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2015

EDITED BY NANNA HVIDT AND HANS MOURITZEN

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DANISH FOREIGN POLICY YEARBOOK 2015

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Preface

The *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook* is about Danish foreign policy and Denmark's role in both a regional and a global context. As a novelty, this particular volume presents essays by Denmark's foreign and defence ministers about the country's contemporary challenges and policy. In addition, it includes four scholarly articles, whose authors represent only themselves and their academic expertise (for their titles and affiliations, see each article).

Dan Hamilton surveys the Nordic-Baltic security landscape in the wake of the Ukraine conflict and argues that Western governments should supplement deterrent approaches with resilience strategies designed to address the disruptive potential of the new situation. Flemming Splidsboel Hansen contributes with a pioneering analysis of the challenges in the post-Snowden world being faced by the Danish intelligence services after the two recent political assassinations in Copenhagen. Lars Erslev Andersen and Louise Wiuff Moe investigate Denmark's export of its CVE (Countering Violent Extremism) model to the conflict-torn Horn of Africa and highlight dilemmas and unintended consequences in the process. Five years since its inception, Fabrizio Tassinari and Christine Nissen report on the European External Action Service, examining the extent to which the Danish Foreign Service has adapted to the new European structure and promoted its own national priorities through it.

The scholarly articles are abstracted in English and Danish at the start of chapter one. After the articles follows a selection of official documents considered to be characteristic of Danish foreign policy during 2014. This is supplemented by essential statistics as well as some of the most relevant polls on the attitudes of the Danes to key foreign-policy questions. Finally, a bibliography offers a limited selection of scholarly books, articles and chapters published in English, French or German in 2014 within the field covered by the yearbook.

The editors of *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook* are Director Nanna Hvidt and Dr Hans Mouritzen. Anine Kristensen has served as the assistant editor.

The Editors
DIIS, Copenhagen
May 2015

Chapter 1

Articles

Abstracts in English and Danish

Rude Awakening: Security Challenges in Northern Europe

Daniel S. Hamilton

Insecurity has returned to northern Europe, sparked in particular by Russia's illegal annexation of Crimea, the deployment of troops across Ukrainian borders to support Ukrainian separatists, and provocative military activities towards northern European countries. Governments have responded with crisis diplomacy, sanctions, and reinforced efforts at closer defence cooperation, yet they are only beginning to supplement deterrent approaches with tailored resilience strategies designed to address the instabilities and disruptive potential of the new security landscape. Widespread assumptions about a prolonged period of peace and stability in a "post-Cold War" period are giving way to the realization that the post-Soviet succession is likely to be a far more turbulent, challenging and violent historical period than many had cared to admit, with profound yet uncertain implications for security in northern Europe and the Arctic.

Nordeuropa er igen blevet usikkert, ikke mindst på grund af Ruslands ulovlige annektering af Krim, dets militære støtte til de ukrainske separatister og dets militære provokationer over for nordeuropæiske lande. Disse lande har svaret med krisediplomati, sanktioner og bestræbelser i retning af et tættere forsvarssamarbejde. De er dog først nu begyndt at supplere afskrækkelsesstrategien med skræddersyede strategier, der skal give øget modstandskraft ('resilience') over for

ustabilitet og mulig undergravende virksomhed i det nye sikkerhedslandskab. Den udbredte forvisning om en lang freds- og stabilitetsperiode efter den kolde krig er ved at vige pladsen for bevidstheden om, at den post-sovjetiske periode vil blive langt mere turbulent, udfordrende og voldelig, end mange havde forestillet sig og have vidtgående – omend usikre – implikationer for sikkerheden i Nord-europa og Arktis.

Assassinations, Office Sex and Climate Change: The Danish Intelligence Community under Public Scrutiny

Flemming Splidsboel Hansen

The spectacular revelations of US whistleblower Edward Snowden about the activities of the US intelligence community, including its co-operation with foreign partners, caused the Danish media and public to take an increased interest in the work of the two public intelligence services in Denmark. The debate suggests that, while the Danish intelligence culture has developed to become surprisingly robust, favouring an intelligence community that simply delivers, there is also growing concern that core norms may be compromised in the process. Public trust in the ethical integrity of the intelligence community remains high, but uncomfortable questions about the standards of intelligence work are being asked with still greater frequency. Parliamentary control has been strengthened, but it remains weak in relation to comparable countries.

Den amerikanske 'whistleblower' Edward Snowdens opsigsvækkende afsløringer af de amerikanske efterretningstjenesters aktiviteter – herunder deres samarbejde med udenlandske partnerinstitutioner – har ført til stigende interesse i danske medier og i offentligheden for det arbejde, som Danmarks to statslige efterretningstjenester udfører. Debatten indikerer, at selvom den danske efterretningskultur er blevet overraskende robust (som det ses i ønsket om at få 'leveret varen'), er der også stigende bekymring for, at centrale normer kan blive overtrådt. Den offentlige tillid til efterretningstjenesterne er fortsat høj, men der bliver stadig oftere rejst kritiske spørgsmål. Den parlamentariske kontrol er blevet styrket, men den er fortsat svag i forhold til sammenlignelige lande.

Responding to Radicalization: Exporting the Dilemmas

Lars Erslev Andersen and Louise Wiuff Moe

This article examines the background to the development of ‘Countering Violent Extremism’ (CVE) and shows how it has gained traction in the context of Danish security governance. The complex entanglement of domestic and global threat perceptions with value-based politics are used to justify giving increased powers to the relevant security and intelligence bodies. The complexities defining contemporary security threats are rescaled to the level of the individual or so-called ‘in risk societies’. This may appear promising in addressing extremism domestically as well as abroad. However, there are important dilemmas and possibly unintended consequences that deserve attention. They become particularly evident in the context of recent exports of Danish CVE. This is demonstrated through an analysis of Denmark’s export of its model to the conflict-torn Horn of Africa.

Artiklen analyserer baggrunden for udviklingen af konceptet ‘Countering Violent Extremism’ (CVE) og hvordan dette blev centralt i dansk sikkerhedspolitik. Den komplekse sammenkædning af nationale/globalt trusler med værdipolitik bliver brugt til at legitimere øgede beføjelser til efterretningstjenester og andre relevante myndigheder. Det komplekse trusselsbillede operationaliseres ved at fokusere på individet eller på såkaldte ‘in-risk societies’. Dette virker umiddelbart lovende med henblik på bekæmpelse af ekstremisme såvel nationalt som internationalt. Imidlertid viser en nøjere analyse, at der er en række dilemmaer og utilsigtede konsekvenser, som det er vigtigt at være opmærksom på. De bliver særlig tydelige, når CVE eksporteres. Dette demonstreres gennem en analyse af eksporten af den danske CVE-model til det konflikthævede Afrikas Horn.

Coping with a Disorderly World: Denmark and the European External Action Service 2009-2014

Christine Nissen and Fabrizio Tassinari

The current international order is characterized by complexity: its multilevel nature, normative uncertainty and geopolitical instability. This environment is particularly challenging to small states, which, especially since the 2008 financial crisis, have found it difficult to vie for influence and allocate resources in different arenas. However, the creation of the 'European External Action Service' (EEAS) in 2009, the infrastructure for European foreign policy-making, created new opportunities for smaller European states in these regards. The article investigates the Danish-EEAS relationship five years since its inception, examining the extent to which the Danish Foreign Service has adapted to the new common structures and promoted its own national priorities through them.

Den internationale orden er kompleks; der er flere niveauer, normativ usikkerhed og geopolitisk ustabilitet. Disse betingelser er især udfordrende for småstater, som særligt siden finanskrisen i 2008 har haft svært ved at få indflydelse og fordele ressourcer på en række områder. Skabelsen af den fælles europæiske udenrigstjeneste (FUT) i 2009 – den europæiske udenrigspolitikens infrastruktur – gav imidlertid de europæiske småstater nye muligheder i disse henseender. Artiklen analyserer forholdet mellem Danmark og FUT fem år efter, den blev iværksat. Det undersøges, i hvilken udstrækning den danske udenrigstjeneste har tilpasset sig de nye fælles strukturer og benyttet sig af disse til at fremme egne nationale prioriteter.

The International Situation and Danish Foreign Policy 2014

Martin Lidegaard, Minister for Foreign Affairs

From 2014 to 2015: The unforeseen, the classics and the underlying changes

In many ways, 2014 was a watershed year. In the midst of the ongoing and accelerating globalisation, that continues to tie the world closer together, we have witnessed both sudden and unforeseen crises and been reminded of classic geopolitics. Taken together with the profound economic, social, political and demographic long-term changes in the global landscape – the underlying “plate tectonics” of international foreign policy – there will be severe ramifications for Denmark’s foreign policy in which the main priority besides our immediate security must be to ensure continued economic growth, a prerequisite for our welfare, as well as to uphold our values, in Denmark and in the world.

This makes 2015 a crucial year, where we need to focus smartly using a wide range of instruments ranging from classic diplomacy, over trade and development, to peace-building and people-to-people contacts.

The good news is that we are not alone. 2014 has called for even more international cooperation and joining of forces. A united EU has reacted strongly to the events in Ukraine and more than 60 nations are engaged in fighting ISIL (the so-called “Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant”). Through the EU and NATO, Denmark is part of international heavy-weight coalitions with the power to move international events. Alone and together with our partners, we will need to be stronger, smarter and more innovative than ever before.

Defining moments of 2014

In 2014, two deep and unforeseen crises demanded immediate attention and action from the international community: The crisis in Ukraine and the surge of the terrorist organisation ISIL in Iraq. It is important, that we strive to understand the width and meaning of these events to Danish involvement in matters of foreign policy and security policy. While clear answers may prove difficult to come by, we should ask questions and challenge our ingrained thinking as we forge ahead.

Ukraine

I took up the office as Foreign Minister when Maidan was already ablaze and just when the old Ukrainian regime fell in February 2014. In the following months, 25 years after the end of the Cold War, Russia intervened aggressively. However, Russia's illegal annexation of Crimea and support for separatists in Eastern Ukraine could not quell the democratic and European aspirations of a broad majority of Ukrainians. In 2014, Ukraine conducted two democratic elections and ratified the Association Agreement with the EU. Nor could extensive Russian pressure and propaganda divide the EU or NATO. The EU stood together and enacted tough, restrictive measures against Russia on 16 separate occasions, whilst NATO took substantial steps to reassure Eastern allies in the face of Russian pressure. Denmark deployed all of our foreign policy tools and also took active part in reassuring our Baltic neighbours of our continued commitment to undivided, allied and European security.

So why is Ukraine a defining moment? First of all, the developments challenged our perceptions of a broad acceptance of the "European World Order" – and our perceptions of Russia as an actor. For the first time in more than 50 years, we saw a permanent member of the Security Council annex territory, a development calling for a strong and strategic response. And we were reminded, that the world of tomorrow may seem remarkably like yesterday's. The crisis was a poignant reminder, that we can still be made hostage to armed conflicts over territorial borders and raw political power in Europe's closer neighbourhood.

At the same time, the crisis has shown that the EU can come together as a global actor on the scene of foreign policy and show firm resolve in the face of the greatest security crisis in Europe since the Cold War ended.

