term policy goals for 2020 – not least on jobs and growth, climate change and energy.

Our national priorities for the Presidency have not yet been decided. But there is a range of challenges with long-term implications which will need to be tackled on our watch. The negotiations on the multiannual financial frameworks will be a key task for our Presidency. We will do everything we can to move the negotiations forward. But there will of course also be other priorities, for example further developing the internal market.

On the Danish opt-outs, my government’s position is clear: we see them as harmful to our interests in the EU. The current discussion on the ‘Competitiveness Pact’, which is mainly taking place among euro-countries, clearly illustrates this.

3) The Situation in the Middle East and Northern Africa

The European Union can and should also be a key actor in supporting the current developments in the Middle East. History is being written in the region right now. People have taken to the streets to express their legitimate demands for political and economic reform. The recent developments in Egypt and Tunisia fill us with a sense of hope that these countries have chosen a road towards change and democracy. This gives us grounds for cautious optimism.

In many places, the legitimate aspirations of the people have been met by brutal violence. The situation in Libya is extremely worrisome, and I condemn in the strongest terms the completely unacceptable display of violence that we have witnessed. We must all continue to condemn this in the clearest possible manner and call for the violence to stop now. Denmark welcomes the speedy and historic reaction by the Security Council. The resolution adopted on Sunday sends a very strong message to Colonel Qaddafi and his associates. A message that the international community is unified and is prepared to take action and hold the leadership accountable. The referral of jurisdiction over crimes committed in Libya to the International Criminal Court is very important in this regard. We also welcome the Security Council's underlining of the Libyan authorities' responsibility to protect its population.

I am satisfied that the EU already yesterday (28 February 2011) decided to impose sanctions that go further than those adopted by the Security Council, including by imposing an embargo against equipment which might be used for internal repression.

It is up to the Libyan people to determine their future leadership. It seems clear that Qaddafi, through the actions that he has taken, has lost all legitimacy as the leader of Libya and it is hard to see that Libya's future can continue to be tied to him.

The stability of the Middle East is vitally important to global peace and security. It also directly impacts the global economy as we are seeing now with the increasing oil prices. In Europe, we are directly affected due to our geographic proximity. But first and foremost, the people of the Middle East deserve a peaceful and prosperous region.

We have a clear, mutual interest and a shared responsibility to support the people's aspirations for freedom and democracy and respect for their rights. The EU should do its utmost to assist: We are committed to a new partnership with more effective support to the countries that are pursuing political and economic reform. On a bilateral level, Denmark will continue to foster dialogue and assist civil society through our Partnership for Dialogue and Reform. And we will find additional funds to strengthen civil society and support the people who are pursuing democracy and human rights in the region.

The Arab world and Europe share a long history. There is no denying that some chapters in this history have been dark; yet we have also learned immensely from each other and will continue to do so in the years to come. In these times of momentous changes in the region, there is an opportunity

for us to work more closely together. Seizing these new opportunities for cooperation to achieve progress and economic development was a clear message from a dinner I attended at the World Economic Forum in Davos with Arab business leaders.

Let me conclude my remarks on the Middle East by touching on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This remains a source of tension and an obstacle to prosperity and progress. It is crucially important that we draw the right conclusions from the events unfolding in Egypt, Tunisia and other countries in the Middle East. Rather than pulling back from efforts to restart the peace process, we need to push even harder for an urgent return to negotiations. Time waits for no one.

The two parties have a long way to go. They must commit to a future to the benefit of all. In Europe, we insist on not letting opportunities for peace fade away. We cannot afford it; the Palestinians and the Israelis cannot afford it.

4) Afghanistan

I will end with Afghanistan which remains a key priority for us.

As you may all know, just last week we succeeded in reaching broad political agreement on a two-year plan for Denmark's engagement for 2011-2012 with a view towards 2014. The so-called Helmand Plan 2011. I am very satisfied that we have maintained the wide political support for our engagement. It shows that Denmark is a committed and engaged ally – and a responsible member of the international community. And I know for a fact that this is also very important to the Danish soldiers in Afghanistan.

The overall ambition of the plan is to create the foundations for a sustainable handover of responsibility for security to the Afghans in 2014. This requires progress not just in the area of security but also on governance and development. Our agreement addresses all three areas.

On security, the agreement entails a gradual adjustment of the Danish engagement in the Helmand Province over the coming two years towards training, support and education of the Afghan security forces. The military adjustments and the gradual reductions will be initiated now. All in all, we will reduce our troop contribution from approximately 750 to approximately 650 over the next two years. According to the plan, Denmark will no longer have combat units in Afghanistan by 2014. We are also increasing Danish support for training of the Afghan police. In fact, we will double Danish police training efforts in Helmand. The Danish police training effort has generated considerable praise internationally. This is something we are very proud of!

As for governance and development, Afghanistan remains one of the least developed countries in the world, and there is a great need for long-term assistance to the country. Denmark's development assistance to Afghanistan will be increased by 100 million DKK over the next two years. Our overall assistance will thus reach approximately 500 million DKK, making Afghanistan the second largest recipient of Danish assistance.

Our assistance will remain focused on three areas: state building, improvement of livelihoods and education. In addition, we will do more within the areas of women's rights and the rule of law. Both are key areas for the development of Afghanistan.

Let me end by stressing that Denmark is committed for the long term in Afghanistan. With our partners, we will remain engaged long after 2014 to assist Afghanistan on its path to development, stability, peace and reconciliation.

Thank you for your attention. I look forward to our discussion.

Opening speech by Danish Minister for Development Cooperation Søren Pind at Danida Business Day, 5 April 2011

Distinguished presenters and colleagues from abroad, ladies and gentlemen,

Welcome to Danida Business Day. Today, this yearly event is record breaking in terms of the number of participants and interest. It is great to see so many people seeking to learn more about Danish development cooperation. I hope this interest reflects that you – the Danish business community – more than ever are eager to seek new business opportunities and interested in being part of the solution to the urgent problems, which the developing countries are facing.

During the past decades, development assistance has been seen as mainly an act of solidarity, a moral imperative and even an entitlement. This approach is over. Development assistance is an investment. It is about supporting our partners in creating tangible results, enabling ultimately developing countries to take care of themselves without development assistance.

Two weeks ago I visited Tunisia, the country where pro-democracy demonstrations began. The will for change has since then been sweeping through the Arab world. In fact it all began here with a young man setting fire at himself because he was deprived his sales wagon, and simply had had enough. This story says it all. People in developing countries, just like the rest of us, want their basic freedom to form their own lives. Freedom to make their voice heard and freedom to earn a living. In Zimbabwe, about a year ago on my first visit in office as minister for development cooperation, I was overwhelmed by a woman who desperately explained ‘Now we cannot even sell our tomatoes on the street’. She felt exactly the same frustration as the young

Tunisian who sparked the demonstrations we now see in the Arab world.

Danish development policy takes its outset in a focus on political and economic freedom for the individual. It is my clear belief that the human being has an inherent will to overcome problems. Some only needs a helping hand. Like all of us here today, poor people want basic human rights, dignity, jobs and freedom to shape their own destiny.

About two years ago the Africa Commission presented recommendations with focus on the need to enhance private sector-led growth and employment for young Africans. The Africa Commission's focus on the need for creating employment for the large youth cohorts in Africa and private sector led growth marked a shift in relation to the international agenda for official development assistance, and hit a nerve in the international debate. I see this in my collaboration with ministers for development cooperation in the EU. In my collaboration with African leaders. And growth and employment is also on the top of the agenda of the Obama administration.

This new development agenda is consolidated in the Danish Government's strategy for development cooperation: 'Freedom from Poverty – Freedom to Change', which I launched last year in May. It makes clear that Danish development assistance only shall be a sort of initial kick-start or helping hand. It shall push things forward. Create initiative, be demand-driven and be based on local ownership. The success criteria being that development assistance becomes superfluous. The recommendations of the Africa Commission have in particular influenced one of the strategy's five priority areas, namely 'Growth and Employment'. The tools and approaches we will utilize the coming years to transfer strategy into actual actions is further described in our new strategic framework for Growth and Employment, available in hard copy here today.

This strategic framework reflects that we more than ever have focus on supporting private sector led growth at various levels, where the primary engine is Danida's business sector programme. For instance providing access to finance, strengthening dialogue between the public and private sector, supporting development of more effective tax systems to the benefit of the entire society, improving business license registrations or training activities for farmers.

In the coming years, business sector programmes in Ghana and Kenya will have increased focus on supporting value chain developments, innovation and green technology, while the Growth programme in Uganda focus on economic development in rural areas. This year we will introduce a new private sector programme in Mozambique, and furthermore we have ideas lined up for adjustment of agricultural programmes in Burkina Faso and Bangladesh to

become more focused on supporting agro-business value chains.

Recently, on a visit to Kenya, I had the opportunity to visit the production site of a company managed by a young female entrepreneur, who exports to COOP Denmark and thus provide us Danes with sugar snaps. This visit strengthened my belief that we are moving in the right direction. Sector programme support has helped her improve production methods, quality standards and management of out growers making it possible to qualify for and manage exports to Europe. The view of numerous women working in a production facility as clean as a laboratory – I must in fact have looked ridiculous wearing hairnet! – cheerful, making profits and having improved the quality of life in their families made me happy.

Development assistance can of course not in itself generate sufficient economic growth and employment. Trade and commercial investments in developing countries are crucial to sustain and bring forward the positive developments that new growth economies past few years have experienced despite the financial crisis.

As a liberal politician, it will come as no surprise that I am a strong supporter of economic integration and free markets. Free markets create wealth by spurring competition and forcing the private sector to constantly be more innovative and effective. Some researchers question if trade liberalization and free markets are right for Africa. I would argue that they are not only right – they are a necessity if the private sector in Africa is to survive increased global competition.

The customs union already implemented in East Africa has shown that liberalisation works in Africa. Internal trade has increased tremendously and jobs have been created. Furthermore, a market of 133 million consumers is also much more interesting to foreign investors and traders – including Danish.

This brings me to focus on the role of Danish companies. You are the primary target of today's conference and networking. We must in new ways include private companies and where possible in collaboration with civil society organizations and research institutions in our efforts to create growth and jobs in developing countries. Why? Because you possess knowledge, technology and experience – from knowledge about energy efficiency to requirements and standards within responsible business practices – that can help unleash the potential among young entrepreneurs. More than ever, Danida means business. Danida is focused on supporting local companies' access to new technology and innovation and efforts to create value addition locally. And what is in it for you? New market opportunities and profitable business in the longer run.

Several participants here today have already contributed with technology transfer, investments and training of local companies and partners in developing countries. And have not least proven to implement responsible business behaviour to the benefit of local companies' competitiveness, working environment and local communities. Concrete results with an impact both you and I can be proud of.

To strengthen experienced and new actors' engagement and investments, we are in the process of modernizing our existing Danida business instruments. The framework for the new Danida Business will be described later today. Let me therefore just mention that key words for the modernization are: Simplification, flexibility, innovative approaches, regional projects and stronger focus on the commercial viability. Today is an excellent opportunity for me to encourage you – companies, investors, NGOs and research institutions – to soon make use of our modernized Danida Business Partnerships and Finance.

In line with my introductory argument about providing a 'helping hand' to the individual in poor countries, the Danida Business instruments are similarly a 'helping hand' to reduce initial risks and facilitate investments and partnerships. If companies are too dependent on the financial support from Danida, then we will not deliver long-term results. We must be able to demonstrate value for money, both to the receivers and the senders, the tax payers that is. If the potential is clear, I trust you are willing to take risks and invest in developing countries – the growth markets on the move.

We, Danida and our GoGlobal partners, stand ready to do our part in the push forward to realize this potential. By broadly engaging more Danish companies, NGOs, research institutions and organizations in the process of transforming strategy into action, we will be in a better position to fight poverty through inclusive economic growth and employment generation.

From a business perspective, this is the right time. Africa's potential has never been greater. Sub-Saharan Africa has had faster economic growth than India over the past decade, and is projected to grow faster than Brazil between 2010 and 2015. And Africa is the region in the world that provides the largest returns on investments. Are all of you aware of these figures?!

I believe that Africa in 50 years from now will be a global economic super power. I trust that our distinguished guests from OECD and Dalberg in a moment will confirm in more detail that growth rates and potential on these new markets are unmistakable.

Thank you.

Speech by Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs and Chair of the Arctic Council Lene Espersen at a conference on the Arctic and the climate arranged by Aarhus University, the University of Copenhagen and the Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme (AMAP) under the Arctic Council, Frederiksberg, 6 May 2011

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a great privilege for me as Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Denmark and as the Chair of the Arctic Council to present today our views and policies on one of the most important topics that policymakers, scientists and NGOs are facing: the Arctic.

All here are engaged with the Arctic – in various roles. You are the scientists producing the knowledge upon which we – the politicians – have to act, if we want to achieve the best possible outcome for our societies. I will be inspired by your conclusions no doubt – and in return I will provide you with my reflections on the Arctic as the region stands today.

In the last few years we have been taught that the Arctic is a region experiencing very rapid changes and that these changes primarily are caused by climate change and as you know more than anybody else – this is the reality today. And these rapid changes will continue to alter the conditions for economic activity – such as shipping, tourism and the extraction of natural resources – but climate change will also have a strong impact on the environment and the living conditions for the indigenous peoples and other inhabitants of the Arctic.

Consequently, the Arctic is being placed higher and higher on the agenda not only in the Arctic States themselves, but also among many other countries that have acknowledged the profound potential of a more accessible Arctic. Thus, we have noticed an increasing interest from such diverse partners as the European Union, China, Japan and South Korea – only to mention a few. But changes not only lead to interest – it can also lead to confusion, and I have experienced several examples of media hype, where what is reported, is miles away from the truth.

But Ladies and Gentlemen – let me start by addressing what is at stake in the Arctic. In very broad terms, we have one pivotal and overriding issue: Global warming. Rising temperatures – estimated to between 2 and 3.5 degree Celsius since 1970 – has an enormous impact on the indigenous peoples in the Arctic. On the one hand, it will lead to opportunities – such as extraction of natural resources and increased tourism – but on the other hand, it will also influence the traditional way of life in the region as animals hunted by local communities may alter their patterns of migration when the ice and snow continues to melt. Permafrost will melt and that will have a destabilizing effect on housing and infrastructure in local communities in the Arctic, and it will also increase erosion along the coasts.

You might then ask: With all these changes in the Arctic, is it not only a matter of time before the region becomes a hotly contested issue at international meetings and the whole thing descends into controversy and competing interests? The short answer is – No. And let me elaborate a little, why the answer is no. The Arctic region is subject to the sovereignty and sovereign rights of the individual Arctic states within their respective territories and exclusive economic zones. Beyond that, on the high seas, international law applies, in particular UNCLOS, as it does everywhere else in the world. The fact that international law applies to the Arctic area has some significant consequences, which I will summarize like this:

There is no need to formulate something similar to the Antarctic Treaty regime. The Arctic is an ocean, whereas the Antarctic is solid landmass and that is an important difference. Furthermore, the Arctic region is inhabited by people, which is not the case in the Antarctic, where we find the king penguin as the primary inhabitant. It is not polite to try to impose international treaties on people living in sovereign states. It is in specific sector areas, where we need additional legal definitions. Areas like the management of resources, the protection of the environment and international safety regulations for shipping. But we do not need some kind of overarching and general frame-

work for the governance of the Arctic. We have the basic foundation for a peaceful and sustainable evolution of the Arctic, and we should focus our energy on using this existing platform to build a promising future for this region. This brings me to the question of how Denmark addresses the Arctic issue at the international level.