It is clear, that is in our immediate neighbourhood, where our security interests are greatest – and where developments affect us the most. Danish

security policy may be global in outlook, but it remains anchored in Europe. There will be a need for commitment through the EU, where we have to be among those who pave the way for expanding our relationships with Eastern partners. In relation to Ukraine, Denmark has special expertise in the area of energy – one of the major challenges for Ukraine. To help address this, Denmark will be working with Ukraine and the EU Commission to establish a conference this Spring on making the approach to energy more streamlined and strategic.

Similarly, there is a need for a discussion of our relationship with Russia. International rules must be upheld and our allies must not be intimidated. We are hardly at the threshold of a new Cold War, but the developments are more than just superficial and we cannot dismiss this as just business as usual. We must take it seriously and keep a firm hand in navigating the situation. For one thing, we need to correct and counter Russian propaganda, which creates an untruthful image of reality. Denmark has put strategic communication on the agenda of the NB-8 cooperation between the Nordic and the Baltic States, which Denmark currently chairs, and – together with three other EU member states – placed it on top of the EU-agenda as well.

At the same time, we should remain ready to move cooperation with Russia towards gaining full benefit of the great potential that is inarguably present. The strategic challenge posed by Russia must not exclude pragmatic and clear-eyed cooperation in areas of mutual interest. This should be our guide as we move forward in 2015.

ISIL, Iraq and Syria

The advance of the terrorist group ISIL from war-torn Syria into Iraq shocked the international community and grew to a global problem. ISIL was in a sense something “new” – or at least different in its almost viral and rapid spread. Part of ISIL’s success can be explained by the former Iraqi government’s failure to allow especially the Sunni population access to political opportunities. Unfortunately ISIL was able to exploit this marginalization and to gain support among many disenfranchised Sunni groups. But at the same time, ISIL was remarkably well-funded and supplied and has demonstrated a strong drawing power on young people in our own communities, who choose to abandon life in the West to join these violent extremists seeking to undermine not only Western societies, but also the societies and diverse cultures of the Middle East. ISIL also threatens to become a factor in other serious conflicts in the region and its surroundings. Expanding its control in Iraq during the spring of 2014, ISIL created new massive waves of refugees.

More than 60 countries – including Denmark – and 3 international organizations joined the coalition against ISIL in an unprecedented response to an unprecedented challenge. Denmark contributes actively in the fight, as the Danish Parliament mandated first a C-130J transport airplane in August and later in October a further seven F-16 fighter aircraft as well as training missions to both Iraqi and Kurdish security forces in their fight against ISIL. This forms part of the total Danish contribution ranging across a broad spectrum of efforts involving civilian, diplomatic and military support. To succeed in eradicating this threat from terror, we need to secure not only peace on the ground but also inclusive governments in both Syria and Iraq. This calls for utilisation of all the tools at our disposal.

Even though the fight against ISIL in Iraq and Syria is further away geographically than the other challenges we face, we have had to respond nationally by trying to prevent young people from leaving Denmark to join ISIL, returning as potential threats. Countering the flow of “Foreign Fighters” to the region, Denmark engaged in international cooperation as well as nationally. We are also active in the fields of both countering ISILs financial basis and de-legitimizing the terrorist group. Finally, providing humanitarian aid to the hundreds of thousands of refugees and internally displaced persons in the region, Denmark also strives to bring relief to the victims of ISILs terror.

The brutal attack on the magazine Charlie Hebdo in Paris in the early days of 2015 was a tragic reminder of the interconnectivity and mobility of threats in today’s world, where threats from far away can strike us at home. It reminds us to continue promoting our core values, work for increased stability in the region and support the demands of dignity, justice, freedom and improvements in living standards made by the populations in fragile countries, focusing our efforts where we can make the biggest difference – including through the EU and the UN.

Classic international affairs

On top of no less than two turbulent challenges, 2014 also saw significant developments in many well-known “classic” affairs on the global scene. To name only a few, I would highlight the following:

Peace talks between the Israelis and the Palestinians broke down once again in 2014 and the conflict in Gaza over the summer was extremely serious with more than 2,000 Palestinian casualties. The two-state solution remains

the corner stone for real peace, but the parties seem to be further apart than ever. The Israeli settlements are a major part of the problem. So is the lack of Palestinian coherence and legitimacy. Denmark supports the maintaining of pressure on both sides to move forward. Following Sweden's recognition of Palestine as a state on 30 October 2014, state-recognition has been the subject of debate in several European countries, in the EU and of course also in Denmark. The Danish government looks forward to recognizing a Palestinian state as part of a two-state solution. It is my firm belief, that recognition will have the greatest possible, positive impact, if it is the result of a coordinated EU effort based on broadest possible consensus. Timing will be of essence, as we work together with the other EU-member states towards the recognition and establishment of a viable Palestinian state.

In what could be a positive story for 2015, the *Iran-nuclear talks* continued in 2014 and were brought forward. Even though it was not possible to reach a comprehensive solution in 2014, we welcome the continued commitment and focus on reaching a comprehensive solution that addresses the international community's concern regarding Iran's nuclear programme as soon as possible. It is my hope that Iran will engage constructively in the region and help change the negative dynamics there.

In the *Arctic*, the Kingdom of Denmark filed a submission to the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (CLCS) regarding the continental shelf area north of Greenland on 15 December 2014. The area consists of approx. 896,000 km². The process has been characterised by the good cooperation not only between authorities within the Kingdom of Denmark but also with our Arctic neighbours – including Russia – fully in line with the 2008 Ilulissat-declaration. In 2015 we will continue efforts to secure a sustainable development of the Arctic Region, emphasizing that this development should be for the benefit of the peoples living there. The Arctic continues to be a region of low tension. We must work to ensure that things stay that way by continuing cooperation in the Arctic Council and elsewhere. Spill-over from conflicts elsewhere should be avoided. Economic development and sustainability remains key priorities for Denmark.

The turn of the year marked the conclusion of the ISAF mission, the end of Denmark's combat role in *Afghanistan* and a new phase in the relationship between Afghanistan and the international community. The relatively peaceful presidential elections of 2014 marked the first democratic transfer of power in Afghanistan's history. However, considerable challenges remain. In 2014, a new Danish Afghanistan strategy was adopted with broad par-

liamentary support. Denmark will remain actively engaged in supporting Afghanistan's continued progress by contributing substantially to NATO's new training mission and continuing our considerable civilian efforts.

In *the EU*, 2014 saw European elections and approval of a new European Commission with an increased focus strategic added value in their mantra of "being bigger on the big things and smaller on the small things". The Commission will also focus on stronger coherence between EU's internal and external instruments. The development of an energy union is an example of a political project, which has the potential to create jobs, combat climate change and increase energy efficiency, but also bears towards the geo-strategic aim of reducing Europe's dependency on Russian energy and other third country energy supplies. For Denmark, another important step was taken in 2014 with the decision of the Danish government to hold a referendum on the justice and home affairs opt-out no later than 30 March 2016. The EU is an important platform for ensuring our internal security – not least in the field of counter-terrorism – and I hope that Denmark will soon be able to engage fully with the EU in these matters. Also of note was the establishment of the European Patent Court, which Denmark approved by a large majority in a referendum in 2014. In my view, it is in our own self-interest as a small and open economy to engage fully in the European Union. We must make the most of our efforts through a constructive and proactive engagement in European affairs.

On *climate and energy*, one of the most important challenges of our time, Denmark also continued to pursue an ambitious agenda in preparation for the COP21 in Paris this year.

Denmark actively supported an ambitious EU-package on energy and climate, which was agreed by the European Council on 23 October 2014. The EU showed leadership by agreeing on the domestic 2030 greenhouse gas reduction target of at least 40 % compared to 1990. Coupled with considerable contributions to the Green Climate Fund, Denmark and the EU showed commitment to address climate challenges. The agreement made at COP20 in Lima on the process for this year's climate negotiations, including contributions to national determined mitigation efforts and the momentum created by the US-China deal on greenhouse gas reduction targets gives hope for an ambitious global climate agreement later in 2015. However, the negotiations will not be easy. In 2015, I will support EU's climate diplomacy efforts to reach out to strategic important countries.

To top it all off, Denmark was also busy hosting two major conferences in 2014. Denmark hosted the *Somalia High Level Partnership Forum*, which brought together the parties to the conflict and international partners. Denmark also continued to be very active in seeking to ensure *global green growth*. We hosted a 3GF-conference (Global Green Growth Forum), which brought together world leaders around this important agenda of inclusive green growth and we will continue to pursue this agenda in 2015.

As a final memento of 2014, the *Ebola-crisis* is still of grave concern in the most affected countries – Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone. Many lives have been lost and families have been torn apart because of the deadly virus. The international community joined forces with the affected countries, and by the end of 2014 we began to see some positive developments. In addition to contributing financially to various efforts under the UN, the EU and the World Bank, Denmark has deployed a team of 20 health care personnel to Sierra Leone. While still focusing on getting the epidemic under control, we will continue to work together with the international community to support the affected countries and communities in ensuring that the outbreak does not lead to a downward spiral undermining further the stability and progress in the region.

All in all, 2014 was a year in which we had to make use of all the tools at our disposal. The many challenges clearly demonstrated the value of common, negotiated solutions as well as the value of comprehensive, customised approach. Even if “the negotiation track” may not yet have delivered firm solutions to the many challenges, a shared approach is beneficial in making headway or keeping dialogue as a continued option.

The many challenges of 2014 have also reminded us of the value of working with likeminded partners. This holds true for the countries in the EU as well as in NATO. The crises in Ukraine and with ISIL on top of the many ongoing affairs resurfacing or continuing in the past year have shown that Denmark – as well as the EU – and the US remain closely bound in our joint values and interests. This close relationship underlines the strong value we attach to the transatlantic relationship. In this light, I hope we will soon see a transatlantic free-trade agreement allowing us both to realise important economic potential.

The “plate tectonics” of future foreign policy

2014 was a stepping stone in the constant flow of international affairs. But while immersed in the day to day “politics of the hour”, it is important not to lose sight of the long-term tendencies and trends that are already shaping the world of tomorrow. For the fundamental rules and frameworks are slowly, but steadily changing. This holds true for the global economy – but similarly for the political displacement of power.

The shift in economic power has accelerated, moving from Europe towards the emerging economies in Asia, Latin America and Africa. As trade with these new power centers become increasingly important, so too will political cooperation. The growth economies naturally want more influence on the functioning and core values of international cooperation. This brings about new challenges as well as opportunities.

Adding to the diffusion of power, non-state actors will play an increasing role in the years to come. Cities already emerge as actors on the international scene, as do private donors in relation to development assistance.

It is all part of wider, fundamental shifts which will alter the world radically in the coming decades. The world economy will double over the next 20 years. The global middle class will grow by 3 billion people – and both the United States’ and the EU’s share of the global GNP will decrease, rendering the EU and the US relatively smaller – albeit still very significant – players economically. Also the demographic challenge is daunting. The world population will increase to almost 9 billion people, a larger share being above the age of 60 and with many more living in cities compared to today. This poses economic, health-related and environmental challenges.

The long-term trends point first and foremost to the EU as our best platform for collectively shaping and influencing the global changes and great challenges we experience today. Through the Common Foreign and Security Policy we contribute to shaping a global actor. And in the economic arena, a well-functioning internal market as a framework for Danish exports to nearby markets is a pre-requisite for Danish welfare in the long term.

The global changes are spreading to Denmark – and to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 2014 we underwent the largest adjustment of our representation structure in recent times, a reform that altered our representation in no less than 25 countries and leading to new embassies and a stronger presence in 10 countries. At the same time, we have given priority to eco-

conomic diplomacy, drawing on all instruments across the Danish Foreign Service to support the effort of promoting Danish economic and business interests globally.

The emerging economies are all facing a number of fundamental, strategic choices in determining economic and societal development. As a country, we have a natural interest in guiding decisions in an environmentally and socially sustainable direction. Denmark and Danish businesses have experience and comparative advantages within the fields of expertise sought after by these countries, for instance in relation to green solutions or health solutions. This presents mutually beneficial opportunities for emerging countries and Denmark. Advantages can similarly appear in providing systematic cooperation between Danish authorities and authorities in the emerging countries on political framework conditions. To this end, we have entered into strong and growing partnerships with other Danish authorities to provide new and sought after political instruments to growing markets.

Closing remarks

Denmark should be present where it matters when it matters. The world as we know it is changing fundamentally, and so will Danish foreign policy. I hope it will do so towards the three guiding pillars of *security* for Denmark and Danish interests, *welfare* as we strive to create progress and economic growth for Danish business, employees and our society in general, and the promotion of our *values* as we take responsibility for creating a better world. These guiding pillars were defined in dialogue with the public in the past year. They may not be new, but they are important and we must keep up with changes in our framework conditions, as we work to ensure having the proper tools for this also in the future.

2014 was a historical stepping stone towards this future. It reiterated that a significant threat to our society continues to stem from extremist militants bent on terror. And threats far from home are still relevant to our security. It reminded us that we are still in the grip of classic security policy, where our neighbourhood can be violated by aggression aiming at territorial annexation. It did this while still moving ahead on the many well-known dossiers of foreign policy, which in an ordinary year would have managed to keep us quite busy.

As we move into 2015, what do we take with us? First of all, we are still facing the challenges that emerged in 2014. But we do so knowing, that we

have taken action to address these developments. We do so as part of the EU, as part of NATO, as part of the UN and as part of a coalition spanning 60 countries, that are trying to bring stability to areas, where there currently is none. And as a Foreign Service, we are doing so as part of strong and growing partnerships with Danish and foreign authorities.

Danish Defence Policy 150 years after the Defeat of 1864

Nicolai Wammen, Minister of Defence

In 1864 Denmark lost the two duchies of Slesvig and Holstein, casting a shadow over Danish defence policy for more than a hundred years, and prompting a policy of neutrality that has now disappeared. Today, 150 years after the defeat, Danish defence and security policy is characterized by a deep engagement in NATO, the UN, the EU, and for the last fifteen years participation in coalitions of the willing. Danish defence policy has changed from involving the direct defence of the Kingdom – the territory – to being a combination of an expeditionary forces and a force that protects the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Denmark on land, at sea and in the air.

No countries came to the rescue of Denmark in 1864: as a non-aligned nation Denmark was forced to defend itself. During the Cold War, Danish forces exercised year after year how reinforcements from NATO countries like the USA and Great Britain would arrive and protect Denmark. During the Cold War NATO was and is still the main supplier of security to Denmark, while Denmark itself has also become a supplier of security to other NATO countries.

Denmark considers its membership of NATO to be of the greatest importance. We have learned from our history the hard way how difficult it is to stand alone. Denmark has therefore engaged in playing an active role in the Alliance. There must be no doubt about our commitment to the Alliance, nor about the coherence of the Alliance. We – the Alliance members – reassured each other of our commitment to NATO at the Wales Summit.

More than 700 Danish soldiers participated in the exercise Saber Strike in June 2014. The Danish forces were deployed to Lithuania in the form of reinforcements, just as American forces would have reinforced Denmark during the Cold War. This is a main change in Danish defence policy. The

defence of Denmark is no longer only a matter of defending the Kingdom, but also of reinforcing our allies.

There is no clear and present danger to the Danish territory. A few years ago we predicted a ten-year warning of a threat to Danish territory. Today we do not know when a threat will occur, but we think it will be a threat to other NATO countries as well that Denmark will act upon. Conventional deterrence was important during the Cold War – it was an expensive lesson from the past – a lesson that in 2014 we had to relearn. But conventional deterrence is just one answer to a new and uncertain world.

There is no present threat to Danish territory from uniformed and organised military units like the Prussian and Austrian soldiers who fought Danish soldiers in 1864. The threats we face today are far less clear, and we struggle to find suitable labels: hybrid warfare, cyber warfare, asymmetric warfare. And labels change over time, probably becoming less clear. Take hybrid warfare, which has been discussed for around ten years, originally as a discussion of the threat we were facing in Afghanistan and Iraq, threats from non-governmental actors. Today we see hybrid warfare as a general threat conducted by both states and non-governmental actors alike.

President Kennedy faced a similar phenomenon in a Cold War setting when he argued that ‘this is another type of war, new in its intensity, ancient in its origin – war by guerrillas, subversives, insurgents, assassins, war by ambush instead of by combat; by infiltration, instead of aggression, seeking victory by eroding and exhausting the enemy instead of engaging him.’ Kennedy was keenly aware that conventional responses did not fit an opponent using unconventional means.

Hybrid warfare is a blend of regular and irregular warfare using all available means, from intelligence operations, propaganda, cyber network operations via special operations to the use of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. In other words, it represents a full range of tools with which to engage an opponent on both the civilian and military levels. Developing resilience against hybrid challenges depends to a large extent on the ability to create situational awareness and share this awareness with allies. It challenges our ability to coordinate efforts with the government, as well as between our allies and ourselves, and between NATO and the EU. In other words, to address hybrid threats, Denmark and its allies will need to use a comprehensive approach that includes both the capabilities of civil society and those of government within a unity of effort.

Resilience is not only a military matter, however. A strong civil society is based on truth. This simple, yet radical insight must be at the basis of our

dealing with potential infiltration, and we should support efforts to disseminate information in order to counter propaganda. Myths, lies, propaganda and strategic communication distributed by social media are powerful tools.

After 1864 a myth arose in Denmark: the Prussian forces had defeated their Danish opponent by using breech-loading guns. That is, Denmark had lost the technological race. There is some truth in this myth – the Prussian soldiers used breech-loading guns and could fire more bullets per minute than the Danish soldiers. Although many factors contributed to the defeat of 1864, the myth was involved in the years to come to explain Denmark's defeat. The myth was an important part of Danish history for at least a century. It shaped Danish politics, and it shows us how strong a myth, history and propaganda can be. Today we see how states and terrorist groups are using myths, history and propaganda on the social media – we need to learn to face and fight this.

Danish soldiers faced new weapons in the war of 1864, in the same way that we face new weapons today and in the near future. With our allies we are trying to be at the forefront of technological developments. We cannot afford to be on our own. Together with European and American industry, highly specialised Danish companies are continually developing. But being at the technological forefront is no guarantee of success. To some extent it has been a surprise, how low-tech weapons like IEDs [improvised explosive devices] have been able to harass western forces. This means that the armed forces will risk meeting forces, governmental or non-governmental, using high-tech weapons and systems mixed with low-tech, old-fashioned weapons.

Technology that a few years ago was so expensive that only great powers or technologically advanced countries had the knowledge and economic means to develop and use them is becoming cheaper. Take drones, which 25 years ago were mainly an extremely expensive military asset: today private companies are using them, and small drones are used as toys.

New technology also gives us new possibilities. The whole cyber domain offers possibilities that we could only dream of ten to twenty years ago. But the more we use the possibilities, the more we are open to threats. In 1864 there was a military build-up that took several weeks and months. Today a cyber attack can happen with little or no warning. We might not even discover that an attack has happened until later. The classic escalation ladder is not the same in cyberspace.

The intention here is not to paint a gloomy picture. Yes, we face new challenges, and yes, threats are increasingly diverse. But the Danish armed

forces are highly skilled and technologically advanced. And we are committed to continuing to strengthen the resilience of Danish society.

During the previous decade we have honed our ability to engage in peace-keeping, peace-enforcement and stabilisation operations. These skills will serve us well in a changing security environment.

The war of 1864 shaped Danish defence policy for more than a century. In 1864 Denmark was a small state, and we remain a small state today. But the main difference from 1864 is that Denmark is not alone. We are part of the world's strongest military alliance, which provides us with much better security than 150 years ago.

Rude Awakening: Security Challenges in Northern Europe

*Daniel S. Hamilton**

Introduction

Insecurity has returned to northern Europe, sparked in particular by Russia's illegal annexation of the Crimean region of Ukraine, its deployment of troops across Ukraine's borders to support Ukrainian separatists, and provocative military activities towards all northern European countries, their allies and partners. These tensions, in turn, have generated additional uncertainties in the High North, with its shared borders and special neighborhood, where concerns had already been building over rapid climate change, the pace and nature of natural resource development, and the security implications of changing transportation patterns.

NATO and European Union countries have responded to Russia's aggression with sanctions, even as they have sought to bolster the besieged Ukrainian government and seek a peaceful resolution to the Ukrainian crisis. NATO nations came together in Wales in September 2014 to affirm and reinforce their commitment to collective defence with a series of new measures. NATO's partners Sweden and Finland deepened their relationship with the Alliance and with each other. All the Nordic countries strengthened their own defence collaboration and extended important provisions to the Baltic states. These actions came as western countries debated the nature and extent of Europe's new security challenges and explored how they could best refocus on defence at home following decades of attention to expeditionary crisis management abroad.

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The New Landscape

2014 marked the 25th anniversary of the opening of the Iron Curtain and the eventual end of the Cold War. Over the ensuing quarter century, and particularly after the Balkan wars of the 1990s, a generalized sense took hold in Western capitals that the natural state of the 'post-Cold War' era would be European peace and stability. The conventional wisdom was that Europe had turned the page on its twentieth-century horrors and divisions. Leaders and publics were eager to move on.

In addition, terrorist attacks in the United States, Europe and other continents, together with ongoing turmoil across the broader Middle East, prompted western countries, including those in northern Europe, to turn their attention to combatting terrorism at home and abroad and projecting stability far from Europe's shores. There was a widespread consensus that the 'post-Cold War' security order in Europe was stable, that the magnetic qualities of life within the European Union would eventually lead eastern and southeastern European neighbors to align themselves to its standards, that NATO did not face significant threats to its collective defence, and that its most likely missions would be out-of-area crisis management operations. American opinion leaders essentially declared Europe to be 'fixed': many believed the United States could afford to 'reset' its relations with Moscow, 'pivot' to rising challenges and opportunities in the Asia-Pacific theatre, and invest greater energy in building new strategic partnerships with a range of powers rising beyond Europe.¹

These 'post-Cold War' verities were shredded by Russia's violation of the 1994 Budapest Memorandum on Security Assurances against threats or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of Ukraine; its illegal annexation of the Crimean region of Ukraine; its active support for Ukrainian separatists and destabilization of Ukraine; the launching of missiles from Russian into Ukrainian territory; the deployment of tens of thousands of troops on the Russian-Ukrainian border and many into Ukrainian territory itself; violations of the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, including its clauses regarding the sanctity and peaceful change of borders; violations of the 2002 NATO–Russia Rome Declaration, which reaffirmed Russia's commitment to show 'respect for [the] sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all states and their inherent right to choose the means to ensure their own security;' Vladimir Putin's proclamation of a duty to protect ethnic Russians in other countries, regardless of their citizenship; efforts to intimidate European energy consumers; cyber attacks in Estonia;

and provocative military activities in the High North, the Baltic Sea and towards Baltic, Nordic and other European states.