First and foremost, we do this through the Arctic Council, the 'Arctic5' format and through bilateral consultations and agreements. The Arctic Council is the preeminent forum to address Arctic issues at the international level. Currently, the Kingdom of Denmark holds the Chairmanship of the Council and our Chairmanship will conclude at a Ministerial Meeting in Nuuk on 12 May – only 6 days from now. We took over as Chair of the Council in April 2009 and together with our predecessor as Chair – Norway – and Sweden that will succeed us, we have developed a joint platform for the period 2006-2013. And this platform will enable us to add consistency to the work of the Council and increase our ability to look beyond the term of our own chairmanship.

Let me briefly highlight a few of Denmark's key priorities for the Arctic Council during our Chairmanship:

- Our first priority has been the peoples of the Arctic. We are trying to strengthen data collection across boundaries to better learn how environmental and climatic changes influence the peoples of the Arctic.

- The Council has also contributed to an increasing interaction between traditional knowledge in local communities and scientific research.

- Under the Danish Chairmanship, the Arctic Council has also been promoting cooperation and information sharing between different national authorities that support the way of life of indigenous people. As a concrete example, Greenland and Denmark hosted the first ever Arctic Health Ministers Meeting in Nuuk this February.

- Our second priority has been the Environment and climate. The Arctic Council is building on the legacy of the International Polar Year (IPY) in an attempt to improve the understanding of the rapid changes going on in the Arctic, and what the consequences are of these changes locally, regionally and globally. Throughout the Danish chairmanship, we have worked to ensure that the results of the International Polar Year are integrated into the work of the Council.

- In relation to climate change, the Arctic plays an important role for the global climate system. During the climate summit in Copenhagen – the COP15 – the Danish Chairmanship – on behalf of the Arctic Council –

delivered solid scientific reports to the summit that highlighted the global consequences of Arctic melting, and we called for a global agreement on addressing climate change.

– Our third priority is integrated resource management, where the Arctic Council is pursuing guidelines for the safest possible extraction of natural resources.

– And finally, as a fourth priority, we are continuously advancing the operational cooperation on the new challenges facing the Arctic. Among the Arctic States – and with full consultation with the indigenous peoples – we share the lessons learnt on diverse issues such as tourism, shipping and marine safety.

A very concrete example of this operational cooperation is the increasing accessibility of the Arctic. As the ice melts – and as it will continue to melt – we can expect a human activity boom in the future. We are likely to see big ships, including cruise ships with thousands of passengers, going further and further north into the Arctic with the inevitable risk of a severe accident happening at some point. This is an imminent challenge, and one that we consequently must prepare for right away without any delay.

In 2009, The Arctic Council established a Task Force with the mandate of negotiating a legally binding agreement among the Arctic States for Search and Rescue operations in the Arctic. I am happy to say that during the Danish Chairmanship of the Arctic Council, the negotiations have progressed according to plan, and we are ready to sign the agreement at the Ministerial Meeting in May. I am convinced that the Search and Rescue agreement will only be the first of many more similar agreements aimed at addressing the new challenges in the Arctic. The agreements will also help to underscore the stewardship role of the Arctic Council.

But the Search and Rescue agreement is not the only piece of news coming out of the Arctic Council during the Danish Chairmanship. We are also negotiating a package aimed at strengthening the Arctic Council, which we hope to adopt at the Ministerial Meeting. The Member States with the approval of organisations representing the indigenous peoples have agreed to strengthen the effectiveness and efficiency of the Arctic Council in order to be adequately prepared for the new and different future in the Arctic.

I will not burden you with the details, but just mention three key elements in the package. They are: [1] The establishment of a permanent secretariat financed by all Arctic States, [2] stronger decisions to address emerging issues as mentioned before and [3] the question of observers, including their

role in the Council, the criteria for granting observer status and identifying who the future observers will be. We hope to reach a balanced agreement in Nuuk on all these issues.

Let me then move on to another forum for international discussions on Arctic issues and that is the ad hoc meetings between the Arctic Ocean Coastal States – the so-called Arctic Five, which are Canada, Denmark, Norway, Russia and the United States. The first meeting was held in Ilulissat, Greenland, in 2008, at the initiative of my predecessor as Foreign Minister and the Premier of Greenland, Kuupik Kleist.

The objective of the meeting was to show the rest of the world that the five Arctic coastal states will work within multilateral structures to solve potential disagreements. The meeting was a great success, and the declaration of the meeting – the Ilulissat Declaration – is often referred to as one of the most important documents concerning Arctic cooperation and rightly so. In the declaration, the coastal states reconfirmed their commitment to existing treaties – such as UNCLOS – that also entail a commitment to solve issues on demarcation, better protection of the Arctic marine environment and the freedom of navigation and marine scientific research. At the initiative of the Canadian Foreign Minister, a follow-up meeting was arranged in Ottawa in March 2010, and here, the Ilulissat Declaration was reaffirmed as the key document in the joint relationship among the Arctic Ocean Coastal States.

I have often been asked what the difference is between the Arctic Council – where all the eight Arctic States and indigenous peoples participate – and the Arctic Five? My answer has always been that meetings in the Arctic Five should only address issues of exclusive competence for the coastal states – first of all delineation of the Continental Shelf. Those issues that also involve the other Arctic States and the indigenous peoples should be discussed in the Arctic Council. I believe that this is a fair division of labour that more or less explains itself.

Furthermore, I can inform that my ministry is currently drafting an Arctic strategy for the Kingdom of Denmark. It is being developed jointly between the three parts of the Kingdom: Denmark, the Faroe Islands and Greenland, and it will mainly serve as a tool for how we strategically address the challenges and opportunities in the Arctic during the next 10 years. The strategy is expected to be finalized and made public in June 2011, and it is expected to include all the most pertinent issues in relation to the current developments in the Arctic region.

But the changes taking place in the Arctic is also discussed at length in the

agreement on Denmark's military defence from 2010 until 2014, which the Government concluded with the main opposition parties in June 2009. While surveillance and exercise of sovereignty are currently the tasks for the Danish military forces in the area, many other government tasks which are more civilian in nature, are also performed by the defence forces. This include the civilian coast guard, search and rescue operations, fishery inspections, protection of the maritime environment, and tasks related to mapping of the seabed. The Danish Government is also investing a lot of our resources in the work of the International Maritime Organisation – the IMO – in order to develop a new Polar Code for safety regulations in the shipping industry. A Polar Code should include rules on special requirements for ship construction that enable ships to resist the pressure of sea ice. They should also require ships to carry equipment designed for operating in the Arctic, and require them only to have well-qualified crews on board, when they sail in Arctic waters. The establishment of an IMO Polar Code will be crucial, because it will de facto become the new 'constitution' for shipping in the Polar Regions.

Coming to the conclusion of my speech today, I would like to say a few words on what the future looks like for the Arctic. The former Secretary General of the UN, Kofi Annan, once said that to argue against globalisation is like arguing against gravity. One is, of course, welcome to do it, but globalisation is taking place, whether we like it or not. The same holds true with regard to the wide-ranging changes taking place in the Arctic region. Whether we like them or not, the changes are taking place and will continue to do so at an even faster pace in the future. One of the main tasks for me – and my colleagues in the Arctic States – will therefore be to ensure that the international community fulfil its obligations and honours its responsibility for managing this part of the world.

There is no problem with the management and governance of the region, as some seem to believe. We must continue to put forward this message in all relevant fora and continue to demonstrate firm stewardship, a clear sense of responsibility and a strong determination to act when necessary. I have tried to do so today, and I will do it again when I meet my colleagues in Nuuk 6 days from now.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, coming to a close and on the important note of the need for more effective international co-operation and stronger common effort with regard to the Arctic region, I will provide you with a famous fable from a Russian poet called Ivan Krylov. It goes like this:

*Once a crayfish, a swan and a pike set out to pull a wagon,
And all together they settled in their traces;
They pulled with all their might, but still the wagon refused to budge.
The load it seemed was not too much for them;
Yet the crayfish kept crawling backwards, the swan headed for the sky, and the
pike moved towards the sea.
Who is guilty here and who is right – that is not for us to say;
But the wagon is still there today.*

Thank you.

The Arab Spring

Speech by Danish Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen
at a hearing in the Foreign Policy Committee of the Danish
Parliament, Copenhagen, 25 May 2011

The Foreign Policy Committee of the Danish Parliament,
Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen,

Thank you for inviting me to this highly topical debate on the Arab Spring. Democracy is a universal good. Democracy responds to the universal aspirations of participation, justice and dignity. For many years, autocrats have sneered at our support for democracy and human rights and asked us not to meddle in their internal affairs. They have argued that democracy is not the right model for their region or their culture.

However, it now turns out that the populations in North Africa and the Middle East actually strive for this model. They strive for freedom. They strive for democracy. They strive for playing their role in shaping their own country's destiny. Democracy is not a concept made only for Western societies. The recent events in North Africa and the Middle East certainly confirm this.

Since the beginning of this year, we have witnessed dramatic changes in North Africa and the Middle East. Changes that are truly historic. Changes that nobody could have predicted just a few months ago. The brave people demonstrating against repressive regimes have surprised international observers, their own governments – and perhaps even themselves! The call for change has affected every country in the region. Governments have had to react to the demands of their own people, and to react to dramatic events in neighbouring countries. No Arab country has been left untouched by the

so-called Arab Spring. This is a truly historic development that cannot and will not be rolled back.

In the region, reactions to the protests have been very diverse. In my opinion we see two main roads unfolding in the region. Firstly, a road marked by repression or extremism. Secondly, a road marked by a transition towards democracy. The first road is dark. In Libya, we have seen Gaddafi's forces using a frightening level of violence against protesters and oppositional forces. I am therefore very pleased that the Danish Parliament was able to obtain a consensus across the political spectrum to join the international engagement in Libya. The aim is to end violence against civilians and to ensure access to humanitarian aid. At the same time, we support the Libyan people's right to self-determination and a development that can lead to a sustainable, peaceful, undivided and democratic future for Libya.

In Syria, Yemen and Bahrain protests and demonstrations were also met with violence. In Bahrain a Danish citizen, Abdullah Al-Khawaja, has been imprisoned for weeks. There have been reports that he has been tortured, which must be condemned. Therefore, the Danish government has been actively engaged in his case. Regardless of how the situation evolves in all of these countries, it is clear that repression does not solve the problems. It simply postpones the eventual need to deal with the underlying political and social issues raised by the protesters. I therefore call on the leaders in these countries to see through the necessary reforms. The second road is that of democracy: In Tunisia and Egypt, the presidents stepped down, paving the way for transitions. Denmark and the EU must seize this enormous chance and fully support the transition processes – also to minimise the risk of set-backs.

The massive protests in North Africa and the Middle East were inspired by universal aspirations. But there is no doubt they were also triggered by the widespread socio-economic discontent. First and foremost, the Arab Spring is a call for democracy and freedom. But it is also very much a call for jobs and a better life.

Economic growth is key to a peaceful transition to democracy. At the World Economic Forum earlier this year I had the chance to discuss the economic perspective of the Middle East with a number of distinguished business representatives. Indeed, the markets of the Middle East seem to have overcome the global financial crisis better than many others. We must make the most of this positive economic development, which is clearly in the mutual interest of Europe and the countries in the region.

Yet, we must also be realistic: The widespread demonstrations have exacerbated the social and economic problems that characterise many of the

countries in the region. Revolutions are not necessarily free of charge: We could very well end up in a situation, where protests could aggravate the very problems that triggered these protests in the first place.

Where does this leave our relationship with the Southern Neighbours? Europe has always believed that well-developed neighbours are good neighbours. In the case of the Arab world, we have given priority to supporting reform and progress. And we intend to step up our efforts: The EU should promote easier market access for agricultural produce. The private sector should be a vehicle for stimulating economic development and creating new jobs.

As a general principle, we must make sure that our cooperation with the countries in the region is designed to encourage democracy and reform. It should be based on merit. This is a strong Danish priority. Allow me to also make a couple of remarks on the Middle East peace process. I strongly believe that solving the conflict between Israel and Arabs would have a very positive influence on the region. It would open up vast new opportunities in the Middle East and for the Middle East – and for Europe herself – politically and economically.

I welcome president Obama's recent statement on the Israeli-Arab peace process, including that the borders of Israel and Palestine should be based on the 1967 lines with mutually agreed swaps. This has also been the EU's policy, and in my view it constitutes a solid point of departure for the two parties' peace negotiations.

Recent developments in the Middle East indicate that democratic forces are strengthened by political and economic integration. Civil societies in our part of the world cooperate with like-minded civil societies of the Arab world. Globalization has to a great extent expanded exchanges across borders and regions.

No one can argue that these aspirations for democracy, social justice and human dignity are not universal. Today, it is more difficult for autocrats to maintain the make-belief that their particular situation does not lend itself to democracy. Yet, it is clear that democracy cannot be imported from the outside, it has to grow from within to be sustainable.

One of the cornerstones of my government's dealing with the Arab World is the Partnership for Dialogue and Reform Programme. It aims to build partnerships and promote trust, understanding and reform through dialogue. More than 220 Danish civil society organisations and public institutions and 400 Arab partners have been engaged in these professional partnerships. As a matter of fact, a number of our Arab partners have bravely

spearheaded the demonstrations we have witnessed lately. These are young people, representatives from human rights organizations, academics, journalists and many others.

Moreover, earlier this year, a Freedom Initiative was launched by my government, supporting the freedom movements in the Arab World. We work closely with partners to support good governance, human rights, growth and employment as well as the strengthening of civil society. A transition process leading to democracy is not necessarily smooth sailing. Some countries will embark on a clear process towards democracy. Some will enter a more prolonged process, where they will only slowly progress from authoritarian rule. And some, unfortunately, will experience set-backs.

I firmly believe that by promoting people's rights to organize, to express views and to formulate demands to governments and authorities, we are helping to build democracy. Denmark and the EU stand ready to support the forces of democracy and reform. If these do not prevail, I fear that more radical forces will gain influence. That would, in effect, be replacing one repressive regime by another. The road towards democracy may be bumpy, but I am convinced that the people in the region that have chosen this road have made the right choice.

Thank you for your attention.

Danish Foreign Policy

Speech by Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs Lene Espersen at a reception for the Diplomatic Corps, 14 June 2011

Distinguished Ambassadors and Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

A warm welcome to all of you. I am pleased to see that so many have been able to come here today. It is a great pleasure for me to see so many familiar faces. Last year, when we had our first joint meeting here at Eigtveds Pakhus, I said that my ambition as a newly appointed foreign minister was to get to know you and begin an open and regular dialogue with you. I haven't been able to meet all of you yet, but I can see that I am almost there. I feel fairly certain that I will be able to declare 'mission accomplished', when we meet next year.

And speaking of next year, let me begin today by bringing you up to speed with our preparations for what happens on January first. As you know, on this day, Denmark will assume the Presidency of the European Union. It will be the seventh time that we assume the presidency, since we joined the European Economic Community in 1973. From previous experience, we know that a successful presidency requires a clear sense of purpose, a tremendous amount of diplomatic footwork and an ability to lead from the front in order to achieve the political results that Europe needs. In contrast to last time, when Denmark had the EU Presidency in 2002, there will not be one big, overarching priority this time like the EU enlargement was back then. The Danish Presidency next year will focus on several issues of various scope and importance within a long list of policy areas. But before I go into the priorities for our up-coming Presidency, I have something urgent to tell you. It concerns the customs control agreement that is receiving a lot of media

attention at the moment with many misunderstandings.

The agreement was concluded on the 11th of May, and it is part of a larger package of initiatives aimed at combating crime inside Denmark. I would like to use this occasion to underline in the clearest possible terms that this customs control agreement will be implemented in full conformity with Denmark's obligations under EU law and Schengen. The agreement is not about old-fashioned border control of persons and passports – what could be called 'pre-Schengen'. It is solely about customs control and it is narrowly focused on enhancing our surveillance of illegal goods and items such as drugs and weapons. It has nothing to do with the control of persons and passports. I hope that we together will be able to get this message across in the international media more clearly, and if you have any questions regarding the agreement, don't hesitate to ask them during our Q and A here today after Søren and I have spoken. But let there be no doubt whatsoever that Denmark remains a firm supporter of a strong European co-operation with well-functioning EU institutions. This has been the case since 1973, and it will also be our point of departure for Denmark's EU Presidency next year.

I would like to mention two of the key priorities for our Presidency. First of all, getting tangible progress towards a budget deal will take up a major part of our agenda. The next multiannual financial framework for the EU will cover a seven year period starting from 2013, so it will be up to the Danish presidency to ensure that sufficient groundwork is made during the first six months of 2012 for a deal to be clinched in the second half of the year. By their nature, budget negotiations in the EU are never easy. This time around, however, we must – and I repeat must – obtain meaningful reform in key areas like the common agricultural policy and cohesion policy. At the same time, I am fully aware that this won't be easy given the current political context in Europe, where several Member States are facing financial hardship. Needless to say, the Danish Presidency will do everything in its power to pave the way for an EU budget that points to the future. A budget for the future means that we channel more money to areas that can help drive economic growth and create new jobs in Europe. Areas like research, green technologies, energy efficiency and education. Growth and jobs is a matter of urgency for Europe right now, and the Danish Presidency will treat it accordingly.

As our second key priority, the Danish EU Presidency will be relentless in pursuing an agreement among the 27 Member States on modernising the Single Market, while we celebrate its 20 years of success. The Commission has proposed a package of 12 initiatives aimed at creating a better business

environment in Europe that will promote innovation and reduce red tape. We need to bring the Single Market firmly into the digital age, and to this end we hope to get agreement on an efficient and user-friendly EU Patent System as well as a legally binding directive concerning consumer rights. We must not forget that a well-functioning internal market is a precondition for a stable euro-system and economic growth in our countries.

These two priorities that I have mentioned – an EU budget for the future and modernisation of the Single Market – are both aimed at reinvigorating economic growth in Europe. Higher growth and more jobs are essential for Europe's future and even more so, because the competition we face globally today from countries like China, India and Brazil is intensifying. Global competition is forcing Europe to become more efficient, more cost-effective and more determined. This fact of life in the twenty-first century does not only apply in the economic field, but in international politics as well. And for a small country with an open economy like Denmark, it is absolutely vital to embrace this new reality quickly and in an aggressive manner.

That is why the Danish Government a few days ago appointed some very prominent individuals as Denmark's export ambassadors to certain strategic growth markets, and it is also why I have been spearheading Danish business delegations to three of the four BRIC countries since my appointment as foreign minister last year. I am now planning to visit the so-called second wave of emerging economies. I was in Turkey last month, and I hope to visit several of the high growth markets in Asia and South America in the remaining part of the year. Besides the promotion of Danish exports, I am extremely pleased that we have managed to sign bilateral agreements on closer foreign policy co-operation during these visits.

But what I am not particularly pleased with, are the Danish opt-outs from the European Union. You know Denmark's four long-standing opt-outs, which among other things excludes us from participating in the euro and in the EU's defence policy. Let me just say that the Danish Government continues to believe that the opt-outs are harmful to Denmark's interests in Europe, including the handling of our up-coming EU Presidency. Therefore, it is the stated ambition of this government to get rid of the opt-outs. This can, however, only be achieved, when the time is ripe and it is possible to win a referendum backed by a broad majority in the Danish Folketing. We are not there yet. Nevertheless, we will handle the Presidency in the same way as we did in 2002 in these areas.

Chairing the European Union for six months as Denmark will be doing from the first of January – is not only about hard work and good planning.

It is also about being able to improvise and respond swiftly to unforeseen events that might high-jack the international agenda. Here in the foreign ministry, we are therefore also zooming in on ‘the known unknowns’. By ‘known unknowns’, I am thinking of international hotspots, which are already making headlines, but for reasons yet unknown, might become the defining foreign policy issue during the Danish EU Presidency.

The situation in Libya and the ongoing international efforts to help the country to a new beginning will likely remain a key challenge. Right now, Denmark has a seat in the Contact Group that is trying to foster a political solution to the crisis and we have also established a diplomatic presence in Benghazi. Within the EU, we are currently discussing ways to strengthen the sanctions regime, and I believe that the EU has a positive role to play in relation to Libya. The military campaign is moving in the right direction. The international community is applying the pressure on Gaddafi, and stress symptoms are clearly showing. I am fairly confident that by the time we get to the Danish EU Presidency on January first, Gaddafi will be gone, and our task will have changed to one of supporting reconciliation and a political transition process that will lead to a new, united Libya.

The situation in the wider Middle East – the so-called Arab Spring – will also remain high on the international agenda. At heart, the Arab Spring is a call for democracy and freedom, but it is also a call for jobs and a better life in their own countries.

As you probably know, the American newsmagazine *Time* runs a cover story each year featuring a ‘Person of the Year’. According to the magazine, the ‘Person of the Year’ is selected, because he or she for better or for worse has done the most to influence the events of the year. The first one to be awarded the title was the American aviator Charles Lindbergh in 1927. My guess is that Mohammad Bouazizi, the Tunisian street vendor, who set fire to himself on December the 17th and became the symbol of all the repressed people in the region, could become ‘Person of the Year’ in 2011.

Denmark, the EU and the wider international community must continue supporting the forces of change in the region. Violent clashes in Syria, a tense situation in Egypt, political uncertainty in Morocco and an old, stubborn autocrat hiding out somewhere in Tripoli must not lead the West to disengage or to conclude that the Arab Spring is over. It is not over. The call for freedom and democracy that is being voiced by millions upon millions of brave, young Arabs across the region will not die down. Therefore, we – the international community – must continue to support them vigorously not just in words, but in deeds as well. With more aid, more trade and more

investment. In 2012, the Danish EU Presidency will work hard to ensure that Europe does that in way which will help to accelerate and underpin democratic transitions in the Middle East.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it has been said that perseverance is the hard work you do after you get tired of doing the hard work you already did. In my view, that is a fairly accurate assessment and perseverance has also been a hallmark of Denmark's presence in Afghanistan. The Danish Government has stated all along that Afghanistan must not be allowed to become a safe haven for terrorists again, and this remains our main objective. It is also the reason why we have put so much effort into training and capacity building of Afghan security forces. In 2014, we intend to hand over the security responsibility to the Afghans, but already next month we will hand over responsibility to the Afghan Army for the Lashkar Gah-area in the Helmand Province, where Danish and British troops are stationed. The international coalition plans to carry out similar provincial handovers in other parts of the country during the course of the year.

One question in relation to Afghanistan today, is whether the death of Osama Bin Laden will have any military effect on the ground. Some observers have called for a speedier withdrawal of coalition forces because of his death, but I would urge these observers to keep cool and take a close look at Al-Qaida today. Bin Laden and Al-Qaida was not playing a major role in Afghanistan when US Navy Seals stormed his compound last month. His terrorist network has only a marginal presence in today's Afghanistan, and they exert only a very limited influence on the rebel forces that are currently engaged in combat with ISAF. As a consequence, I don't believe that Bin Laden's death will have any significant effect on the way the Taleban and other rebel forces carry out their operations in Afghanistan. His death was a symbolic blow to them, but nothing more, and it will not cause Denmark to change the strategy for our presence in the country. We will continue to help the Afghan transition process in moving forward, and we will do so militarily, politically and in terms of reconstruction aid as agreed until 2014. While the international community is making headway against an elusive and ruthless enemy in Afghanistan, we need to see a stronger international response to other untraditional security threats from non-state actors such as terrorists and international organised crime. One issue of particular importance to Denmark and the international community is the piracy that takes place in the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. It is somewhat ironic that this age-old criminal activity can flourish in today's globalised high-tech world. We are capable of building a space station, creating the World Wide

Web and developing ever more sophisticated weapon systems. Yet, we are struggling to make the Indian Ocean safe from pirates. The first recorded incident of piracy happened some 3200 years ago in the Aegean Sea, and today piracy is rampant around the Horn of Africa. Historically speaking, progress in this area hasn't been impressive!

Being the seventh biggest shipping nation in the world with around 10 percent of the world's seaborne trade, piracy poses a direct threat to the Danish economy, which we will not accept. As a consequence, we have dispatched a Danish warship to NATO's ongoing operation 'Ocean Shield' and launched a major effort on land aimed at strengthening the local capacity to fight piracy. Our effort will include financial assistance for two new prisons in Somaliland and Puntland and support for coast guards functions in Kenya and Djibouti. In addition, Denmark is chairing an international working group that is tasked with finding legal solutions in relation to piracy. Although the latest figures show that close to 1000 pirates are being prosecuted in 19 states, I would like to see an even more ambitious and robust international approach to this issue in the future. As a means to bring this about and with the aim of fostering a long-term solution to the problem, we recently adopted a national anti-piracy strategy. The strategy will run until 2014, and with a more clever use of the tools at our disposal and with a stronger international co-operation, I am fairly optimistic that we can make real progress against the Somali pirates during the next three years.

Our strategy against piracy forms a key part of Denmark's broader effort to counter terrorism. And I am pleased to inform you today that Denmark will be joining a brand new multilateral initiative in this context, which is called the Global Counter-Terrorism Forum. It is squarely aimed at strengthening the international fight against terrorism by including more non-Western countries. Currently, 24 countries have signed up, and the focal areas are likely to include the Sahel region, the Horn of Africa, Southern Sudan and South East Asia. I plan to participate in the formal launch of this forum during the Ministerial Week at the UN General Assembly in September.

Ambassadors and Excellencies, I am fully aware that the surest way to bore an audience is to tell them everything and leave nothing out. So, I will not do that. Don't worry. But let me just mention one more strategic priority for Danish foreign policy and that is the Arctic region. Last month, Denmark's Chairmanship of the Arctic Council concluded with a successful ministerial meeting in Greenland's capital Nuuk. The Arctic Council is made up of 8 Member States – the US, Canada, Norway, Russia, Sweden, Finland, Iceland and Denmark, and due to the implications of global warming for the

Arctic region, the Council has gained in importance and is attracting a lot of international attention.

Fortunately, regional co-operation about Arctic issues is heating up faster than the ice is melting. In Nuuk, we managed to agree on a legally binding Search and Rescue Agreement that will significantly increase the safety for ships sailing in the region. The agreement contains legally binding provisions regarding the responsibility of coastal states to carry out search and rescue operations, when an emergency occurs in their respective areas. The agreement also requires the coastal states to exchange information on their search and rescue capabilities. Furthermore, a consensus was found at the meeting to establish a permanent secretariat for the Arctic Council. It will be placed in the coastal city of Tromsø in Norway. I am also extremely pleased that we managed to get agreement around the table on criteria, which non-Arctic countries must fulfill, if they want to become observers in the Arctic Council.

So, what does the future look like for the Arctic region? Well, given the fact that global warming will continue, and given the fact that the ice will continue to melt as a consequence, there is little doubt that the region will experience a dramatic activity boom in the years to come. Cruise ships packed with tourists will arrive in numbers to take in the pristine and beautiful scenery. Multinational companies are likely to accelerate their exploration of oil and gas, since the Arctic is believed to contain as much as 30 percent of the world's unproven gas reserves and 10 percent of the world's unproven oil reserves. And the search will intensify for precious minerals like gold and diamonds as well as rare earth elements of strategic importance. It could become a new gold rush. If it comes to a gold rush, however, let me just underline one key message here today. Denmark and Greenland will be happy to sell shovels so to speak to international gold diggers, who want to try their luck in the Arctic. We are keen supporters of economic development and foreign investments to the area. But in contrast to the California Gold Rush in 1848, all the international treasure hunters will have to abide by the highest environmental standards, if they want to take part. We will not waiver on this requirement. It is of paramount importance for the governments of Denmark and Greenland that the local communities will benefit from any future activity boom in the regional, and we will not accept that the fragile environment in the Arctic will be put at risk. That much is certain.

Ladies and Gentlemen, let me conclude by saying that I look forward to continuing an open and regular dialogue with you about the issues that matter the most to your home countries and to Denmark. It is our common

duty to ensure that the bilateral relationship between our countries is a win-win game. I believe that good communication between you and me is vital in this endeavour, and as I have come to learn in the past year as foreign minister, diplomats are wonderful communicators. Someone once said that a diplomat is a person, who can tell you to go to hell in such a way that you actually look forward to the trip. It has also been said that a diplomat is a person who can juggle a hot potato long enough for it to become a cold issue. Either way, let's maintain our excellent communication, and I look forward to taking your questions, after Søren has spoken.

Thank you.

10th Anniversary of 9/11

Speech by Danish Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen at the 'Remembrance for Victims of Terrorism on the Occasion of the 10th Anniversary of 9/11', Embassy of the United States of America, Copenhagen, 9 September 2011

Ambassadors, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to thank Ambassador Fulton for the invitation to speak here today. All across the United States, all over the world, people are commemorating 9-11. As one of the strongest allies of the United States, Denmark stands with our American friends as we remember this day. I am pleased to have this opportunity to express our solidarity and support.

We all remember where we were 10 years ago today. Danes along with the rest of the world watched in horror as the terrible attacks unfolded. We expressed our compassion and shared the grief and frustration. On that day, we were all Americans.

Today, we honour all those who lost their lives, who were wounded or who lost loved ones on 9-11. Those who responded with bravery and duty to help deal with the devastation. Those who, since then, have kept our societies safe at the front lines in Afghanistan and elsewhere over the past decade.

On 9-11, terrorism took on a new face. We saw a brutal and ruthless act of mass destruction. A new global campaign of fear, violence and extremism. Aimed at the bedrock of our free and democratic societies. Americans. Danes. Everyone. We felt as though everything changed on 9-11. Our sense of safety. Our ability to protect our societies. Our way of life. As we take stock today, a decade later, it is clear that the threat from terrorism remains.

The Bin Laden era is over thanks to the leadership and decisive and cou-

rageous action of the United States. And Al Qaeda and other groups are under growing pressure. But terrorism remains one of the core challenges facing our societies today. We have no room for complacency.

The tragic and incomprehensible attack on innocent, young people and government employees in Norway on July 22 was a painful reminder of how vulnerable our open and democratic societies are. The brutality and viciousness in Utøya and Oslo showed us that terrorism and violent extremism has many faces.

We must remain vigilant in our efforts. But despite the continued threat, I believe that the 10-year anniversary of 9-11 should also be an occasion for hope and optimism. 9-11 marked the beginning of a new era of international cooperation and engagement to counter this threat. Our response to this attack – and the attacks we have witnessed since then – has shown the strength of the fundamental values on which our countries are built. The strength of the fabric that binds our societies and nations together. The strength of our common resolve to confront the challenge head-on both at home and far from our own borders.

My grounds for sounding an optimistic tone today are two-fold:

First of all, close and determined international cooperation among our nations has made a real difference in our fight against terror. Denmark and the United States have been strong partners in this effort. Our excellent cooperation has been driven by our shared values and close bilateral relationship but also by our willingness to take action – to carry the burden – when necessary. US-Danish intelligence and law enforcement cooperation has been very close and effective and concrete attacks have been prevented from happening. This calls for our deep respect for the work that our men and women are doing in this field. Despite terrible odds: we have to succeed every time in preventing an attack from occurring, whereas the terrorists only have to be lucky once to have the desired impact.