Russia's actions rudely awakened western elites and publics to the turmoil and violence that continue to beset wider Europe – the Europe beyond the EU and NATO – and to the possibility that the fashionable certitudes of the 'post-Cold War era' offer a less useful historical frame to understanding Europe's security challenges than the unfashionable uncertainties of the 'post-Soviet succession' – a far more turbulent, open-ended and longer-lasting re-shuffling of relationships among and within European societies and among states than many cared to admit or acknowledge.

The 'post-Cold War' mindset posits that Europe's twentieth-century earthquake has ended. Things have stopped shaking. The ground is stable. According to this perspective, Ukraine is an episode to be resolved. Tragic, but peripheral and fixable. The 'post-Soviet succession' frame implies that the earthquake is ongoing and can be dangerous. The ground is still shaking, and the landscape is still likely to change. According to this perspective, Ukraine is a symptom, not an episode. While Ukrainians bear significant responsibility for the dysfunction and turmoil that has gripped their country, their drama is only part of much broader and deeper historical changes that are underway.

The collapse of the Soviet Empire necessitated a re-ordering of Russia's relations with its neighbors, relations among the post-Soviet successor states, and a restructuring of societal relations within all the countries across this vast space. When the Soviet Union dissolved, 25 million people living outside the Russian Federation found themselves to be former citizens of a non-existent country; in many cases it was questionable whether they had just as suddenly become equal citizens of their newly independent countries of residence.

Daily headlines trumpet the reality that this historical re-ordering is neither complete nor likely to settle soon. Allegiances are in flux.

Vast swathes of wider Europe are still beset with historical animosities and multiple crises, including a number of conflicts that in some way affect all of Europe. Tensions over Transnistria, Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia and South Ossetia, which some euphemistically label 'frozen conflicts,' are in reality festering wounds that absorb energy and drain resources from countries that are already weak and poor, inhibiting the process of state-building and the democratization of societies. They offer fertile ground for corruption, organized crime, trafficking and terrorism. They foster the proliferation of arms and a climate of intimidation. They are a major source of instability

within these countries and the broader region. Ukraine, already impoverished, insecure and in turmoil, can only lose from a situation that enshrines two such festering conflicts on its territory in Crimea and the Donbas. Belarus remains a dictatorship. All told, wider Europe is significantly less democratic, less secure and less at peace than it was at the beginning of this decade. And in a Europe without walls, unless stability spreads eastward, instability will spread westward – in fact, it already has.

The epicenter of the post-Soviet earthquake, of course, is Russia itself. Vladimir Putin feels the tremors; he knows his house is still shaking. Having failed to maintain significant influence over a unitary Ukrainian state, he is determined to employ a full array of instruments, including military force, to maintain as much influence as he can over Ukrainian developments and to disrupt and undermine the reformist Ukrainian government. He knows that if the Maidan movement and reforms in Ukraine become successful, they would not only undermine his legacy, they would resonate throughout other post-Soviet states and Russia itself.

Putin's response reaches beyond Ukraine, however. He is assaulting basic principles and structures underpinning the 'post-Cold War' European security order and is openly questioning the sovereign integrity of a number of European states. He has demonstrated clearly and forcefully that he intends to treat wider Europe as Russia's own special preserve. He has engaged in a determined effort to improve Russia's capacity to mobilize and deploy large forces quickly, and has proved both willing and able to conduct effective asymmetric operations inside the sovereign territory of other countries.

There is thus a significant link between Putin's external strategy and policies and the nature of Russia's authoritarian democracy. In part because Putin has not used Russia's energy wealth to diversify its economy, build its infrastructure or tackle societal ills, he has turned to hard-line anti-Western approaches as a key source for his legitimization. He presents his illiberal regime as an alternative to Western liberal social, political and economic models and saturates his population with disinformation about how the West besieges the Motherland. His ratings remain high.

Threats and Provocations

The tempo of Russian military activities designed to harass and intimidate other European countries increased precipitously in 2014 and continued in 2015.

Russian air activity along the borders of NATO increased 50 percent from 2013 to 2014. In northern Europe, NATO fighter aircraft scrambled to intercept Russian bombers, fighters and other planes more than 130 times in 2014, roughly triple the number of interceptions in 2013. Norway intercepted 74 Russian warplanes off its coast in 2014 – far fewer than the hundreds of Soviet planes Norway tracked annually off its coast at the height of the Cold War, but a drastic increase from the 11 Russian warplanes Norway spotted 10 years earlier.²

In September 2014, Russian strategic nuclear bombers carried out simulated cruise missile attacks against North America; Russian medium-range bombers entered Swedish airspace to test the reactions of its air defence forces; Russian fighters buzzed a Canadian frigate in the Black Sea; and Russian warships seized a Lithuanian fishing vessel in international waters in the Barents Sea and brought it to Murmansk.³ These provocations followed from a particularly embarrassing incident in 2013 when a sortie of Russian Backfire bombers and accompanying fighter jets caught Swedish air defences napping as they staged a mock bombing run on Stockholm and southern Sweden. No Swedish planes were scrambled; Danish F-16 fighter jets belonging to NATO's Baltic mission in Lithuania had to jump into action to intercept the Russians.

Equally disturbing has been a pattern of audacious intentional efforts by Russian authorities to deploy armed aircraft – without transponders – in ways that endanger civilian air traffic in northern Europe. Multiple incidents have occurred in which U.S., Danish, Norwegian and Swedish aircraft have each been forced to take evasive action. In January 2015, two Russian Tu-95 bombers flew down the Norwegian coast and then, their transponders turned off, crossed into the English Channel, playing havoc with civilian air traffic and prompting the Royal Air Force to scramble.⁴

Russian warships have also intruded into Baltic countries' territorial waters, including one occasion when Russian vessels engaged in live-firing exercises that severely disrupted civilian shipping throughout the region.

Russia has also sharply increased so-called snap military exercises that, in violation of established procedure, are either kept secret or announced at the

last minute.⁵ One such exercise was used as a pretext for Russia's seizure of the Ukrainian region of Crimea in March 2014.

Some exercises are tit-for-tat activities related to NATO's own program of maneuvers. Among these was Russia's June 2014 exercise in Kaliningrad Oblast as a response to NATO's BALTOPS '14 and Saber Strike '14 exercises in the Baltic Sea area, and a snap exercise held in March 2015 across from Norway's northern border with Russia — just a week after Norwegian forces held their own, much smaller exercise, Joint Viking, which had been announced two years in advance.⁶

Other exercises are intended to demonstrate that Russia is back as a serious power. The Kaliningrad exercise in June 2014 was followed immediately by another week-long snap combat-readiness inspection exercise in the Central Military District involving 65,000 troops, 5,500 military vehicles, 180 aircraft, and 60 helicopters; and then by the Vostok 2014 strategic command and staff exercise in the Eastern Military District, involving about 100,000 troops, in September 2014; and a comprehensive civilian defence exercise, involving 300,000 people, in October 2014. In this latter maneuver the Russian air force and the Strategic Rocket Forces also participated, indicating a possible nuclear dimension to the exercise. These activities were all conducted in the absence of any similar exercise patterns of this scale in the West, despite Moscow's claims of provocative NATO and U.S. exercises near Russian borders.⁷

Moscow has also strengthened its military presence in the Arctic by setting up an Arctic Strategic Command in December 2014; equipping the Northern Fleet, based in Murmansk, with new nuclear submarines, aircraft, radars and other military equipment; setting up a string of bases along the vast northern coast; and reopening abandoned Soviet-era military facilities like its base at Alakurtti, close to Finland.⁸

Russian officials and opinion leaders have fed the scaremongering with bursts of belligerent language. 'If I wanted', Putin is reported to have told Ukraine's new president, Petro Poroshenko, in mid-September 2014, 'in two days I could have Russian troops not only in Kiev, but also in Riga, Vilnius, Tallinn, Warsaw, and Bucharest'.⁹ On March 20, 2015 Moscow's ambassador to Copenhagen proclaimed that Danish warships 'will be targets for Russia's nuclear weapons' if Denmark contributes radar to a Europe-based missile defence system planned by NATO. Denmark's foreign minister, Martin Lidegaard, dismissed the threat as 'unacceptable'.¹⁰

Russia's muscle-flexing reflects in part Moscow's renewed investment in its military capabilities. Russia spent \$9.2 billion on its military in 2000,

the year Vladimir Putin first became president. Since then Russian military spending has increased ten-fold, despite a slumping economy that has been hammered by collapsing oil prices and Western sanctions. Russian leaders were dismayed by the ragtag nature of their 2008 incursion into Georgia, and since then have engaged in a determined effort to bolster Russian military capacity. The result has been significant improvements in command systems and the ability of the armed forces to perform increasingly complex, high-tempo joint operations.¹¹

On December 26, 2014 Putin also signed a new military doctrine identifying NATO as Russia's top military threat and raising the possibility of a broader use of precision conventional weapons to deter foreign aggression. The 2014 edition maintains provisions of the 2010 military doctrine regarding the use of nuclear weapons, which states that Russia could use nuclear weapons in retaliation against the use of nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction against the country or its allies, and also in the case of aggression involving conventional weapons that 'threatens the very existence' of the Russian state. But the new doctrine goes further, stating for the first time that Russia could use precision weapons 'as part of strategic deterrent measures,' without spelling out when and how Moscow could resort to them.

Russia has supplemented its hard power projection with the active use of an array of soft power tools to seek influence within European societies, particularly those close to its borders.¹² Actors financed or directed by the Russian Federation are actively engaged in media and other efforts to influence the relatively sizable Russian-speaking minorities in Estonia and Latvia; undermine the confidence of non-Russian populations in the ability of the EU and NATO to assist them in the event of an external crisis; undercut Baltic credibility through a drumbeat of accusations regarding their allegedly 'fascist' past and present attachment to 'fascism'; and interfere directly in the domestic political systems of the Baltic states via nontransparent financial flows, for instance, between Russia's United Russia party and the Estonian Centre Party, the Latvian Harmony party and the Lithuanian Electoral Action of Poles in Lithuania.

These destabilization tactics took an even harsher turn in July 2014, when 298 people aboard Malaysia Airlines Flight 17 were shot down and killed over Donetsk, Ukraine, by a Russian-made anti-aircraft missile launched by pro-Russian separatist rebels or perhaps even Russian troops.