Our countries have been standing side by side in Afghanistan. Denmark and the United States have both paid a high price, fighting in some of the toughest areas and suffering many casualties. We have carried a considerable burden. But Denmark remains committed to the long term in Afghanistan, as we transition from combat to training and capacity building, and increased focus on long-term development assistance. The job is far from done in Afghanistan. Challenges remain. But today we can say that our contribution has put the country on a good path. The transition to Afghan ownership is underway. I am proud of the military and civilian role that Denmark has played in Afghanistan – our largest engagement in a single country ever.

A crucial lesson from 9-11 was also that terrorism is a truly global threat that calls for multilateral action. We need an effective global approach. Safe havens and states with weak governance structures that attract terrorist groups can emerge in all parts of the world. The UN provides the general framework in the fight against terrorism. And within this, several coalitions for countering terrorism have emerged. I am very pleased that Denmark is joining the Global Counter-terrorism Forum which the United States has initiated. This will be a key mechanism to further strengthen our cooperation.

The second reason for optimism today is that our societies have shown a remarkable resilience in the face of the terror attacks over the past decade. These acts of violence have all aimed at shaking the foundation of our democratic societies by causing fear, frustration and division. Yet, instead of tearing our nations apart, the inhuman attacks brought out the best in people. They became a rallying point for compassion, patriotism and national and international unity.

As we have seen in Norway, the attempt to undermine some of the core values on which our societies rest has sparked a strong collective will to embrace these values even more. A desire for more openness, tolerance, civility, freedom and democracy. We have seen a nation get back on its feet with an admirable strength and sense of purpose. The Norwegians – and all of us – want to show that violence cannot destroy our societies.

There is no question that our democratic systems have suffered shocks. We have been faced with new dilemmas about the balance between security and protection of basic rights. But we have adapted. We have introduced new ways to ensure our security while keeping our freedom. In both our countries, we have had a strong political debate at times about those initiatives. I believe that this democratic debate has been vital in ensuring that we maintained – and continue to maintain – the right balance.

We will be faced with new shocks in the future. But our democracies have shown that they can withstand these attempts to disrupt our way of life. Freedom of opportunity, the right to influence the decisions that shape society, free speech and dialogue – these are universal values that will always be stronger than the terrorists' ideologies built on hate and repression.

That is why young people all over the Arab world have taken to the streets, demanding their freedom and right to live in a democratic society. That is why we will stand together as democratic nations, as an international community, to push back the forces of darkness that caused 9-11 and all other acts of terrorism. That is why the terrorists will never win.

Thank you.

Speech by the Danish Prime Minister Helle Thorning-Schmidt at the launch of the 2011 Human Development Report, Copenhagen, 2 November 2011

Madame Administrator of UNDP,
Excellencies, distinguished guests and webcast-viewers around the globe,

I would like to welcome you all warmly to Copenhagen. I am extremely pleased that UNDP has chosen Copenhagen as the venue for the launch of the 2011 Human Development Report: ‘Sustainability and Equity: A Better Future for All’. Thanks to live webcast this is a truly global event.

The UN is a cornerstone in Denmark’s foreign and development policy. The UN will always be welcome in Denmark. And we will continue to support the work of the UN. The Human Development Report is an important tool for public debate on development. The report sets the international agenda. This year the report clearly describes how the most disadvantaged groups on the planet now face a double impact of poverty: First, environmental problems slow down progress in addressing poverty eradication. Second, it is the world’s most disadvantaged people who will suffer the most from environmental degradation.

To end world poverty and confront growing economic inequality, we need more inclusive and robust growth patterns. We must enable more people to both contribute to and benefit from growth. The Human Development Report highlights precisely the point that access to energy without environmental degradation is possible. Denmark prioritizes a transition to a green economy, particularly this new government. We support the UN system in its important contribution to this objective. The world is facing

an urgent need for a transition to a green economy. This issue will be at the forefront of the Rio+20 Summit in June 2012. And Denmark is strongly committed to push for this transition.

Every year in October, Denmark will put green growth at the top of the international agenda at the Global Green Growth Forum. At the Forum, political and economic leaders, experts and civil society organizations will come together to advance concrete green public-private initiatives. The inaugural Forum held in Copenhagen last month demonstrated its potential in this respect. At a critical time in the world economy, the strong presence of 200 political and economic leaders, including UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon gave new momentum to the agenda of green growth. The Danish Government will also do its utmost to make the Rio+20 a success. This is a priority in our EU presidency during the first half of 2012.

Rio+20 must be a conference with substance. Rio+20 should give special attention to the question of scarcity of natural resources, particularly the issues of energy, water and food security. Denmark strongly supports the initiative from the Secretary-General on sustainable energy for all. Goals on access to energy, energy efficiency and renewable energy could be important outcomes of Rio+20. The Rio+20 Summit is an opportunity to remind us all that high growth rates can go hand in hand with sustainability considerations.

The report presented today points to how to combine sustainability, equity and human development in ways that make them mutually reinforcing. An important point is being made here: Equity is important when aiming for truly sustainable development. This is in line with the approach taken in Denmark's policy priorities. Let me give just a few examples:

The Human Development Report concludes that greater equity in distribution of political power results in better access to water, less land degradation and fewer deaths due to pollution. That is why Denmark supports civil society organizations in Mozambique. The purpose is to help build public awareness and demand for high-quality environmental services. Another important conclusion of the report is that national institutions need to be accountable and inclusive. That is why Denmark has supported a comprehensive reform of Tanzania's forest administration. We put emphasis on participatory management systems. Freedom of the press is also considered vital in raising awareness and facilitating public participation. That is why Denmark is a core donor to the non-profit organisation International Media Support (IMS) with their expertise on environmental and climate journalism.

I am very pleased to see the question of women's rights at the centre of

the Human Development Report. Women are important agents of change and development. In fact, improved family planning by 2050 could lower the world's carbon emissions an estimated 17 pct. below today's levels. Gender equality and women's empowerment remain at the core of our bilateral development cooperation. We support UN Women and the UNFPA to this end, including also the important work in terms of ensuring sexual and reproductive health and rights. Allowing women free choice when it comes to their own bodies should be a given for all. Unfortunately, it is not. We are even facing increased opposition from certain groups. These are challenges we must address proactively.

We must all do our part in securing sustainable development for future generations. There is a significant gap between ODA-spending and the investments needed to address climate change, low-carbon energy and human development. The economic crisis has not made things any easier. The developed world must live up to its commitments. Denmark is committed to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals by 2015.

We must also be willing to look beyond 2015. Some of the existing goals can be combined with new targets focussing on sustainable development. The Rio+20 Summit could provide an important first platform for identifying such new sustainable development goals. Let me conclude by saying that the UNDP has a crucial role to play in ensuring a UN working together and delivering as one. Denmark is pleased to play our part in this effort. As you know, we host a number of UN organisations in Copenhagen. We will now provide them with new and common Headquarters on the city's harbour front. By creating a common workplace for the UN-staff in Copenhagen, we hope to contribute to the 'One UN'-agenda.

Denmark also seeks to improve human development globally through our substantial development cooperation. Currently, Denmark commits over and above the 0.7% of GNI to development assistance. Actually, the latest figure is 0.9% for 2010. It is the objective of my government to raise our development assistance commitment to 1.0% of GNI over the coming years. I am a strong advocate for the developed world to live up to the 0.7% commitment. And I believe that also the new emerging economies have their role to play in ensuring global sustainable development.

Denmark's strong support for multilateral organizations naturally includes the UNDP. We are committed to a rights-based approach to development. We will draw on the UNDP's experience in developing this approach further. And we look forward to working closely with you to this end. '

Thank you!

The Danish EU Presidency

Speech by the Danish Minister for European Affairs Nicolai Wammen at a reception for the Diplomatic Corps, Copenhagen, 21 November 2011

Dear Ambassadors, Members of the diplomatic community, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Welcome to Eigtveds Pakhus and welcome to this meeting, where Christian and I will tell you a little bit about who we are and what our political priorities will be. I am pleased to see that so many have been able to come here today. Although I still feel fairly new in my job as Denmark's Minister for European Affairs, it pleases me to note that I have already had the chance to meet many of you. I am also glad that we will have a chance to talk informally during the reception afterwards. I believe that it is important for us to have an open and regular dialogue.

There is a famous expression 'we live in interesting times'. In only a few words it says a lot. Unfortunately I am not sure that it precisely enough captures the challenges that we are currently facing in Europe. In today's Europe we are not only facing 'difficult times'. We are currently living through a period that is critical for the European construction as we have come to know it. Therefore, we live in defining moments for Europe. This is the reality that we face today – and this is the reality that we will face as Denmark is about to take over the Presidency of the European Union. As Chancellor Merkel has said, the EU finds itself in the deepest crisis since the Second World War. And I would therefore, before I run you through the overall priorities of our presidency, send two important messages to your capitals:

Firstly, Denmark might not have the Euro. But we are as concerned about

the depth of the crisis in the Eurozone as the euro members and we will take it upon us as presidency of the EU to do all we can to help pave the way for a solution to the crisis. And secondly, it is important to say that the EU is a union of 27 and not a union divided into two clubs. The EU is one family. At a time where the most sceptical voices are speculating on the downfall not only of the Euro but of the entire European construction, we will undertake to demonstrate that Europe at 27 is still willing and still able to provide the long term answers that enable Europe to remain a global economic force to be reckoned with in 10 and 20 years. We know our task will not be an easy one. But the Danish Presidency will be a determined, dedicated and honest broker. Or as John F. Kennedy said in his inaugural address – ‘I do not shrink from this responsibility – I welcome it’.

With regard to the priorities for Denmark’s EU Presidency, they centre around four key objectives.

Firstly, to ensure an economically responsible Europe. Secondly, to help the EU return to growth. Thirdly, to promote a green agenda in Europe. And lastly, to ensure a secure Europe, both externally and internally.

Our philosophy behind these four objectives is that long-term debt reduction in Member States is only realistic, if our economies achieve higher growth rates. Europe cannot reduce its debt pile by slashing budgets and increasing taxes alone. We must stimulate growth while we simultaneously tighten our belt. To perform this delicate balancing act we must become better at obtaining more with less. We must become better at squeezing more value out of every euro spent. And the EU has room for improvement here.

In addition, the EU needs to produce more tangible results by applying the community method. Because the approach of Jean Monnet – the logic of small steps based on lessons learned rather than grand, ideological projects – still works. It is by producing added value of real importance to the daily life of Europe’s people that the EU can move forward and ultimately gain the public trust that it needs. And let me be clear: It is the ambition of the Danish Presidency to obtain concrete results for Europe.

Let me say a few words on how we intend to obtain concrete results in practice within the four objectives that I have mentioned. With regard to the first one – to help Europe become economically sustainable – the Danish Presidency will put a lot of effort into pushing the agenda of stronger economic governance, of better economic surveillance procedures and of promoting the requirements of the euro-plus pact within the European Semester in general. Despite Denmark’s opt-out from the euro, the urgency of the current situation makes it incumbent upon any EU Presidency to put

the issue of economic sustainability at the core of its program. In terms of the implementation of the European Semester, the Danish Presidency will focus on structural reforms in Member States, budget discipline and stronger regulation of the financial sector. Another major item on our Presidency agenda will be the EU's multiannual budget, where the negotiations will begin in earnest next year. The current seven-year EU-budget totals roughly 1 trillion euro and it is of fundamental importance for Europe's ability to confront the current economic challenges that a big chunk of the next seven-year EU-budget is channelled to the right policy areas that can boost growth, jobs and innovation. I will personally be chairing most of the ministerial discussions on the EU-budget. I have no illusions, but my ambition is that much more EU-funding should go into areas like research and development, education, energy efficiency and green technologies. In short, an EU-budget for the future. Hopefully, we will be able to make sufficient head-way in the first six months of 2012 in order for Cyprus to clinch a budget agreement in the second half of the year. Europe urgently needs a budget for the future!

With regard to the second objective – to help stimulate growth and job creation – the Danish Presidency will make an all-out effort to push through as many as possible of the Commission's 12 initiatives on modernizing the Single Market. The Single Market has been a tremendous success for the past 20 years, but it needs a make-over now to become equally successful in the next 20 years. The make-over will include an adoption of the EU Patent as quickly as possible and no later than during the Danish Presidency. We need an efficient and user-friendly EU Patent System that allows European companies to avoid the hideous paperwork of sending patent applications to 27 national patent authorities. It also includes getting the Commission's proposed regulation on European standardization adopted in the Council and through the European Parliament during the Danish Presidency. A revision of the current system of standards will strengthen Europe's ability to compete at a crucial moment in time, when our economies are feeling the competitive pressure from countries like China and India like never before. In the context of the Single Market, let me also stress that we look forward to inject more political urgency into the EU's digital agenda, including stronger consumer protection on the internet and cheaper fees for using the mobile phone abroad.

Turning to our third main objective – green growth – I am fully aware that some Member States tend to view this as a very exotic and narrowly Danish preoccupation which in real terms only will lead to more burdens being placed on industry at a time of crisis in Europe. I have heard complaints that

it is 'a bit rich' to focus on a long-term transformation to a green economy, when Europe right now is caught in midst of a potentially devastating debt crisis.

But Ambassadors and Excellencies, in business as well as in sports, there can be times, when playing defence is not really an option, if you want to safeguard your position and achieve a positive outcome. Sometimes, you can be forced to play offensively, even though you have been dealt a weak hand and most people expect you to lie low. I firmly believe that Europe finds itself at such a moment in time today in relation to the green agenda. If we want to preserve our prosperity and our high living standards in the longer term, we cannot afford to be constrained by short term thinking and forget about the bigger picture. If Europe is to thrive in a new world order characterized by the rise of non-European giants like China, India and Brazil as well as by international competition to get hold of scarce natural resources, Europe needs to upscale its investments in green technologies, renewable energy and energy efficiency. This is not just about achieving some favourable strategic goal 30 years from now, but just as much about creating new knowledge-based jobs in Europe in the short term. New jobs that will appear as spin-off and as short-term economic gains from embarking on a green growth path. In other words, pushing the green agenda is also about creating new opportunities for the 22 million unemployed people living in EU countries.

Therefore – Europe's decision makers – should make it highly likely that tomorrow's technological advances within solar power or nanotechnology are fostered by Europeans. We should make it highly likely that the next generation of windmills is conceived by European engineers and that the fourth generation of bio fuels is developed by European scientists. The Danish Presidency will work hard to promote the green agenda, but we will do it in a consensus-seeking and inclusive way. Needless to say, we will also put a lot of effort into the negotiations on the energy efficiency directive and on the follow-up to the EU's climate road map.

And finally – Ladies and Gentlemen – as our fourth main objective – a more secure Europe. Secure internally and externally. You will probably remember that the Schengen system came under pressure earlier this year, when the Arab Spring began and caused refugees to head north. Tensions flared between EU Member States and it is obvious that the Schengen rules need to be revised. The good news is that we actually stand a chance during the Danish Presidency to make real progress in this area, including on a Schengen evaluation mechanism and we might also be able to obtain agreement on a European search warrant, which would improve cross-border

police co-operation. Denmark will be chairing the Justice and Home Affairs Council regardless of our opt-out and our special position. We are determined to demonstrate that we can be a genuine honest broker and we will do our utmost to advance co-operation as far as Member States want to go and at the pace they feel comfortable with. The same applies to the negotiations on the Common European Asylum System, where we will bring negotiations as far as possible.

To conclude, a word or two about the Danish opt-outs and what the Government intends to do about them. As the Danish Government has stated on several occasions, we will not organise a referendum before or during Denmark's EU Presidency. Therefore, I will not tell you, when we will organise a referendum, but rather when we will not organise one. We have to channel all our energy into conducting a successful Presidency and that task is simply too important for us to also be staging an EU referendum. After the Presidency, the Government plans to discuss the prospects for a referendum. Therefore, I cannot tell you when a referendum will take place, but only that it will take place at some point within the current 4 year-term of the Government. That much is certain.

So, before passing the floor to Christian, let me conclude by saying that: Yes, Europe finds itself in a very difficult spot today. Yes, it is our obligation—the responsible politicians in the 27 Member States – to act boldly, coherently and swiftly to confront the debt crisis. And yes, the voices of critics and doomsday prophets are getting stronger in the media and the financial sector with regard to the ability of individual Member States and the EU to deliver the necessary structural reforms and budget cuts that situation requires. But now – Ladies and Gentlemen – more than ever before perhaps in the history of the European project has the time come for Member States – big or small, euro-member or non-euro member – to pull together and turn Europe into something more than the sum of its parts. I can assure you that this will be my own guiding principle when Denmark assumes the EU Presidency a few weeks from now.

Thank you.

Speech by the Danish Minister for Development Cooperation Christian Friis Bach at a reception for the Diplomatic Corps, Copenhagen, 21 November 2011

Distinguished Ambassadors, representatives of the diplomatic corps, ladies and gentlemen,

I am very happy to have this early occasion to meet with such a distinguished audience – representatives of the many governments from all over the world with which Denmark has strong ties, including in the area of development cooperation.

Some years back I visited a group of farmers in Northern Ethiopia. It was a visit I enjoyed – being a farm boy and agronomist myself. However, what I remember most was when the visit was almost finished and one of the farmers approached me, and showed me a small membership card he had – he had become member of a small farmers association. He then asked whether he could also become a member of the Danish organisation I represented. I got quite confused and gave him a long and incoherent answer. He then looked at me and said he just wanted to explain why he asked – it was because he had discovered that when he visited the local mayor and showed the membership card then the mayor actually listened to what he had to say. A simple thing as a membership card gave him influence. Helped him to convey his message. Helped him to change his society

I have worked actively with international development and economics for almost 25 years, both at the grassroots level, at the university, in journalism, as a consultant and advisor and in the Danish civil society. The Ethiopian farmer – together with similar stories from Denmark and many other

countries has shown me what it takes to change the world. We must look for the membership cards, tools, knowledge, ideas, institutions that allow people to fight for their own rights, change their own societies.

This has clearly shaped my values and principles. My predecessor, Mr Søren Pind, declared himself to be 'Minister for Freedom'. I call myself 'Minister for Rights': To me development is about promoting the rights of the world's poorest people. And I see the civil, political, cultural, economic and social rights as both individual rights and indivisible rights. A child will never be able to fully use their freedom to speech without being able to read and write and children will never be able to learn to read if they are hungry.

The basic human rights are some of the most powerful ideas ever created by mankind. They are the very backbone, foundation of human coexistence. They have been instrumental in changing the world several times over, from the French Revolution more than 200 years ago, to the successful fight against apartheid in South Africa and to the Arab Spring going on right now.

I am a strong believer in the importance of clear principles and values in Denmark's development policy. And I strongly believe that we must use those principles and values to empower people to be actively engaged in changing their own destiny, transforming their own societies. Societies that serve their rights and aspirations to live free from poverty and their ability to hold their governments accountable – to hold my government accountable.

Denmark's development policy will aim to reduce poverty through a rights based approach to development which places people at the centre of our development cooperation. Not as passive recipients, but as central actors in charge of their own development. It is about supporting their rights to have a say in their own lives, choose their governments in free and fair elections and hold them – and all of us – accountable.

We will support people and their countries to help themselves. Invest in human capital, develop agriculture, production and innovation. Create jobs and promote green growth and access to sustainable energy. Develop societies based on the rule of law with respect for human rights and democratic values. But the demand must come from within – from the people themselves. It is a battle for rights that we cannot fight for them, but we can and must support them in this battle.

Denmark will be a strong and reliable partner in international development cooperation. With reliability comes with our responsibility to uphold our commitments to the poorest people of this world despite budgets constraints. The government will therefore increase Denmark's development assistance. We will aim to bring back Denmark's development assistance to

1 per cent of the GNI over the coming years. It will not happen overnight – but as a step in this direction, there will be an increase of Danish Official Development Assistance or ODA with 234 million kroner in 2012 and an additional 366 million in 2013. The extra funds will be used to strengthen the poverty focus of Danish development cooperation.

Over the past decade, development funding has been dispersed into new areas such as stabilisation efforts and climate financing. These are important areas, which we should continue to support. But it has brought the poverty orientation into question. To increase transparency the government will therefore create two budget frameworks for our international assistance: One reserved for poverty reduction interventions, which will make up for the largest share of the development assistance budget. Another reserved for global interventions, support for global public goods, which will include among others support to stabilisation efforts and climate finance. We do this to ensure transparency in how we use our development assistance, and what we use it for.

Denmark's development cooperation with our partner countries, many of which are represented here today, has strong roots. We have long and well established collaboration in a number of areas such as good governance, water supply, agriculture, environmental protection, and growth and employment, and we support the development plans of several partner countries directly through general budget support. I highly value this cooperation and I aim to engage with you even further when we in the near future embark on the elaboration of a new strategy for Denmark's development cooperation.

While we continue these partnerships, the government will in 2012 give priority to four key areas:

- Rights, good governance and democracy
- Food security, agricultural development and resilience
- Green growth and sustainable energy, and
- Stability and protection

Firstly, the promotion of rights, good governance and democracy will receive special attention in 2012. I already said it, the aspiration for human rights is a powerful lever for change and reform. It holds opportunities that we must seize. The government will continue the substantial support to good governance and human rights in Denmark's partner countries, which place people at the centre, including in fragile states such as Zimbabwe, Burma and Somalia. In Latin America, we will maintain a focus on the rights of

marginalised groups, including indigenous people.

We will continue our support for change in the Middle East stemming from the Arab Spring and the fall of authoritarian leaders through the government's new Arab Initiative. Last week in Tunis, I met with representatives of political parties, human rights organisations and business interests. They were all determined for Tunisia to embrace democracy and attract the needed investments for the country to prosper and grow. The common sense of purpose and drive for change that I witnessed confirmed to me that we can and must continue to support their strive for reform, democracy, growth and employment. Hundreds of civil society organisations, businesses and social entrepreneurs want to engage with us in bringing Tunisia forward. During the Ben Ali regime, there was only one doorway in and the door – more often than not – was locked! Today there are hundreds of doors into a country like Tunisia and right now they are all open. This is an opportunity we cannot miss.

Women's rights are under pressure – in particular women's sexual and reproductive health and rights. This is not only deeply worrying. It is not acceptable. Denmark will therefore continue to be an active and vocal advocate for women's rights. I recently met with the Executive Director of the UN Population Fund, UNFPA [Dr. Babatunde Osotimehin], the Director of UN Women, Madam Bachelet: They and I see eye to eye on the need to counter this negative development and will collaborate to mobilise others to rebuild momentum for safeguarding women's rights.

Civil society plays a key role as an advocate and watch dog for peoples' rights and in promoting accountability of national governments and international community, and demanding transparency in government. Support to civil society both through Danish and local NGOs will be a central element in a rights based approach to development.

The government will also work to promote the rights based approach to development at the international level. We will use the Danish EU Presidency to place it more firmly on the EU's agenda and work for its further inclusion in the EU's new development policy we hope to agree on in the spring.

Secondly, we will in 2012 give special priority to strengthen food security, agricultural development and build resilience against future crises. The current food crisis at the Horn of Africa illustrates only too well why food security and enhanced resilience must be given high priority both by our government and internationally. Thirteen million people are now dependent on humanitarian assistance. 900,000 Somalis have fled their country, and between 1.5 and 2 million people are currently internally displaced inside Somalia.

The cost of inaction will be catastrophic – food security is also about global security. Coordinated international action is needed. The Danish Government will therefore work for long-term solutions that can enhance food security and the people's resilience to future crises and disasters, especially in fragile and conflict-affected areas. We will do so by joining efforts with other development partners, including the EU, the World Bank, the UN, and the African Development Bank, with a view to establish a joint strategic framework for addressing the challenges of food security at the Horn of Africa.

We will invest in concrete initiatives that promote a sustainable and climate-adapted food production. We will support small scale farming in arid and semiarid areas, including in the Horn of Africa, with a special emphasis on protecting vulnerable groups and promoting a strengthened role for women in agriculture. We must invest in both the local and the global food system, in security.

Thirdly, the government will scale up efforts to promote green growth and sustainable energy. A few weeks back, this year's Human Development Report was launched here in Copenhagen by Helen Clark, the Administrator of UN Development Programme, and the Danish Prime Minister. This year's report focuses on sustainability and equity and highlights that 'the most disadvantaged people carry a double burden of deprivation: they must also cope with threats to their immediate environment posed by indoor air pollution, dirty water and unimproved sanitation.'

In other words; the most disadvantaged people bear the bulk of the burden of environmental degradation, even if they contribute little to the problem. Promoting access to sustainable energy supply will be a key element in this context. Access to sustainable energy supply is a critical prerequisite for sustainable economic growth and poverty reduction in developing countries where approximately 1.4 billion people live without access to electricity and about 2.3 billion people depend on firewood and other biomass for daily cooking.

This is a monumental challenge, which Denmark will address both through multilateral channels and through our bilateral programmes. On our own part, we have ambitious national goals and are planning to be independent of fossil fuels by 2050. We will pursue the same agenda internationally, not least when Denmark as presidency of the EU will work for an ambitious result at the Rio+20 conference.

I hope that we at the Rio+20 conference will be able to agree on an ambitious set of Sustainable Development Goals – building upon and strengthening the Millennium Development Goals and extending with new goals for

water, biodiversity and access to energy for all. Let us work together on this vision.

Again we will work both globally and locally. Through partnerships, with many of your countries and between the private and public sector we will work to strengthen international collaboration on the promoting of green growth, sustainable energy and innovative solutions. The Global Green Growth Forum launched in Copenhagen a couple of weeks ago is an example of such an initiative.

Lastly, we will make a special effort in 2012 to promote stability and ensure protection of civilians in fragile and conflict-stricken states. One third of the worlds' poorest live in fragile states which are those furthest away from achieving the Millennium Development Goals. To make a difference we must make use of all instruments – from development cooperation and humanitarian intervention through stabilisation to peace supporting operations.

As a key element in a focused stabilisation and conflict prevention effort the government will create a new security envelope devoted to among other stabilisation and reconstruction in fragile and conflict affected countries. It will support the on-going work for more coherent interventions, where all instruments – foreign, security and development policy – play together. Within this framework we will support efforts to consolidate peace in South Sudan, promote peace in Somalia and stabilise the situation in Libya. And we will continue our support to the Palestinian Authority in the area of state and peace building and improvement of living conditions.

This list of priorities are key areas that we wish to strengthen. But it is not an exclusive list. Denmark will remain firmly committed to supporting areas as health, water, infrastructure, and not least, education as signalled by our recent role as host of the replenishment conference for the Global Partnership for Education.

Ladies and gentlemen, next week I will – along with ministers from your own countries – travel to South Korea to attend the Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Busan. I look forward to this important meeting which should build on what many countries have already committed themselves to in the Paris Declaration and in the Accra Agenda for Action.

This government is fully committed to the aid effectiveness principles, to transparency, to accountability – and try our best to further strengthen these principles in our development cooperation, including by scaling up the use of general budget support. But while many efforts have gone into making the conference a success, it is important that we do not lose track of the purpose

of aid effectiveness. It is a means to an end, not a goal in itself. We need not only to talk-the-talk, but translate it into practice. And there is unfortunately still some way to go for many, and also for us. While I certainly hope that we can engage new development actors in a stronger partnership in development, I also hope that we will come back from Busan with a renewed sense of commitment to transparency, accountability, and delivering more effective aid and to focus on results at the country level. I also hope that by doing this we avoid creating new international bureaucratic structures, but focus on the country level. Aid effectiveness must be about results – not process.

This is indeed challenging times for global development, but also times of great opportunity. Opportunity to do better and to do so together. I certainly do not have all the answers. I therefore look forward to working closely with you and your governments in addressing both challenges and opportunities in the future.

Thank you for your attention.

Danish Foreign Policy

Speech by the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs Villy Søvndal at a reception for the Diplomatic Corps, Copenhagen, 13 December 2011

Ambassadors,
Members of the diplomatic community,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

First of all, welcome to Eigtveds Pakhus. Welcome to this meeting, where you will hear from the other half of the new team of ministers here at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. You met Nicolai and Christian three weeks ago, and now the time has come for Pia and me. I have only been foreign minister for about two months, but I am glad to say that I have already met several of your ministers.

I can confirm that it is a demanding job to be foreign minister. Especially in the current situation where we face economic headwind and major political changes around the world. We are living in turbulent times. It is apparent to me that we are entering a new era, where a new world order is taking shape.

What this new world order will look like, when the dust has settled, is hard to say at this point. We cannot tell whether the new world order will turn our planet into a better place or the opposite. But what we can decide as a matter of choice, as something we freely chose to do, is to put the fear behind us that came to define the global agenda after nine-eleven.

I believe that the first decade of this century will go down in history as a time, when the fear of international terrorism came to dominate the global agenda. When the fear even of people with different beliefs and dif-

ferent cultures made us take some wrong turns. After two wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and after ten years with question marks on human rights and restrictions on personal liberties, it is time to set a new international agenda.

That will be the point of departure for what I want to do as foreign minister. This does not imply that we should become naïve or get careless about our readiness to confront the threat posed by international terrorism. But it does mean that we should dare to embrace the world with more confidence in terms of our ability to overcome the challenges we face. We should celebrate the Arab Spring rather than fear what might follow after the fall of the dictators. We should trust the Afghans and hand over the responsibility for providing security in Afghanistan to the Afghan Government. And we should be bold enough to take action in order to stabilize the global economy. We increase the chances for this to happen, if we put the decade of fear behind us and regain the confidence to set a new international agenda.

Ambassadors and members of the diplomatic community, before I get into the political substance of this new international agenda, let me say a few words about the values that will guide my work as foreign minister. How I navigate so to speak. Basically, my view of the world has been shaped by the values that are fundamental to the Nordic societies. Values like tolerance, solidarity, openness, a strong community-feeling and a deep commitment to democracy and human rights. These are core values, which underpin the Nordic societies. They are also the reason why I want to strengthen cooperation between the five Nordic countries. I believe that a stronger Nordic platform and a more co-ordinated Nordic approach have a lot to offer on some of the key issues dominating the international agenda.

The Nordic countries also attach great importance to multilateral cooperation. The EU, the UN and NATO provide Denmark with the right tools to pursue an active Danish foreign policy despite the modest size of our population and our territory. Not least the EU, where a coherent and effective EU foreign policy is essential in order to safeguard our national interest in a world marked by globalisation and sweeping changes. During the Danish EU Presidency, I will help Catherine Ashton and her team whenever needed and she can count on my full support.

With regard to a new international agenda replacing the agenda of fear, I have four focal areas that I have selected for particular attention and that I will work hard to promote in the years to come. The first one is about the rule of law and the protection of civil rights. The UN is a vital cornerstone of the international community and in the struggle for a more peaceful, a more secure and a more just world. In this context, it is crucial that we – as

members of the international community – uphold the rights and principles of the UN charter and the UN conventions. Denmark will continue to speak out on behalf of the millions of people, who are deprived of basic human rights and who are in desperate need of protection. But we will do more than that.