Then, in early September 2014, two days after U.S. President Barack Obama travelled to Estonia and pledged strong support to the three Baltic countries, Russian state security forces kidnapped at gunpoint an Estonian

Internal Security Service officer, Eston Kohver, from a border post on Estonian territory and spirited him to Moscow. As of April 2015, Kohver was still being held without trial in Moscow's notorious Lefortovo Prison on charges of espionage.¹³

Beyond all of these activities, perhaps the most extensive assertion of Russian power was Vladimir Putin's claim in a speech to the Duma on March 18, 2014, and repeated since, that Russia has the right to use force across its borders to protect the 'honor and dignity' of Russians living outside Russia, Russian speakers, and historically Russian territories. Who Putin defines to be 'Russian' is vague, but his statements indicate that he applies an expansive, *völkisch* definition to what he refers to as the *russkiy mir* ('Russian world') that blurs distinctions between ethnicity, language and citizenship.¹⁴ Putin used this rationale to justify his interventions in the Ukrainian region of Crimea and his support for separatists in the Donbas. This was already the rationale behind the festering conflicts in Moldova and Georgia. It could be used to challenge the position of Belarus and Kazakhstan. And since a number of NATO countries are home to significant Russian-speaking populations, taking this claim at face value implies that Russia could undertake actions directed against parts of NATO itself. In short, the application of such a doctrine would not only threaten Putin's neighbors. It not only questions the 'post-Cold War' framework of European security, it in fact challenges the entire international order created in the aftermath of World War II. As Timothy Garton Ash has remarked,

Across the world, countries see men and women living in other countries whom they regard as in some sense 'their people.' What if, as has happened in the past, Chinese minorities in Southeast Asian countries were to be the targets of discrimination and popular anger, and China (where, on a visit this spring, I heard admiration expressed for Mr. Putin's actions) decided to take up the mother country's burden, exercising its *völkisch* responsibility to protect?¹⁵

Of course, Russia is not the Soviet Union. It is plagued by severe economic, demographic, health and governance problems. It would struggle to cope with prolonged occupation of a substantial hostile population. Its GDP is less than that of California, and in per capita terms is less than that of Poland. It is not a peer competitor to the United States or the west. References

to a new Cold War ignore the very different context in which Europe's new security challenges present themselves.

Yet the vast spaces of wider Europe, including Russia, will remain turbulent, and sporadically violent, for the foreseeable future. The major actor in the region has proved itself willing and able to intimidate, harass, and project force to assert influence and prerogatives over an expanse of peoples and territories far beyond its own, extending into the member states of the EU and NATO.¹⁶ In fact, one of the most striking aspects of these challenges is that they are not limited to central and eastern Europe, but have extended across both northern and southern Europe as well, and could be further accentuated by the violence and turmoil that has engulfed the broader Middle East. Borders and principles are dissolving to Europe's east and south. The post-Soviet succession continues to rumble, post-Cold War certitudes are in tatters, and history is open.

These security challenges affect all Europeans, but it is unlikely that Europeans will be able to resolve them on their own. Moreover, Moscow's irredentism, together with continued turbulence in wider Europe, challenge U.S. interests in a Europe at peace, whole and free. Having focused for more than a decade on security challenges far from European shores, the United States and its allies and partners are again challenged to engage on challenges to security in Europe, and in particular to build a new consensus on how to deal with a resurgent, belligerent Russia.

Western Responses

Western countries have responded to Russia's aggressive new turn with sanctions, statements of condemnation, crisis diplomacy to halt the fighting in Ukraine, support for the new Ukrainian government, and efforts to shore up the NATO Alliance and bolster key NATO partnerships. Yet the West remains in a reactive mode, and is unlikely to adapt adequately to the new context in which Europe's security challenges are unfolding until it complements its deterrent responses with more robust, proactive approaches designed to build resilience to disruption and destabilization within and among western societies, and to project resilience forward to neighboring societies in wider Europe. Some efforts are underway; more needs to be done.

Crisis Diplomacy

A first step in defusing the Ukrainian conflict was reached with two agreements reached on September 5 and 19, 2014 in Minsk, the capital of Belarus, by representatives of Russia, Ukraine and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), as well as the leaders of the self-proclaimed Donetsk and Luhansk 'people's republics.' The arrangements set out a plan for halting artillery fire, withdrawing heavy weaponry, banning offensive operations and flights by combat aircraft over the security zone, freezing front lines and exchanging prisoners. It offered a degree of decentralisation of power and protection for the Russian language, political and economic reconstruction in the affected areas, the freeing of hostages and amnesties, the withdrawal of illegal armed formations and a buffer zone on the border. It accorded the OSCE a substantial monitoring role. Yet the agreement was repeatedly violated and few of its provisions fulfilled. It finally collapsed as full-scale fighting resumed in January 2015.¹⁷

A second cease-fire agreement, Minsk II, was finalized on February 11, 2015 by the leaders of Ukraine, Russia, France and Germany, and overseen by the OSCE. In part it represented a last-ditch effort by Chancellor Angela Merkel to head off the prospect of U.S. action to send armaments to the Ukrainian government. The agreement failed, however, to prevent separatists from capturing the important hub city of Debaltseve. Despite Russia's protestations that it was 'not a participant' in the conflict, the United States accused Russian armed forces of deploying around Debaltseve to help separatists force Ukrainian troops to retreat from the city. Shortly after Debaltseve fell to pro-Russian forces, fighting in the conflict zone abated. Yet as of May 2015 the situation remains precarious.

NATO Responses

In August 2008 the Russian army quickly defeated Georgia's military and then sliced off two sizable pieces of Georgia's territory (the self-declared independent republics of South Ossetia and Abkhazia), jangling nerves in the Baltic countries and Poland about NATO's commitment to defend them against Russian pressure or intervention. These doubts were reinforced later that year by Russian troop exercises along the Russian-Estonian border and by the provocative nature of Russia's 'Zapad' military exercises with Belarus in September 2009, which have been repeated in 2011 and again in 2013 to simulate preventive nuclear strikes against Poland and large-scale offensive operations against the Baltic countries.

In December 2009 NATO leaders sought to allay Baltic fears by authorizing the preparation of contingency plans for the reinforcement and defence of the whole Baltic region. NATO had already conducted contingency plans known as Eagle Guardian for the defence of Poland, but until 2009 had not done so for the Baltic States. The new plan designated a minimum of nine NATO divisions – from the United States, Britain, Germany and Poland – for combat operations to repulse an attack against Poland or the Baltic countries. NATO sought to offset Russian military activities in the region by carrying out major maneuvers of its own in 2012 and 2013. All NATO countries, as well as Finland, Sweden and Ukraine [then still headed by Yanukovich], took part in an exercise called Steadfast Jazz in early November 2013, but with lackluster U.S. and German participation.¹⁸

As tensions grew over Ukraine, in spring 2014 the United States and its allies stepped up their engagement in northern Europe. In March 2014 Washington augmented its naval presence in the Baltic Sea, deployed 12 F-15s and F-16s to Poland to assist air defence operations there, and dispatched 6 F-15C fighters and 2 KC-135 tanker aircraft to the headquarters of NATO's Baltic Air Policing Mission at Siauliai air base in Lithuania, joining 4 F-15Cs that had been on patrol from there since the mission was established in 2004, when the Baltic countries entered the alliance. Denmark, France and Britain sent additional fighter planes to Lithuania to expand the mission and to relieve some already on patrol. NATO expanded its surveillance of the Baltic region with extra flights of allied Airborne Warning and Control Systems [AWACS] planes. In April 2014 allied foreign ministers decided to 'suspend all practical civilian and military cooperation between NATO and Russia.'

These efforts were followed by U.S. President Barack Obama's June 2014 announcement in Warsaw of the European Reassurance Initiative (ERI), intended to increase the presence of U.S. forces in Europe through exercises, training and rotational deployments in support of NATO's Operation Atlantic Resolve, to enhance the responsiveness of U.S. forces to crises in Europe by improving reception facilities and prepositioning equipment, and to improve the indigenous defence and security capabilities of allies and partners Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia. The President asked Congress to provide \$1 billion to fund this initiative, which it did in the 2015 National Defense Authorization Act and the 2015 Defense Appropriations Act.

Finally, at the NATO Wales Summit in September 2014, Alliance leaders reaffirmed their mutual commitment to collective defence and took a number of decisions of particular importance to northern Europe.

First, NATO adopted a Readiness Action Plan that included the establishment of a multinational command and control presence and reception facilities on the territories of the Baltic states, Poland, Bulgaria and Romania, with air, land and sea personnel from all Allied countries being deployed on a rotational basis to provide 'continuous presence' and 'meaningful military activity.' NATO also undertook to upgrade infrastructure and to preposition weaponry and support equipment in order to enhance the alliance's capacity to uphold Article 5 in the Baltic region.¹⁹ Polish and Baltic officials had pressed for the permanent stationing of allied ground and air forces on their territories. In the end, the Alliance came to a consensus to deploy rotations that would fit within NATO's pledge in the 1997 NATO-Russia Founding Act to pursue collective defence by means other than the 'permanent stationing of substantial combat forces' in new member states.²⁰ NATO leaders decided to freeze rather than discard the Founding Act and to deploy allied troops on the territory of newly admitted member states in ways that could not be defined as the 'permanent stationing' of 'substantial' military forces.²¹ Allies agreed to boost from 4 to 16 the number of fighter jets on air-policing patrols over the Baltics, with Canada, Germany, the Netherlands and Portugal currently providing the planes, to commence AWACS surveillance flights over eastern NATO allies, and to enhance NATO's Standing Naval Forces in the Baltic Sea, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean with more ships and more types of ships. Several allies, including the United States, also sent ground and air forces to eastern allies on a bilateral basis.

The RAP has generated some reassurance for nervous allies, but it relies fundamentally on equipment prepositioning and rapid response in time of crisis. Poles and Balts in particular continue to press for permanent stationing. They argue that the rotational presence is inadequate to prevent Russian miscalculation regarding whether the Alliance is committed and prepared to respond to an Article 5 threat.

Alliance leaders also agreed to enlarge the 13,000-strong NATO Response Force and to put it on a higher state of readiness. They agreed to create a 'Spearhead Force' of up to several thousand ground forces supported by air, maritime and special forces, able to deploy to the Baltic region within a few days. An interim Spearhead Force, also known in NATO jargon as the Very High Readiness Joint Task Force, or VJTF, was established early in 2015, coordinated by SACEUR with forces predominantly from Germany, Norway and the Netherlands. In February 2015 NATO defence ministers pledged to increase the size of the Response Force to 30,000 and the Spear-

head Force to 5,000. The Spearhead Force is set to become operationally available in 2016.

A third important step at Wales was agreement on a 'Framework Nation Concept' to develop a fuller and more efficient spectrum of capabilities via deeper multinational cooperation. Under this approach, larger allied states will provide the military backbone of logistics, command and control to clusters of smaller and larger states, who will contribute specialized capabilities such as air defence or engineer units. In this manner each cluster of allies should become more cost-efficient, effective and sustainable, able to carry out longer and more complex operations. And since the United States has insisted it would only provide a maximum of 50 percent of each of NATO's capabilities in the future, the Framework Nation Concept is a means to enhance allied burden-sharing.

NATO allies strongly supported the FNC at Wales, but core questions of trust remain, especially over the degree to which individual allied countries are ready to lock in some degree of dependence on other allies in terms of military capabilities and political leadership. In addition, smaller countries worry that the FNC could simply become a vehicle to support the defence industrial interests of framework nations.²²

Fourth, Allied leaders committed their countries to spending a minimum of 2 percent of gross domestic product on defence by 2016, a pledge that has been made before, most notably after the Alliance's summit meeting in 2006, with little discernible result. Indeed, eight years later, of NATO's 28 member states, only the United States, Britain, Greece and Estonia meet that standard. And of those four, Estonia barely met its commitment; Greece's military expenditure is directed as much to tensions with fellow NATO ally Turkey as to common threats to NATO; and UK defence capacity has deteriorated considerably in recent years, with further cuts looming. Given European economic woes, most allies will be hard pressed to realize their pledge. Yet it is hard for Americans to take European rhetoric seriously when European governments do little to strengthen their militaries in light of Russian behavior and rising challenges to European security emanating from its southern periphery.²³

Fifth, Alliance leaders agreed to integrate crisis management as an early step on the collective defence ladder of escalation, rather than approaching it as a separate task, which in the past had led to the rather confused conflation of collective defence with security. This was done primarily with the interests of southern allies in mind, as a means of relating such activities as the fight

against the so-called Islamic State to the Alliance's collective defence provisions, but it is also likely to have some positive effect in northern Europe as well, as it makes a direct link between crisis management activities and the Alliance's collective defence commitments.²⁴

Of particular importance to security in northern Europe were NATO's decision to deepen its partnership with Sweden and Finland through a Enhanced Opportunities Program (EOP), and individual agreements between both Sweden and Finland with NATO regarding Host Nation Support mechanisms.

The Enhanced Opportunities Program (EOP) makes it possible for Sweden, Finland, and advanced partners Australia, Georgia and Jordan to be included in advanced NATO exercises, regular policy consultations on regional security, involvement in NATO's Smart Defence and Connected Forces Initiatives, and NATO discussions of new initiatives, among other elements. It offers the potential for Swedish and Finnish participation in NATO's High Readiness Force Headquarters Multinational Corps Northeast, based in Szczecin, Poland, which is set to become central to NATO Readiness Action Plan efforts to exercise command and control in the full range of Alliance missions in NATO's northeastern region, including the VJTF, or Spearhead Force, as well as NATO Force Integration Units in the Baltic States and Poland. The EOP resulted in part from Swedish and Finnish efforts, including a joint paper presented to NATO, suggesting ways to enhance their respective partnerships with the Alliance. While some allies, including Norway and the Baltic states, express some concerns that integrated reliance on partners rather than allies could undermine NATO's collective defence provisions, both Sweden and Finland have become NATO's highest value-added partners in a range of operational missions and exercises.

The second significant partnership initiative was the signing of individual Host Nation Support Memoranda of Understanding enabling joint training exercises and military cooperation, and providing assistance from NATO forces on the territory of the two Nordic countries upon their invitation in situations related to disasters, disruptions or threats to security. For both Sweden and Finland, the Memoranda are important steps towards facilitating and thereby increasing their respective capability to be part of NATO training, exercises and operations. The two parliaments must still adopt the necessary legislation to implement the arrangements, and that is anticipated for 2016. Nonetheless, it is already possible today for either country to sign a technical agreement for a specific time-limited activity, for example, an exercise, on Swedish or Finnish territory.

Taken together, the two initiatives underscore how northern Europe is breaking new ground with respect to the modernization of NATO's partnerships. NATO's Partnership for Peace, now over twenty years old, has proved its value, but its basic hub-and-spokes model needs revision. Over the course of operations in Afghanistan and elsewhere, some partners proved themselves more capable than some allies. Yet the Alliance has not always been able to extract full benefit from such value-added partners. Partners are each linked to NATO, but are not always optimally linked to each other. Different partners have different aspirations with regard to the Alliance. Some want to be members, others want to be interoperable, still others prefer little more than dialogue. Until the Wales initiatives, the partnership framework did not address such distinctions well. And while the Wales package was a good step, more could be done.

Looking forward to NATO's 2016 Warsaw Summit, NATO might consider modernizing the EOP the Partnership for Peace by taking it further. For northern European partners Sweden and Finland, this might include an enhanced role as Premier Interoperable Partners (PIP) via an opt-in model²⁵ that brings both countries into the RAP, includes them in the Spearhead Force, and provides for structured and regular consultations at the political, military and intelligence levels with the North Atlantic Council, the Military Committee, the International Staff and the International Military Staff. This would occur routinely on all levels, including the ministerial and summitry. These would not be plus-one arrangements, but a practical and regular part of doing business at NATO headquarters, Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) and Allied Command Transformation (ACT) in Norfolk. Consultations would cover all relevant matters related to operational connectivity, capability development, capacity building, and prevention and thematic issues of political significance, as well as offering early involvement in policy discussions relevant to operations, a role in planning and decision-shaping relating to exercises, education and training, and full access to NATO Smart Defence programs and the Connected Forces Initiative.

Northern European Responses

NATO's reaffirmed commitment to collective defence as presented at Wales provides an important, if insufficient frame for the western response to Europe's new security challenges. At the same time, northern European countries have been taking steps individually and within the region to enhance security. Lithuania, for instance, opened up a new liquefied natural gas terminal to reduce its total reliance on pipeline supplies from Russia's Gazprom. In 2015 it plans to increase its military defence spending by 50 percent to €400 million. Estonia's defence budget is set to increase by 7.3 percent and Latvia's by 14.9 percent.²⁶

Poland has been particularly active, being engaged in a major redeployment of its national defence forces from bases in the western part of the country to fortify positions in the east. It plans to build a series of watchtowers along its 200-kilometer border with Kaliningrad. It is considering the establishment of a Territorial Defence Force, similar to the U.S. National Guard. It has expanded its law on who can be called up for service in case of 'military maneuvers' to cover almost all males, not just current or former reservists. It has formed a joint multinational brigade with Ukraine and Lithuania, with headquarters in Lublin. It has revised its national security strategy and has earmarked €33.6 billion for a military modernization program that will include anti-aircraft systems, armored personnel carriers, submarines, combat drones, and its own missile shield program within NATO, complementing the NATO missile defence program it is conducting with the United States. Warsaw has chosen Raytheon's Patriot system for its air and missile defence program, a contract worth an estimated \$5.6 billion. Washington has also agreed to loan Warsaw a temporary set of Patriot batteries until the purchased products are delivered.²⁷ Warsaw has also chosen Airbus for a \$3 billion contract to supply 50 multipurpose helicopters, is joining Australia and Finland as the third non-U.S. country to acquire AGM-158 joint air-to-surface standoff missiles (JASSMs) for its fleet of F-16 Block 52+ fighter jets, and is in talks with Washington on the possibility of acquiring Tomahawk cruise missiles for the three submarines it aims to purchase by 2023.²⁸ The plans will enable Warsaw to meet its Wales Summit pledge to spend 2 percent of its gross domestic product on defence.

The Nordic countries are also taking steps to re-adapt their armed forces to defensive capabilities after each had tailored its forces primarily for crisis management and international operations. Now that territorial defence has returned as a high priority, Denmark, Norway and Sweden are finding it

difficult to adjust as they discover they lack boots on the ground, adequate reserves, infrastructure and mobilization capabilities. Over the past decade, for instance, Denmark has rid itself of major defence systems, including the Danish submarine force. Finland is the only Nordic country that can still generate substantial trained combat forces, and it is considering the formation of a 'spearhead force' mirroring that of NATO, but its forces are under-equipped.²⁹

Yet such efforts take place in a context in which Denmark, Norway, Iceland and the Baltic states are NATO members and Finland and Sweden are not, which sets limit on the most effective and efficient possibilities for northern European defence.

Russian activities have been a particularly rude awakening for Sweden and Finland. Swedish Foreign Minister Margot Wallström has said that the Swedish population is now 'seriously frightened by Russia.'³⁰ Finland's president, Sauli Niinistö, who is also the commander-in-chief of the Finnish Armed Forces, has stated that relations between Russia and western nations are now more 'strained' than at any time since the end of the Cold War.

During the post-Cold War period, when threats seemed distant, the 'non-aligned-yet-close-to-NATO' approach adopted by Sweden and Finland enabled each country to be seen as a reliable, value-added partner and to make the most of collaborative defence without undermining its strong domestic consensus against defensive pacts. In the current environment of threats closer to home, however, doubts have arisen as to whether the self-reliance implied by non-alignment can really guarantee adequate defence, particularly in a period of austerity, when the costs of sustaining modern welfare states while maintaining credible defence alone are forcing unpalatable choices. While a majority of Finns and Swedes still do not support NATO membership, the issue is more open to debate than in the past, and there are signs of change.

Swedish Prime Minister Stefan Löfven, who was elected in September 2014, has made it clear that Sweden will not apply for NATO membership during the term of his administration. Yet support among Swedes for NATO membership rose from 28 percent to 33 percent from April to December 2014, while those opposing membership fell from 56 percent to 47 percent.³¹ A March 2015 poll showed an astounding 48 percent of Swedish respondents favoring NATO membership, with only 35 percent opposed.³²

Support for NATO membership, while still a minority opinion, has also been rising in Finland, where security was one of the main topics of the 2015 election campaign. As a sign of the shifting mood, the Left Alliance

was the only party to rule out NATO membership in the next parliament. An opinion poll released one week before the election indicated some 40 percent opposed to NATO membership, 32 percent undecided, and 28 percent supportive. Finnish President Sauli Niinistö has said that Finland needs to explore all possible security partnerships, including with the United States.³³

Given acute security challenges and budgetary pressures, each country realizes it cannot afford to delay intensified defence cooperation. Each is betting that, by thickening the web of defence relationships it has with the other, as well as with its regional, EU and NATO partners, it will generate an adequate insurance policy against Russian encroachment. But because neither country is a full ally, each is also paying a high premium for that insurance policy without any assurance that it will pay out should it become necessary to redeem it. Meanwhile, some allies remain reluctant to accord either country equivalent access or participation for fear of diluting the distinction between allies and partners when it comes to core issues of collective defence.³⁴

Faced with their own challenges, as well as this broader context of concerns, Sweden and Finland have turned to each other. In February 2015 the two countries agreed to a joint program of deepened cooperation covering all aspects of peacetime activities, including mutual use of bases, combined anti-submarine warfare and other exercises, exchange of officers, intelligence sharing and secure communications links, joint area surveillance operations, common command and control capabilities, a 'partly integrated Finnish-Swedish air force,' and the creation of a combined Finnish-Swedish Brigade Framework and a joint Naval Task Group. Each is working to change its laws to offer and receive assistance to and from each other as well as other partners and NATO, in accordance with the Host Nation Support arrangements each signed at the 2014 NATO Wales Summit.³⁵

These efforts have been supplemented by stepped-up defence cooperation among all five Nordic States to include more joint exercises, deeper cooperation in international missions, improved intelligence sharing, greater defence industrial cooperation, and more effective processing of cyber material.³⁶

Through Nordic Defence Cooperation (NORDEFECO), the five countries are pushing ahead with an unprecedented level of practical collaboration. Since NORDEFECO was established in 2009, it has evolved from an intra-Nordic forum for exchange and dialogue into an increasingly operational platform for enhanced cooperation, including with the Nordic defence industry. Under the 2014 Norwegian and 2015 Swedish chairman-

ships, NORDEFECO has been developing joint Nordic situational awareness initiatives to strengthen air and sea cooperation and improve early warning systems, improve common defence sector capacity-building, and form joint units that could be made available for NATO, EU or UN missions.