Denmark is a firm supporter of the concept of R2P – Responsibility to Protect. Now, the concept needs to be made operational and rolled-out at the national level. Denmark is prepared to contribute money, personnel and political support to this end. There is no doubt in my mind that the fight for human rights should be intensified across the board. It should be intensified in the various hotspots around the world as well as here in Denmark. Abroad and at home.

I will also present a new human rights strategy for Denmark. The strategy will help us deal with countries that commit widespread human rights abuses. It will identify ways to strengthen our co-operation with the UN and the EU in the area of human rights. In the context of the strategy, we will also take a close look at how we honour our own human rights obligations here in Denmark. We are quick to criticize others, when they violate human rights. Therefore, we should be just as quick to take a critical look at our own record in this area.

As a means to ensure that the strategy will have teeth and make a difference in practice, I intend to appoint a Danish ambassador for human rights. He or she will be responsible for the day-to-day implementation and the necessary dialog with NGOs and international partners. My second focal area in a new international agenda is about assisting the people who fight for political reforms and for social justice in Northern Africa and the Middle East. Millions of young Arabs have showed enormous courage and a strong desire for reform and a better life. They have defied ruthless dictators and they have stood firm on their demands against impossible odds. Now, they need our assistance. The Danish Government has just allocated an additional 25 million kroner to strengthen our Arab Initiative aimed at promoting democracy, human rights and free media in the Middle East. The initiative will then contain a total amount of 275 million kroner each year. That is roughly 50 million dollars.

A big part of the funds will go to enhancing the political role of young people in the Arab world and to help them continue the fight for reform in their countries. Because the progress they have achieved can still be reversed. Their democratic gains are under threat today. That became very clear for me, when I had the chance to talk with some Egyptian women on the Tahrir

Square earlier this year. They had been active during the revolution, and they would certainly not accept to have their hard-won rights curtailed by a new Government. Not even a democratically elected Government. Now they need international support, and we – the international community – must not abandon their cause.

With regard to the Palestinians, Denmark will be prepared to step up our financial assistance in a transition phase with the aim of helping a new Palestinian Government to implement the economic reforms that are long overdue.

My third focal area is security policy. It is about rediscovering the right balance between civilian and military instruments. During the past ten years, during the decade of fear in international politics, I regret to say that many Western countries, including Denmark got this balance wrong. We placed too much trust in military solutions that only dealt with the symptoms of conflicts rather than the causes of conflicts. The old saying that war represents a failure of diplomacy is true, and that is why we must strengthen our diplomatic efforts in the future.

Of course, treating the symptoms is not bad in itself, but such treatment must be accompanied by sustained efforts to address the root causes. That entails targeted measures within areas like prevention, political mediation, stabilisation and civilian protection. Every non-military tool at the disposal of the international community should always be considered and exhausted, before a switch to the military toolbox is even considered.

This important lesson from the past ten years will be an essential component of Denmark's security policy under the new Government. I call it an intelligent security policy. Intelligent because it seeks to address the complexity of causes that might lead to violent conflicts. Intelligent, but still robust, because it does not imply that Denmark will never participate in a military intervention in the future.

And let me be crystal clear here, because it is important. Denmark will be prepared to deploy military force in the future, but only as the very last resort, when all other options have been exhausted. It will also require a UN-mandate. These two preconditions must be met before military action can be considered. In this respect, it is fair to say that there has been a change of policy, since the new Government took office.

What does an intelligent security policy mean in practical terms? First of all, the Danish Government will establish a new Security Facility that will invest in stabilisation. The facility will channel funds to projects aimed at stabilising and rebuilding fragile or conflict-ridden states. Funds will also

support on-going efforts within weapons control and the fight against international terrorism. In addition to this facility, I will push for more Danish soldiers to be dispatched overseas with blue helmets when relevant. The Danish military have gained significant experience from the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and we are able to make a stronger contribution to peacekeeping operations under the UN-umbrella. UN peacekeeping capabilities must be strengthened. Denmark will do its share – and more so – to make this happen, but it is important for us that civilian protection efforts become more integrated into classical peacekeeping operations. At present, we are looking closely at Sudan and Southern Sudan. We are looking at how we might contribute possibly together with other Nordic countries to the UN-efforts in that war-torn country.

As a third key element in a more intelligent Danish security policy, we will increase our focus on rule of law-issues and financial-issues in relation to the international fight against terrorism. There is a case for a co-ordinated international effort to cut off the money that finances terrorist activities. I am pleased that Denmark earlier this year became part of the Global Counter-Terrorism Forum. In view of the many troubled hotspots around the world that require urgent attention by the international community, we need this initiative to produce concrete results also in the short term.

My final focal area is the Arctic. The consequences of global warming are being felt all over the planet and very much so in the Arctic. In order to address this challenge, Denmark, Greenland and the Faroe Island presented a joint strategy for the Arctic region earlier this year. Now the time has come to turn the objectives and commitments in the strategy into concrete measures that can work in practice. For Denmark, fundamental issues are at stake in this process. Issues like sovereignty, the internal relations between Denmark, Greenland and the Faroe Island as well as the future for the Arctic people. I am fully aware of Denmark's special responsibility to the local people in the Arctic region.

I will personally be leading Denmark's efforts to ensure that the expected activity boom in the region will benefit the people living there. We will protect their right to economic and social progress. Therefore, I will soon appoint a Danish ambassador for the Arctic region, who will drive the process on a daily basis, and I will look towards a stronger co-operation in the Nordic Council on Arctic issues.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it has been said that the surest way to bore an audience is to tell them everything and leave nothing out. I believe that is correct, and I will not do that. Don't worry. I have mentioned some key fo-

cal areas for my work as Denmark's foreign minister. I view them as essential building blocks, if we are to put the decade of fear behind us and build a new international agenda. An international agenda that serves the needs of tomorrow rather than the concerns of yesterday.

At the same time, pursuing these focal areas will not take place in an empty space. It will take place in a crowded, turbulent, changing and less predictable world, where Asia will become the new power house. The rise of China and India along with emerging markets like Indonesia and Vietnam holds enormous promise for the world at large, including Denmark. It is evident that the region's dynamic economies, continuing population growth and rising political influence will create new challenges. But it will also create new opportunities for outsiders with something to offer like Denmark.

In a few minutes, Pia will tell you about the commercial opportunities that a rising Asia holds for Denmark. But to be perfectly honest, becoming more involved in Asia is not really a choice for Denmark. It is a necessity. It is a necessity, if we want to thrive as a nation in a globalized world. As you probably know, Denmark's Ministry of Foreign Affairs is located on Asiatic Square number two. That is the address. And it is named after the Asiatic Company, which was a private Danish enterprise that enjoyed a monopoly on trade with the Danish colonies in India back in the 18th century. This very place serves therefore as a reminder of our past relations with Asia.

With regard to the present, I want to continue expanding Denmark's bilateral relations with Asian countries by way of developing the co-operation agreements that we have already concluded as well as signing new ones. We have far-reaching agreements in place with China, India and South Korea. My hope is to achieve an ambitious implementation of these agreements in the coming years and conclude new agreements with other countries, including Vietnam and Indonesia. To say as it is: Denmark needs to get closer to Asia, and hopefully Asia will get closer to Denmark.

Turning to Africa, Denmark's long-standing engagement with conflict resolution and development assistance will continue. Fortunately, however, a number of African countries have witnessed impressive economic growth and a stronger willingness to engage politically. Denmark has an excellent platform to seize on this development in order to promote political and commercial relations. Not just with South Africa, but also with countries like Ethiopia, Nigeria, Kenya and Ghana.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have mentioned four focal areas for Denmark's foreign policy. I have mentioned the need for Denmark as a small country with an open economy to embrace globalization. To embrace the new

world order in a more open, a more active and more self-confident manner. And please bear in mind that Danish foreign policy will continue to walk on many legs in the future, including strong Trans-Atlantic ties that remain fundamental to us. In a few hours from now, I will be on a plane to Washington in order to meet with Secretary Clinton and political leaders in the Congress.

But as you know very well ambassadors, clever strategies and sensible priorities are not all there is to it. If that were the case, foreign policy would be easy. No, as history has shown us again and again, a country's foreign policy is shaped just as much by events as by design, if not more so. Right now, one event is dominating the headlines and forcing European countries to rethink their domestic as well as foreign policy agenda. That event is the European debt crisis. The agreement reached at the European Council last week was a crucial step forward, and hopefully the agreement will mark the beginning of the end of the crisis. Not just the end of the beginning.

In two weeks, Denmark will assume the EU Presidency. It will happen at a time of huge challenges for Europe. The coming weeks and months will prove critical for the EU. Denmark is mindful of the responsibility in front of us and the task at hand. I can assure you that the Danish Government during the Presidency will do its utmost to help the EU remain operational and able to produce the results that our citizens expect. I will co-operate closely with Catherine Ashton and the Danish Presidency will be a firm supporter for the External Action Service in its task to make the EU a stronger actor on the global scene.

Difficult decisions must be taken at the EU-level and at the national level in the Member States. I am, however, confident that the EU – once again as it has done on several occasions during the past 50 years – will be able to come through stronger at the end. It might take some time, before we are there, but we will get there.

As a consequence and in view of my trip to Washington later today, let me conclude by quoting President Obama who said this when he assumed office at the high point of the financial crisis in January 2009, and I quote: 'Our workers are no less productive than when this crisis began. Our minds are no less inventive, our goods and services no less needed than they were last week or last month or last year. Our capacity remains undiminished. But our time of standing pat, of protecting narrow interests and putting off unpleasant decisions – that time has surely passed.'

Thank you.

Speech by the Danish Minister for Trade and Investment Pia Olsen Dyhr at a reception for the Diplomatic Corps, 13 December 2011

Excellencies, members of the diplomatic community, ladies and gentlemen,
good afternoon,

Like the foreign minister, I am extremely pleased to get the chance to meet all of you here today. It is important for us to have an open dialogue. Let me go straight to the heart of the matter and spell out what my priorities are and what I want to achieve as Denmark's Minister for Trade and Investment.

In short, my political mission is to get Denmark back on track. We have a long tradition for actively contributing in solving global problems both with our development assistance and by participating in creating political decisions. This global lead combined with our companies' expertise in some of the related areas is what can get Denmark back on the growth track.

Boosting Danish exports and attracting more foreign investments to Denmark is a mean to accomplish this mission. That is not extremely complicated to understand. What is complicated is how you accomplish that mission at a time, when Europe – according to a recent report from the OECD – finds itself on the brink of recession. When the biggest Danish export markets are the ones that have been hit the hardest by the current crisis and when Denmark's own ability to compete on world markets is under pressure. Faced with such a triple whammy – how do you boost trade and attract investments?

Today – Ladies and Gentlemen – I will provide you with my answer to this question. My point of departure is that the world is changing in several

fundamental ways that will require a small country with an open economy like the Danish to change as well. I am in no doubt that Denmark will get on top of the current challenges. I am, however, also in no doubt that when Denmark eventually comes out on the other side of the crisis we will be a different country. My job and that of the Danish Government is to ensure that Denmark will be an even better country, when we come out on the other side of the crisis.

My answer to the question of how we should deal with the challenges in front of us can be broken down in three components. The first component is about the need for Denmark as a nation to open up to the world in a more confident and a more determined way than we did during the previous Government. Denmark's GDP is around 320 billion US dollar. Danish exports and imports total around 300 billion dollar or 93 percent of our GDP. In other words, foreign trade is enormously important to the Danish economy and Danish society at large. This being the case, it is equally important that the outside world perceive us as an open, efficient and internationally-minded country and not as an inward-looking, complacent and self-sufficient country. This is why the Danish Government as one of its very first actions upon taking office on the third of October decided to cancel the ill-conceived border agreement adopted by the previous Government. The border agreement would have sent a disastrous signal to our international trading partners and to foreign investors. A signal that would have contrasted sharply with Denmark's national interest.

I am pleased to report that we have already received a lot of positive reactions from many countries represented here today on our decision to cancel the agreement. As an additional measure, I have instructed Danish embassies around the world to communicate this change of policy in Denmark to their host countries. After all, we will not be trying to turn the clock backwards and begin erecting border posts again. Denmark is a country of bridges and not a country that create new dividing lines in Europe.

As part of the process of opening up to the world, I have also instructed Danish embassies to spearhead a broader public diplomacy effort to raise awareness internationally about the values that underpin Danish society. The aim is to build trust and brand Denmark as a great place to invest and do business. This outward-directed effort will be accompanied by an inward-directed effort to ensure that foreign companies are warmly welcome and highly appreciated in Denmark. Foreign companies bring along knowledge, skills and technologies, which this country would be much poorer without. In fact, a whole lot poorer according to the latest numbers. Foreign com-

panies account for just 1.2% of all companies in Denmark, but they are responsible for 19% of private sector employment and an impressive 23% of the total turnover in the private sector.

These numbers speak very clearly about the importance of attracting foreign investments to Denmark. As a consequence, Danish authorities must do everything in their power to provide the smoothest possible reception for the employees of foreign companies and their families. This includes among other things that we take a look at our visa administration and enhance the opportunities to establish international schools in Denmark.

The second component of my answer today is what I call ‘smart growth.’ Smart growth is about forging a stronger link between new trends in global demand on the one hand and existing or emerging clusters of competence here in Denmark on the other hand. Let me put this in a greater context:

We stand in the midst of a global disaster with the climate threat and the lack of clean water. Global problems that need to be solved politically as well as practically. It is a moral obligation for us and for future generations. What this means is that the demand for clean water and renewable energy is increasing rapidly around the world. Fast-paced urbanization, expanding energy needs and competition for natural resources put pressure on the supply chain and cause prices to rise.

At the same time, Danish companies are already among the best in the world within these two specific areas. This happy coincidence represents a fantastic opportunity for us that we should seize more aggressively and more ambitiously in the future. I am not calling for a reversal to an old-fashioned ‘pick the winners’-strategy. The strategy, where politicians pretend to know more than the market and where they feel capable of spotting the companies or technologies that will triumph in the future.

Instead, I am calling for a new partnership between the Government and the private sector, where we jointly identify a number of strategic growth areas in which we make an additional effort. And what might these strategic priority areas be? I look forward to an in-depth discussion with the private sector about it, but my own proposal would include areas like water and the environment; health and welfare technology; climate and energy solutions; experience economy, and sustainable foods.

And the extra effort within the priority areas that we eventually decide upon could include regular meetings between political decision makers and business leaders as well as fine-tuning of our national framework conditions in these areas. The 100 or so Danish representations around the world could also be mobilized to promote those core strengths of Denmark’s private sec-

tor that may provide solutions to global problems. The partnership should lead to closer co-operation between the private sector and specific research institutions within the selected areas. Our aim should be to become better at turning research results into concrete business opportunities. In short, to become better at innovation.

But the partnership should also help shorten the commercial – and not to say mental distance existing today between many small and medium sized Danish businesses and key growth markets in Asia and Latin America. Cheap airline tickets and more frequent departures from Copenhagen go a long way to overcome the geographical distance, but we must make an additional effort to overcome the perceived distance in our minds.

To give you an example: An IT-start-up company located in the Northern part of Jutland that has come up with a brilliant product should in the future look more aggressively at selling the product in Sao Paolo, New Delhi or Shanghai rather than limit itself to consumers in London, Berlin or Stockholm. It should be able to do both. Continue to focus on European markets, but also gain a presence in growth markets on the other side of the world. It is my stated goal as Minister for Trade and Investment to facilitate such a change in attitude among small and medium sized companies in Denmark.