The five Nordic countries have also made it clear why they are deepening their collaboration. In April 2015 the defence ministers of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden and the foreign minister of Iceland published a joint declaration in the Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten* in which they condemned Russian aggression against Ukraine and the illegal annexation of Crimea as violations of international law, declaring Russia's conduct, including along Nordic state borders, to be 'the gravest challenge to European security', forcing a more coordinated Nordic preparedness against possible crises or incidents.³⁷

Amidst growing tensions in the region and concerns about cost-efficiencies and greater effectiveness, the traditional Nordic frame is also being expanded progressively to include the Baltic States. In the autumn of 2014 the Nordic and Baltic countries approved a new plan to deepen their defence cooperation and readiness and to open concrete NORDEFECO projects to Baltic participation.³⁸ In November 2014 they were joined by Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Poland to discuss extended defence cooperation throughout northern Europe. The first tangible result of such enhanced consultations will be a military exercise entitled Arctic Challenge, to take place on Swedish and Norwegian soil at the end of May 2015, and also including the United States. The 2015 Swedish Presidency of NORDEFECO has also been pushing for Nordic-Baltic support to Georgia and Ukraine and a modular-style Nordic-Baltic Battle Group (NBBG) modeled on the EU's Swedish-led standby Nordic Battle Group (NBG). The 1,600-strong NBG already comprises forces from Finland, Norway, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Taken together, these policies represent a significant shift in the security landscape of northern Europe. It remains to be seen, of course, whether they are adequate to the challenges posed by Russia's belligerent behavior and the instabilities generated by the post-Soviet earthquake that continues to rumble across wider Europe.

Supplementing Deterrence with Resilience, and Projecting it Forward

Russia's intervention in Ukraine has been called 'hybrid warfare,' a term used to describe Moscow's efforts to achieve its goals through a choreographed mix of hard and soft power tools, including direct armed intervention by regular military forces, disguising special force units as separatist militants, fostering civil unrest among ethnic Russian communities, intense use of internet 'trolls' to sow misinformation and confusion, and a host of cyber, energy and trade tactics involving threat and intimidation.³⁹ However, the term's limited, reductionist nature and its military connotations limit the frame of discussion in ways that may be more relevant to understanding how societies may respond and ultimately transcend such challenges.

Across the turbulent spaces of wider Europe, fragile societies caught in the post-Soviet succession are susceptible to disruption and destabilization. Their ability to build more prosperous, stable democracies and the rule of law is challenged by groups, networks and active state actors who have a vested interest in their continued instability and weakness. And while much insecurity is being generated in societies just beyond NATO's borders, the interconnected nature of European societies on a continent without walls ensure that eastern insecurities can ripple easily into the west.

As the post-Soviet succession rumbles on, Moscow's goal is to equip itself with as many levers as possible within neighboring societies to influence, confuse, intimidate, harass and, if necessary, destabilize or exert control to advance its goals. The Putin regime has recognized that critical arteries carrying people, ideas, money, energy, goods and services do not just form the connective tissue of open societies, they offer multiple channels for influence and disruption within those societies.

These tactics are not particularly new. The September 11 hijackers used the very instruments of a free society to attack that society. They exploited U.S. immigration systems, benefited from poor information-sharing within the U.S. government, and used U.S. airplanes as weapons against U.S. centers of finance and government. As some flew to their deaths into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, others were engaged in the simultaneous manipulation of currency markets. As *The Economist* commented at the time, it was not only an attack on freedom; it was an attack through freedom.⁴⁰

What do terrorists, energy cartels, cyber-hackers, internet trolls and 'little green men' all have in common? They all seek to use the instruments of free

societies to attack or disrupt those societies. In Europe's new security landscape, traditional challenges to territorial security are becoming blurred with 'hybrid' challenges to critical societal functions and institutions. Moreover, Russia's non-linear hybrid tactics are calibrated to disrupt and destabilize just below the threshold of an Article 5 attack, further complicating NATO's efforts to respond. Neither the Alliance nor US-EU mechanisms have yet become adept at tackling this variegated set of challenges to societal arteries in either the west or wider Europe.

New approaches are urgently needed that blend traditional efforts at deterrence with modern approaches to resilience, thus building a society's capacity to anticipate, preempt and resolve disruptive challenges to its critical functions. Until now, western efforts have been focused primarily on deterrence; it is time to focus equally on resilience. Some efforts are underway, but more must be done.

This is an agenda particularly well-suited to the countries of northern Europe, given their strong traditions of societal security and total defence. Northern European countries have an additional incentive in doing what they can to 'project resilience forward' to other countries, particularly those close to their borders, since they are all deeply interconnected, and strong efforts in one country may mean little if neighbouring systems are weak.

Given the changing nature of common security challenges, northern European countries have both the capacity and the opportunity to pioneer new approaches to improving societal resilience to corruption, psychological and informational warfare, and intentional or natural disruptions to cyber, financial and energy networks and other critical infrastructure; new forms of diplomatic, intelligence, economic, and law enforcement cooperation; customs, air, and seaport security; data protection and information exchange; territorial defence; bio-resilience; and greater cooperation among special operations forces. Good practice in civil security as identified via Nordic cooperation in the co-called 'Haga' process, for instance, could be extended to the Baltic States, perhaps also engaging Poland and Germany.⁴¹ All of these activities are especially pertinent in Europe's security environment and will be of growing relevance in the future as the risk of 'hybrid warfare' grows.

In short, a Forward Resilience Initiative would build on northern European strengths; give practical content to the broader vision of a Europe whole and free in the context of new security challenges; and provide tangible support to transition countries in need of such assistance.

Conclusion

Northern Europe has again moved to the forefront as a critical region for all transatlantic partners in the aftermath of Russia's invasion of the Ukrainian region of Crimea, and in light of the ongoing challenges of the post-Soviet succession. There is a unity in this region of Europe that is unmatched elsewhere on the continent. Each Baltic and Nordic state, in its own way, has been forthright in its defence of the European security order, the inviolability of borders, and the right of small countries to determine their fate. The cooperative mechanisms they are forging can have broader resonance as examples of how democracies can transcend national rivalries and differing institutional affiliations to generate greater political influence and better advance national interests than any single country could on its own.⁴² Further collaboration will be needed.

Notes

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- 3 In October 2014 Sweden charged that a vessel of unknown nationality had entered Swedish waters, and Stockholm mobilized troops, helicopters and ships to hunt it. A second incursion was later determined to be a civilian boat. See: "Submarine" in Sweden was only civilian boat', *The Local* [online], available from: <http://www.thelocal.se/20150413/suspected-sub-in-swedish-waters-was-working-boat>, last accessed 4 June 2015.
- 4 Kramer (2015).
- 5 Higgins, op.cit.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Forss and Holopainen (2015); 'Putin Orders Surprise Drills to Check Combat Readiness in Central Russia Forces' [online], available from <https://pressall.wordpress.com/2014/06/21/putin-orders-surprise-drills-to-check-combat-readiness-of-central-russia-forces> last accessed 22 June; 'Vostok 2014 Strategic Military Exercises Begin in Russia' [online], available from <http://tass.ru/en/russia/750222>, last accessed 19 September; 'Entire Russian Air Force Participates in Russian Civil Defense Drills: Emergencies Ministry' [online], available from <http://sputniknews.com/military/20141007/193759625.html>, last accessed 7 October; 'Drills Involving Topol Missile Systems Held in Russia's Volga District', online, available from <http://tass.ru/en/russia/753065>, last accessed 11 October.
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- 11 Forss and Holopainen (2015); 'Midsommardans' ('Midsummer Dance') [online], available from jagarchefen.blogspot.fi/2014/06/midsommardans.html, last accessed 23 June 2014; 'Åskvarning' ('Thunder Warning') [online], available from jagarchefen.blogspot.fi/2014/07/askvarning.html, last accessed 1 July 2014; 'Konsten att förbereda ett land' ('The Art of Preparing a Country') [online], available from <http://jagarchefen.blogspot.dk/2014/10/konsten-att-forbereda-ett-land.html>, last accessed 9 October 2014; Higgins, op.cit.
- 12 Winnerstig (ed.) (2014).
- 13 Kramer, op.cit.
- 14 www.Kremlin.ru (2014) [online], last accessed 18 March.
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- 16 Kroenig (2015).
- 17 By November Russian forces on the border were down from the eighteen battalions of August to some seven, though still enough to unnerve Kiev. See Freedman (2014).
- 18 Kramer, op.cit.
- 19 NATO; Kramer, op.cit.
- 20 In the 1997 *NATO-Russia Founding Act*, "NATO reiterates that in the current and foreseeable security environment, the Alliance will carry out its collective defense and other missions by ensuring the necessary interoperability integration, and capability for reinforcement rather than by additional permanent stationing of substantial combat forces ... reinforcement may take place, when necessary, in the event of defense against a threat of aggression".
- 21 NATO Wales summit declaration, 5 September 2014, [online], available from http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_112964.htm, last accessed 16 June 2015; Rynning (2014).
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- 30 O'Dwyer (2014).
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- 32 'Nu vill de flesta att Sverige går med i Nato' [online], available from <http://www.expressen.se/nyheter/nu-vill-de-flesta-att-sverige-gar-med-i-nato/>, last accessed 6 June 2015. A poll conducted in October 2014 showed 37 percent support joining NATO and 36 percent against, the first time such a poll indicated more support than opposition regarding NATO membership. See Ahlander and Scrutton (2014) 'Poll shows more Swedes in favor of NATO for first time', *Reuters* [online], October 29, available from: <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/10/29/us-sweden-nato-idUSKBN0I11XN20141029>, last accessed 16 June 2015.
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- 40 See Dalgaard-Nielsen and Hamilton (eds.) (2006).
- 41 Bailes and Sandö (2014).
- 42 For valuable insights into U.S.-Nordic-Baltic cooperation, see Brzezinski (2012); Wilson and Nordenman (2011).

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Assassinations, Office Sex and Climate Change: The Danish Intelligence Community Under Public Scrutiny

*Flemming Splidsboel Hansen**

Introduction

The spectacular revelations of the US whistleblower Edward Snowden, the first of which were published by the British newspaper *The Guardian* on 6 June 2013,¹ of some of the more controversial activities of the US intelligence community caused the Danish public to suddenly increase its interest in the work of the two state-led intelligence services in Denmark, the Danish Security and Intelligence Service (*Politiets Efterretningstjeneste* or PET) and the Danish Defence Intelligence Service (*Forsvarets Efterretningstjeneste* or FE).² Traditionally a niche area occupied by just a few committed journalists and researchers, intelligence as a topic now attracts the attention of the general public, and the two intelligence directors are relatively well-known figures in the country.