Let me also highlight the Rio + 20 summit in June next year which will not only be a key platform for Governments to discuss sustainable development, but also provide a unique opportunity for Danish companies with strong expertise in developing green technologies. The same applies to development co-operation, where I also believe that we could do more to harvest synergies. Denmark's track-record as a reliable and generous donor of development assistance has given us valuable knowledge about the needs and requirements among the world's 4.5 billion people that are considered poor according to the UN. This knowledge should be put to use in order to create new opportunities for Danish companies in developing countries.

Finally – Ladies and Gentlemen, as the third component of my answer to the challenges facing Denmark today – trade policy. Trade policy must be part of the solution to how we can generate economic growth and create jobs again in Europe. Unfortunately, making trade an engine for growth and jobs is not a simple task in a time of economic crisis and rising protectionism. But it can be done and quite frankly – it must be done.

The global financial and economic crisis has accelerated the power change in the global economy to the advantage of the emerging market economies. According to some economists, the 'E7' – China, India, Brazil, Russia, Indonesia, Mexico and Turkey – will overtake G7 measured in purchasing power

before 2020. And if the G20 – the world’s biggest economies today – had been created in 1970, Denmark would have been a member! Today we are not among the top 30 richest countries in the world. For me that is more than a cause for concern. More than anything, it is a call for action. As the American novelist James Baldwin has said: ‘Not everything that is faced can be changed. But nothing can be changed until it is faced’. It is time to face the new global reality.

In terms of trade policy, this means acting more aggressively to stimulate innovation, achieve higher productivity, stand firm on liberalization and gain more market access for our exporters, as well as access for developing countries to the EU markets.

During the Danish EU Presidency, I will work hard to improve Europe’s market access to the BRIC countries and the next 11. With emerging markets as the world’s economic growth engine, improved access for European business to those markets should be at the top of the EU trade agenda. And while pursuing that agenda we must double our efforts to identify and break down trade barriers and to speak with one European voice in our dialogue with emerging economies. We cannot allow ourselves to sound like the Eurovision Song Contest with 27 national tunes competing for attention when we discuss trade with the Chinese, the Indians or the Brazilians. The EU Member States must sing from the same songbook. Let us start tomorrow at the WTO meeting in Geneva. We hope for progress in the negotiations and we look very much forward to welcoming Russia as a new WTO member.

Ambassadors and distinguished members of the diplomatic community, I have mentioned three components in what I firmly believe should be Denmark’s answer to the challenges facing us today. We should be more open, we should focus on smart growth and we should use trade policy as a tool to restore growth and create jobs. But the thread running through all of this is a more fundamental notion about what you do as a human being, when you are faced with adversity. In my book, you don’t just lie down, raise the white flag or hope for some miracle to happen.

No, what you do is that you steel your resolve, double your effort and get right back into action. There is an old Chinese proverb saying that: ‘When the winds of change are blowing, some people build shelters; others build windmills.’ I prefer to think that Danes are among those people who choose to build windmills rather than search for shelter. Fortunately, we are quite good at building windmills in this country, as you’ll know.

In my capacity as Minister for Trade and Investment, I have met with several business leaders from China, Europe and the US in the past two

months and the message from these meetings is clear: Denmark has something important and something tangible to offer despite the fierce competitive pressures from an ever more globalized world economy.

The package that Denmark is offering the world today has a number of attractive elements. In my concluding remarks, let me highlight a few of these, because I believe that they will be of great significance in our efforts as a country to wrestle our way out the current economic crisis.

According to the most recent 'Doing Business Index' of the World Bank, Denmark is among the best countries in the world with regard to starting up and running a business. We are first in Europe and fifth globally. Furthermore, Denmark's labour market is second to none when it comes to flexibility. Businesses in Denmark are in an excellent position to react quickly in order to adapt to market changes. Thirdly, the general level of education in the Danish work force is quite high and a majority of Danes speak at least one foreign language. Finally, and far more importantly than these three elements combined: Danes are very proud of the welfare society that they and their ancestors have managed to construct over the past 80 years, and I feel certain that they will be ready to go the extra mile to preserve it in a time of crisis.

The seriousness of the current situation is sinking in, and a sea change is gradually underway in our mindset. Hopefully, there is still widely shared belief that our prosperity, our social security and our free health care system exist in the same way as gravity exist. As something that will always be there for us no matter what we do. That is not a law of nature.

Our welfare depends on the choices that we make and the ability of every generation to add value rather than to subtract value. Our welfare society is based on a premise of rights and obligations, and I am afraid that what led Denmark as well as much of Europe into the current crisis was an overemphasis on rights and an insufficient commitment to our obligations. The economic crisis engulfing Denmark and Europe today will redress this balance, and that may not be such a bad thing after all.

Thank you.

Chapter 3

Danish Foreign Policy in Figures

Danish Official Development Assistance · 248

Danish ODA

Danish ODA (by category, net disbursement)

Danish Bilateral ODA (by country category)

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Danish Official Development Assistance

Danish Official Development Assistance (ODA) 2008-2011

(Current prices – million DKK)	2008	2009	2010	2011
ODA net disbursement	14,489.95	15,021.90	16,151.00	15,980.17

Danish ODA – by category (net disbursement) 2011

	Million DKK	Percentage
Bilateral assistance	11,813.13	74%
Multilateral assistance	4,167.03	26%
Total	15,980.17	100.0%

Danish Bilateral ODA (by country category) 2008-2011

		2008	2009	2010	2011
Least developed countries	Million DKK	3,863.1	4,255.8	4,580.90	4,390.61
	Per cent	40.9%	41.8%	40%	37.2%
Low income countries	Million DKK	2,883.8	2,671.3	1,748.90	2,426.55
	Per cent	30.5%	26.2%	15.3%	20.5%
Other developing countries	Million DKK	225.4	173.0	1,329.70	230.60
	Per cent	2.4%	1.7%	11.6%	2%
Other	Million DKK	2,475.6	3,087.4	3,780.40	4,765.37
	Per cent	26.2%	30.3%	33%	40.3%
Total	Million DKK	9,447.9	10,187.5	11,439.90	11,813.13
	Per cent	100.0%	100.0%	99.9%	100.0%

Source: Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Assistance under the Neighbourhood Programme

Danish Official Development Assistance under the Neighbourhood Programme (by country)

Disbursements 2011

Recipient Country	DKK	Percentage
Albania	7,600,000	3.6
Belarus	9,100,000	4.4
Bosnia-Herzegovina	400,000	0.2
Caucasus, the (Armenia, Azerbaidian, Georgia)	41,200,000	19.7
Central Asia	18,300,000	8.8
Croatia	400,000	0.2
Kosovo	26,600,000	12.7
Moldova	9,400,000	4.5
Montenegro	4,300,000	2.1
Neighbourhood countries, regional contributions	21,100,000	10.0
Russia	4,100,000	2.0
Serbia	12,000,000	5.7
Turkey	4,400,000	2.1
Ukraine	50,100,000	24.0
Total	209,000,000	100

Source: Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Defence

Defence Expenditures to International Missions

(million DKK)	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Participation in UN, OSCE, NATO and other multilateral missions ¹	979.4	1,362.1	1,393.0	1,265.0	1,862.0
NATO ²	635.4	659.0	674.5	564.3	685.0
International Security Cooperation/Global stabilisation efforts ³	62.5	92.9	68.7	42.1	67.5
International expenditures in total	1,677.3	2,114.0	2,136.2	1,871.4	2,614.5

Notes:

- 1 Only additional expenditures are included in the figures, excluding notably basic salaries. From 2010 all expenditures concerning participation in multilateral missions are included in Defence Command Denmark budget. From 2012 the expenditures include total added cost and is therefore not comparable to the previous years.
- 2 Includes contributions regarding NATO plus expenditures for NATO staff (net). For 2008-2011 account numbers have been used. For 2012 budget numbers have been used.
- 3 From 2012 Peace and Stabilisation Fund. An additional annual amount of DKK 10 million is earmarked for Peace and Stabilisation Fund under Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Source: *Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs*

Financing of the EU Budget 2012 (official exchange rate)

	Billion Euro	Percentage
Austria	2.605	2.33 %
Belgium	3.577	3.20 %
Bulgaria	0.367	0.33 %
Cyprus	0.176	0.16 %
Czech Republic	1.413	1.26 %
Denmark	2.320	2.08 %
Estonia	0.146	0.13 %
Finland	1.875	1.68 %
France	19.713	17.64 %
Germany	22.139	19.80 %
Greece	2.056	1.84 %
Hungary	1.010	0.90 %
Ireland	1.218	1.09 %
Italy	14.687	13.14 %
Latvia	0.175	0.16 %
Lithuania	0.287	0.26 %
Luxembourg	0.317	0.28 %
Malta	0.060	0.05 %
Netherlands	4.417	3.95 %
Poland	3.750	3.35 %
Portugal	1.543	1.38 %
Romania	1.276	1.14 %
Slovakia	0.652	0.58 %
Slovenia	0.356	0.32 %
Spain	10.248	9.17 %
Sweden	3.116	2.79 %
United Kingdom	12.290	10.99 %
Total	111.782	100.00 %

Source: *EU-Tidende*

Chapter 4

Opinion Polls

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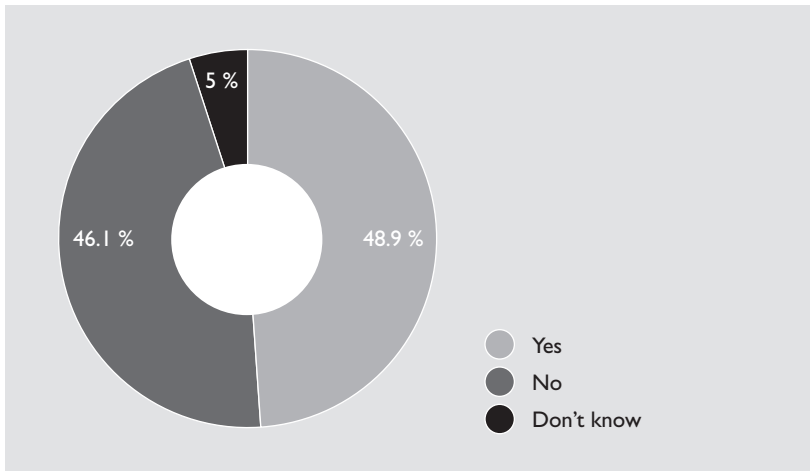
Development Aid · 262

Afghanistan

In January 2011, *Rambøll Analyse Danmark*, in cooperation with the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten*, polled a representative sample of the Danish population (1,065 people aged 18 or older) concerning their attitudes towards Afghanistan.

Question:

Do you think that Danish troops should stay in Afghanistan until further notice?

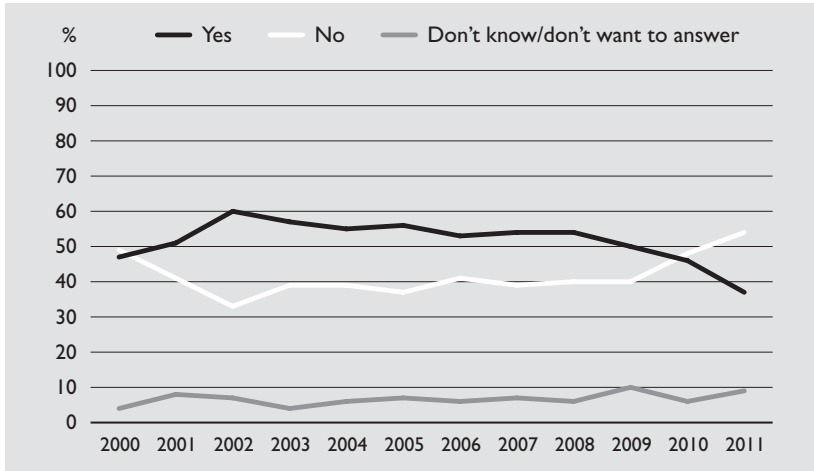


The Danish EU Opt-Outs

From 2000-2011 the research institutes *Greens Analyseinstitut* and *Gallup* have polled a representative sample of the Danish population concerning their attitudes towards the Danish EU opt-outs.

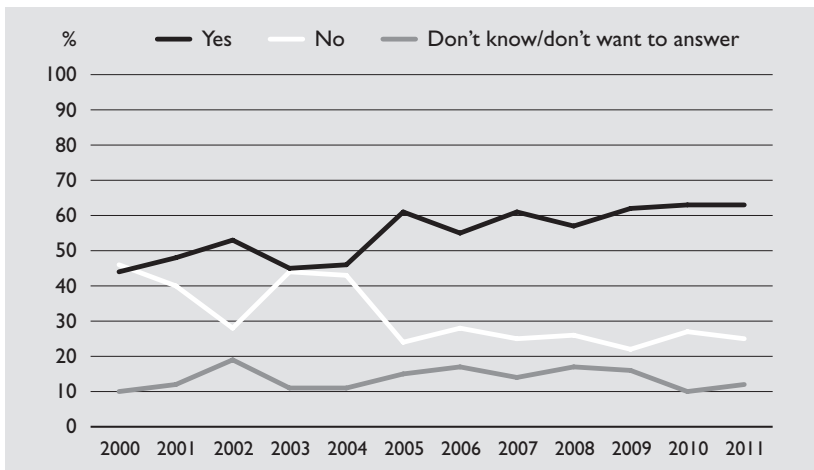
Question 1:

How would you vote in a referendum on Danish participation in the Single European Currency?



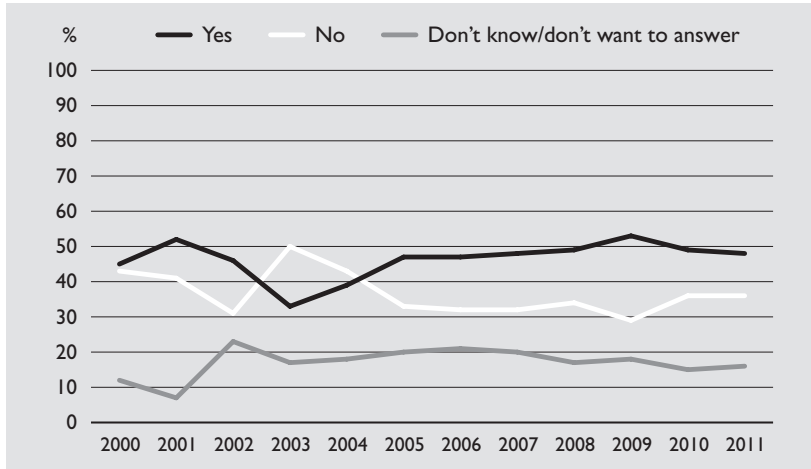
Question 2:

How would you vote in a referendum on Danish participation in the Common Defence?



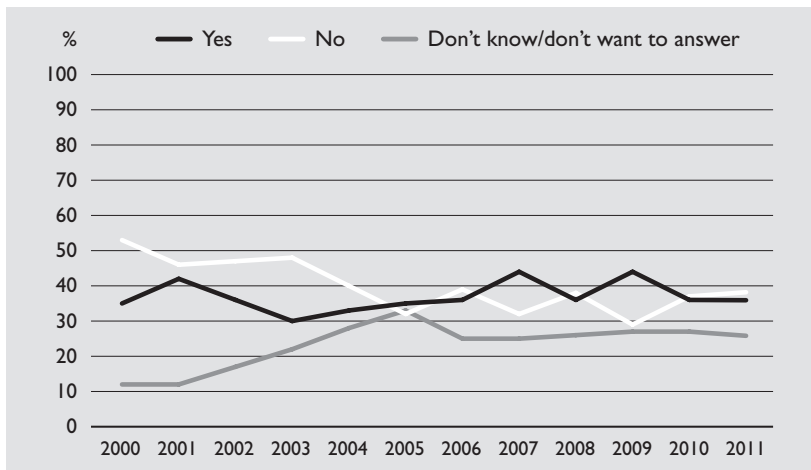
Question 3:

How would you vote in a referendum on Danish participation in the area of Justice and Home Affairs?



Question 4:

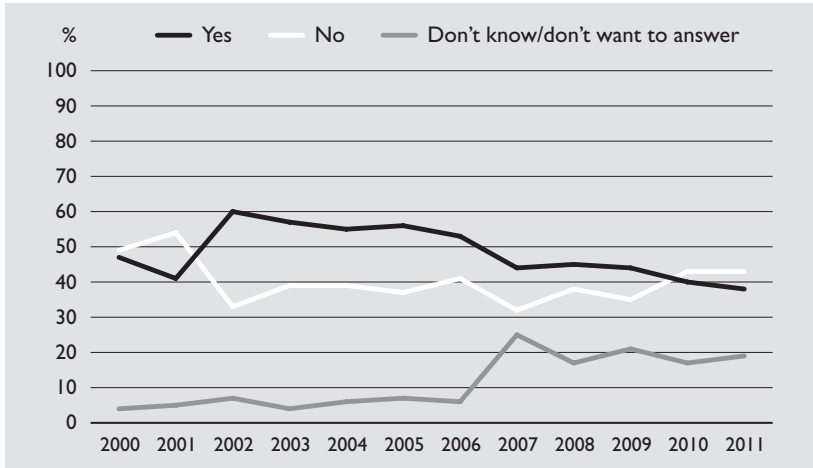
How would you vote in a referendum on Danish participation in the Union Citizenship?¹



1 Polls on the Union Citizenship for 2002 and 2004 could not be found. Therefore, the numbers for 2002 and 2004 are an average of 2001-2003 and 2003-2005.

Question 5:

How would you vote in a referendum on all four opt-outs together so that yes would mean that all four opt-outs would be abolished and no would mean that all four opt-outs would be maintained?

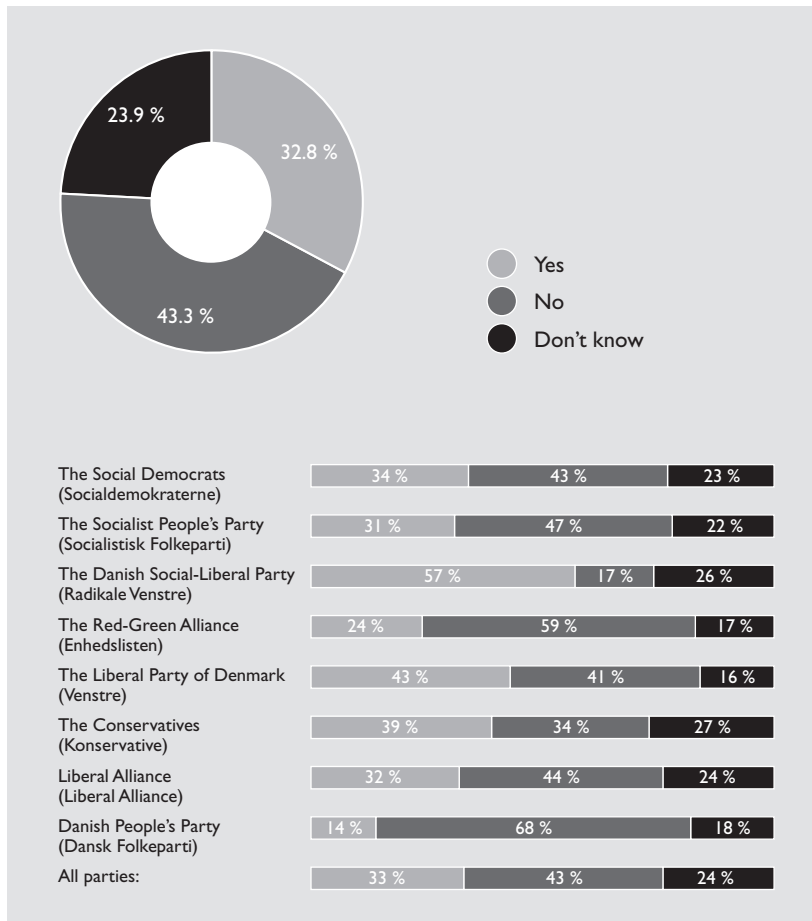


The Euro Pact

In December 2011, *Analyse Danmark A/S*, in cooperation with the Danish weekly *Ugebladet A4*, polled a representative sample of the Danish population (1,085 people aged 18 or older) concerning their attitudes towards the Euro Pact and a possible referendum.

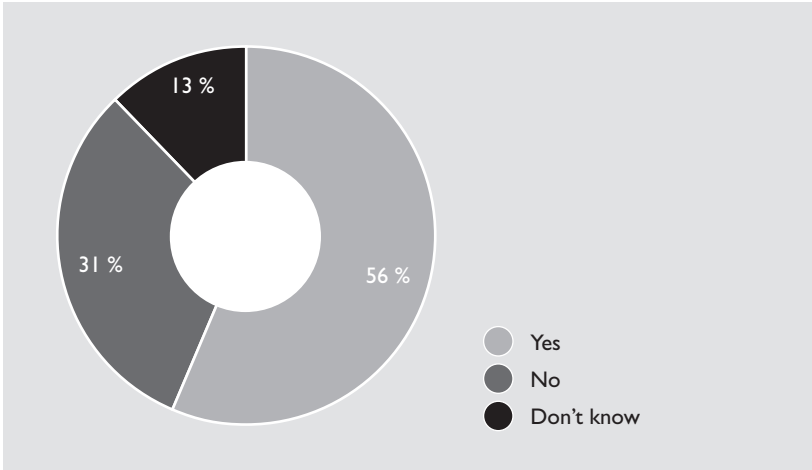
Question 1:

The 17 Euro countries plus several other EU countries are joining forces towards a new treaty. The countries will be committed to a fiscal cooperation, which – as it appears today while still under preparation – will imply stricter demands on national budgets, increased tax cooperation and approval of each country's budget. Do you think that Denmark should join this new treaty?



Question 2:

In your opinion, should Denmark hold a referendum on whether to join the new EU-treaty on closer fiscal cooperation?

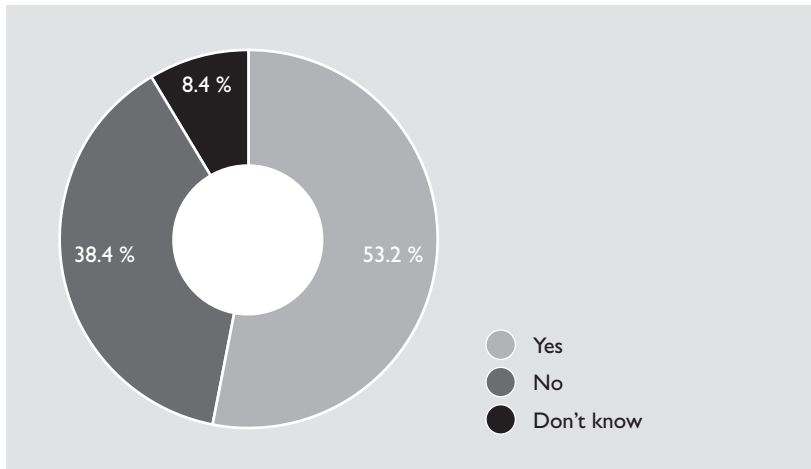


Border Control

In June 2011, *Ramboll Management and Analyse Danmark A/S*, in cooperation with the Danish newspaper *Jyllands Posten*, polled a representative sample of the Danish population (1,031 people aged 18 or older) concerning their attitudes towards border control.

Question:

After the Danish government decided to reintroduce border control, the EU Commission and several EU politicians have criticised Denmark for not living up to the Schengen agreement on open borders. Should the government stick to the decision on border control?

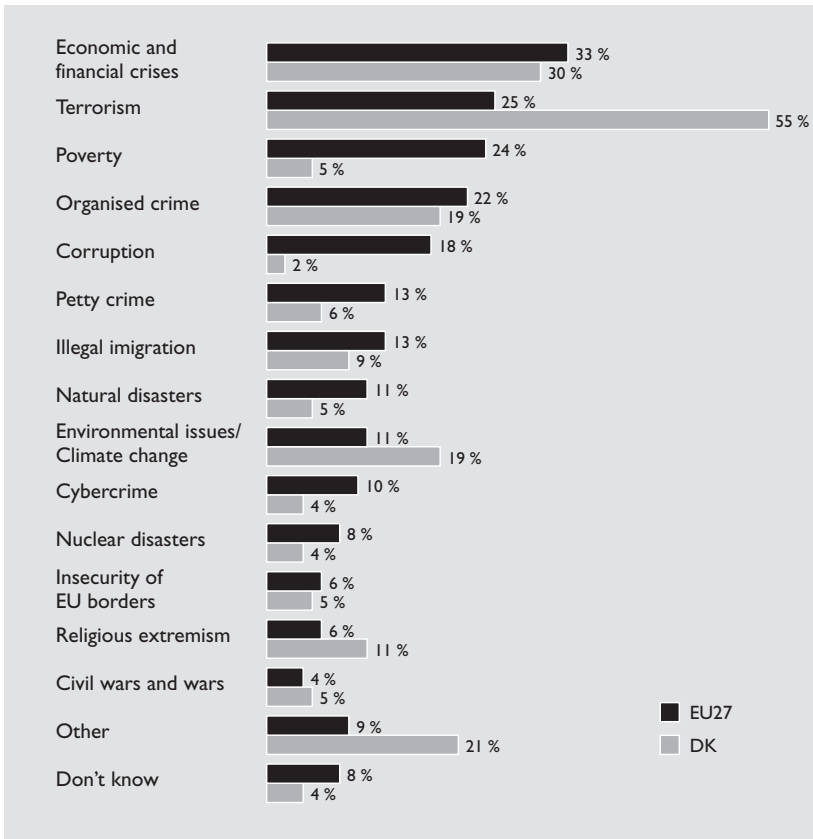


Citizens' Security

In June 2011, *Eurobarometer* polled a representative sample of the Danish population (1,012 people aged 18 or older) concerning their attitudes towards internal security.

Question:

What do you think are the most important challenges to the security of Danish citizens at the moment?

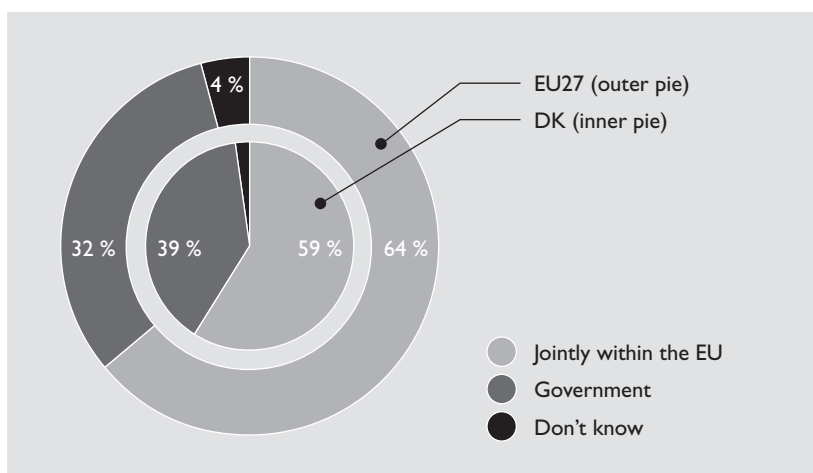


The Environment

In April and May 2011, *Eurobarometer* polled a representative sample of the Danish population (1,027 people aged 18 or older) concerning their attitudes towards the environment.

Question:

When it comes to protecting the environment, do you think that decisions should be made by the Danish government or made jointly within the EU?



Development Aid

In September 2011, *Eurobarometer* polled a representative sample of the Danish population (1,002 people aged 18 or older) concerning their attitudes towards development aid.

Question: *Which of the following parts of the world do you think are the most in need of development aid to help them fighting poverty?*

	Sub-Saharan Africa	The Middle-East and North Africa	The Indian sub-continent (Pakistan, Bangladesh, etc.)	The Caribbean (Haiti, Dominican Republic, etc.)	South East Asia (Cambodia, Vietnam, etc.)	Eastern Europe outside the EU, Caucasus and Central Asia (Ukraine, Armenia, Kazakhstan, etc.)	Latin America	The Pacific and Oceania (Papua New Guinea, etc.)	None (Spontaneous answer)	Don't know
EU27	70 %	33 %	25 %	17 %	16 %	15 %	15 %	6 %	4 %	8 %
BE	82 %	29 %	22 %	24 %	14 %	12 %	16 %	5 %	5 %	3 %
BG	48 %	25 %	20 %	13 %	15 %	11 %	7 %	12 %	6 %	22 %
CZ	59 %	49 %	25 %	10 %	18 %	13 %	7 %	6 %	3 %	10 %
DK	88 %	38 %	37 %	22 %	20 %	23 %	13 %	5 %	1 %	3 %
DE	85 %	32 %	28 %	21 %	15 %	13 %	27 %	8 %	3 %	2 %
EE	51 %	34 %	17 %	10 %	15 %	19 %	8 %	6 %	10 %	14 %
IE	71 %	45 %	25 %	23 %	15 %	17 %	9 %	4 %	4 %	6 %
EL	72 %	47 %	32 %	7 %	19 %	18 %	15 %	7 %	5 %	4 %
ES	82 %	33 %	17 %	16 %	11 %	6 %	18 %	5 %	4 %	6 %
FR	72 %	20 %	32 %	28 %	18 %	18 %	17 %	8 %	6 %	6 %
IT	61 %	37 %	23 %	13 %	20 %	15 %	16 %	4 %	2 %	9 %
CY	78 %	47 %	35 %	6 %	33 %	19 %	20 %	7 %	2 %	5 %
LV	66 %	28 %	20 %	7 %	10 %	14 %	6 %	5 %	7 %	10 %
LT	60 %	25 %	18 %	7 %	17 %	15 %	5 %	5 %	12 %	11 %
LU	82 %	26 %	24 %	23 %	24 %	17 %	19 %	5 %	3 %	3 %
HU	51 %	28 %	30 %	11 %	17 %	20 %	9 %	12 %	10 %	9 %
MT	67 %	32 %	31 %	7 %	15 %	10 %	16 %	2 %	3 %	15 %
NL	80 %	27 %	33 %	22 %	19 %	16 %	11 %	7 %	5 %	5 %
AT	66 %	45 %	28 %	17 %	20 %	27 %	20 %	7 %	4 %	6 %
PL	62 %	38 %	8 %	7 %	13 %	20 %	14 %	3 %	2 %	12 %
PT	57 %	28 %	12 %	5 %	11 %	12 %	6 %	7 %	2 %	17 %
RO	43 %	25 %	18 %	7 %	14 %	13 %	6 %	5 %	4 %	32 %
SI	79 %	33 %	17 %	8 %	17 %	17 %	8 %	3 %	6 %	4 %
SK	62 %	44 %	22 %	14 %	17 %	14 %	8 %	12 %	5 %	8 %
FI	69 %	48 %	33 %	21 %	27 %	15 %	12 %	4 %	2 %	4 %
SE	78 %	39 %	43 %	24 %	20 %	26 %	13 %	5 %	1 %	2 %
UK	64 %	37 %	30 %	17 %	17 %	11 %	7 %	5 %	7 %	9 %

Highest percentage per country

Lowest percentage per country

Highest percentage per item

Lowest percentage per item

Chapter 5

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