As in most other liberal democratic states, in Denmark the intelligence debate sparked by Snowden's revelations has focused on two main questions. First, are the PET and the FE up to the task of defending the country against a plethora of internal and external threats, central among which seems to be terrorism? Secondly, as a consequence of the stories about the mass surveillance programs conducted by the US National Security Agency [NSA], the main signals intelligence [SIGINT] agency in the vast US intelligence community, are the PET and the FE executing all their activities within ap-

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appropriate ethical frameworks? These two questions will also form the background against which this chapter will develop as it lays out the key points of a debate which has produced quite a few surprises and has forced many to confront very difficult and painful ethical questions which they would undoubtedly rather have ignored or left to others to decide on.

The essay falls into four main parts. It starts by briefly introducing the notions of expert systems, ethical trust and performance confidence, thereby setting the scene for the subsequent discussions. Following this, it looks at the capacity of the two services to do what they are tasked to do, that is, to protect Denmark (its people, infrastructure and resources) and Danish interests abroad. It then turns to the ethical dimensions of intelligence work – the most important part of the public debate – focusing in particular on surveillance and co-operation with foreign partner services. It concludes by offering a few perspectives on the intelligence debate and on the intelligence culture which may be observed from the former.

Expert Systems

In his now classic studies into the conditions of modernity, the British sociologist Anthony Giddens remarks how a vast array of expert systems developed, maintained and supervised by people unknown to us have come to dominate our lives. We have, he explains, been lifted out of the previous local context of interaction in which expertise – held, for instance, by the local pharmacist, the butcher or the builder – was known to us and which we could openly observe and assess.³ This contrasts with the modern era, in which most of us will never meet the experts who develop the medical drugs we take, produce the food we eat or construct the buildings in which we live and work.

This development, part of a general ‘disembedding’ of our social systems, pushes to the forefront the concept of ‘trustworthiness’, key features of which are agent credentials and reliability.⁴ The dual effects of the extreme functional specialisation of modern life – the removal of much expertise from our immediate surroundings and the gradual deepening yet also narrowing of the professional knowledge held by most of us – means that many of the expert operations which support our daily lives and routines are carried out against a background of general public ignorance.

The intelligence community, so it is argued here, forms part of this world of expert systems. Common to the latter is the fact that the public only

has restricted access to their operations, either because of a lack of critical technical knowledge, or because a regime of secrecy which prevents anyone other than the comparatively few insiders from observing and assessing the nature and quality of the work done. While for the intelligence community the former is partly true (consider, for instance, the debate about surveillance and encryption standards, which most of us would struggle to formulate an informed opinion of), the latter is generally true; even in liberal democratic states the intelligence services quite literally let only a very few people into their physical world, and they share preciously little information with the public.

This restricted access is in fact a defining characteristic of the expert system. And we should expect, all things being equal, that the weaker the general literacy of the public within a given field of expertise or the more closed the doors leading to the latter, the greater the power of the expert community.⁵ With limited access only, outsiders will usually find it difficult to engage the experts in knowledge-based debates about standards and priorities. As a consequence, they may feel tempted or even forced to leave the field to the experts to dominate alone, causing what is essentially a monopolisation of expertise.⁶

This monopolisation, seen quite literally in the information-gathering tools available to the state-led intelligence services, brings us to the matter of the trustworthiness of expert systems, which has been described in fairly vague terms so far. At this point this trustworthiness should be made more concrete and operational through the addition of an extra layer consisting of the twin elements which together make up the concept.

The first element is performance confidence, defined as the belief that the operators of an expert system 'are competent to manage [it] safely and effectively – and that they can demonstrate an ability to do so on a regular basis'; that is, the belief that the people who design our medical drugs, produce our food and construct our buildings are competent to do so in a manner that is safe for us.⁷ Performance confidence is critical at the immediate level, as its absence may lead to both system and personal breakdown. Thus, if the expert systems on which we all depend so heavily fail to do what they are designed to do, society may become paralysed and the individual be gripped by acute fear and anxiety.⁸

The second element is ethical trust, defined as the belief that the operators of an expert system 'possess integrity and will behave ethically, that is that they will be credible, believable, and morally accountable'.⁹ It reflects, in other words, the belief that the operators will use their expert knowledge and

the power this gives them responsibly and non-instrumentally. Their actions should not be harmful to either the material or the social interests of the wider public. Within the context of this study, it is particularly important to note that this includes behaviour (for instance, the collection of information) in accordance with the normative foundations of the surrounding society.¹⁰

The privileged status of the expert system brings with it a catalogue of benefits, like relative insulation from public involvement and scrutiny, but it may also cause a situation in which members of the system are viewed with suspicion as their work is inaccessible. Even when we are given full public assurance that all is being done strictly according to the rules, we may have few if any ways of corroborating this. As Jane Gregory and Steve Miller, two leading writers on expert communication, note about the expert system which is the world of science, we simply have to accept that it is ‘a feature of the separation of science from the public sphere – a separation that is both social and cognitive – that often the public’s only choice is whether or not to trust the scientists ... When scientists work behind closed doors, the public have to trust them (or not), because they cannot know them’.¹¹

The closed doors usually produce and hide what Giddens has termed ‘high-trust positions’. While we have no need to trust someone who may be constantly observed and whose activities may easily be monitored and controlled, high-trust positions are different; they exist largely outside the direct supervision or control of, for instance, management staff or the public.¹² These positions therefore require a higher degree of ethical trust on the part of outsiders. The latter may introduce a regime providing for periodic scrutiny of the operations of a given expert system, but in between checks they may simply have to keep their fingers crossed that the operators of the system will be ‘credible, believable, and morally accountable’.

Performance Confidence

The current phase of the debate over intelligence in Denmark may be seen as having started with the late 2012 stories about a PET operative by the name of Morten Storm, who was alleged to have supported the US Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] in the assassination of al-Qaeda leader Anwar al-Awlaki in Yemen in September 2011. A convert to Islam, Storm eventually lost interest in religion, but was then recruited by PET as an informant to deliver intelligence on radicalised elements within the Danish Islamist communities

of which he used to be an active member. After the al-Awlaki assassination he decided to leave the intelligence service, apparently because he felt he had not received recognition for the role he claims to have played in the operation, and because his story had not been brought to the public.

This story originally unfolded across the pages of *Jyllands-Posten*, which opened a series of articles with the headline ‘PET helped find top terrorist on US death list’.¹³ It was alleged that PET had agreed to support the CIA in the assassination of al-Awlaki in a drone attack by letting Storm infiltrate the al-Qaeda leader’s closest circles and leaving an infected USB stick which allowed the CIA to trace their target. This was spectacular human intelligence [HUMINT] work suitable for a screenplay, and it grabbed headlines in Denmark, largely because the Danish public, as elsewhere, had forgotten about the importance of agents and informers in the digital era.¹⁴

The role played by PET, however indirect, in the targeted killing of a wanted terrorist immediately gave rise to important ethical questions, as legal experts started to debate whether the service had overstepped its mandate and perhaps even violated international humanitarian law.¹⁵ What is of greater importance here, however, is that the Storm case seemed to reveal a relatively robust side to PET; usually perceived as a security service with a heavily, if not almost exclusively, preventive character, the offensive nature of the assassination of a wanted terrorist, done in co-operation with the best known intelligence service in the world, was hailed as a major success. If Storm’s claims were actually true, so an oft-used commentator and former PET employee declared, then this would be an example of ‘excellent intelligence work’, and he added that this would clearly ‘strengthen the reputation of PET within the international intelligence community’.¹⁶

While opinion polls only asked respondents to consider the ethical implications of PET’s alleged involvement in targeted killings, a majority of 55 per cent seemed pleased with this newly discovered capacity, as they expressed the belief that, if this were indeed true, then they were ready to see more assassinations in the future.¹⁷ Several newspaper editorials supported this. To illustrate, while one paper noted that ‘so far the case has only shown an intelligence service, which does its job, which unfortunately is necessary’,¹⁸ another celebrated ‘an important job well done’, adding that ‘it is good news when [we] succeed in preventing mass killings of civilians, eliminating terrorists or in some other way pre-empting evil’.¹⁹ The Storm case had serious ethical implications, and these were intensely debated, but a general feeling of satisfaction could also be noted. PET was seen to have demonstrated its prowess, it was apparently close to far bigger and far more resourceful intel-

ligence services in other western states and it had, in some indirect way, managed to protect Danish interests by supporting US actions in Yemen.

International co-operation between intelligence services is surrounded by a very high degree of secrecy. All services have one or more foreign partner institutions which provide them with, for instance, raw intelligence or analytical reports, but the identities of these partners are usually not made public. It therefore came as a surprise to many when in November 2013 it was suddenly revealed, in several NSA documents copied by Snowden, that Denmark was part of an intelligence network called 'The Nine Eyes'. Among Danish media outlets, only *Information* has access to the Snowden files. It therefore explained how 'Denmark is among the elite of nations collaborating with the US National Security Agency, enjoying privileges that only Anglo-Saxon nations trump', and it added that 'The Nine Eyes' places Denmark above key European allies'.²⁰

As in the Storm case, these revelations unleashed an intense ethical debate, as commentators suggested that this privileged access to intelligence comes at a price and that this price may very well be co-operation with and support to the NSA in the field of mass surveillance. A sense of satisfaction could also be felt, however, as it was reported how Denmark appears to be a more trusted ally of the USA than states such as Germany and Sweden. The Danish People's Party summed up this satisfaction well when its foreign-policy spokesman described it as 'an accolade for Denmark that we are in the inner circle and get the necessary intelligence from our most important ally'.²¹

The former PET employee cited earlier explained that this co-operation has its roots in the surveillance program called 'Echelon', 'which started with [the Five Eyes], that is, Canada, the USA, England, Australia and New Zealand. Then it was later expanded to nine. And we are in good company – and have been so for a long time'. A former Permanent Secretary confirmed this, noting that 'we were in *that* category, we shared information at a higher level than other states which the USA trusted less'.²² The logic behind this position, University of Southern Denmark Professor Sten Rynning explained, is that on the intelligence market 'You get something if you have something. From what I hear Denmark has been a fairly good trader'.²³ With the establishment on 1 June 2014 of a designated Center for Cyber Security (*Center for Cybersikkerhed* or CFCS), run by the FE, Denmark may now have more digital goods to bring to this intelligence market.²⁴

The leaks suggested that the Danish intelligence community *had* something to offer to others and that it was considered a capable partner even by much bigger intelligence communities. This was welcome news to the

Danish public, who reacted in much the same way as when ‘we’ win sports trophies, film awards or Michelin stars – that is, with a collective sense of pride that ‘little Denmark’ is making its presence felt and that it may achieve something. But in the aftermath of the Muhammad cartoon crisis (2005) and the Danish involvement in the wars in Iraq (2003–2011) and Afghanistan (2001–2014), there was also a sense of relief that the whole intelligence machinery, unknown to most and hidden from public view, seemed simply to *work*.

Earlier the media had reported foiled terrorist attacks, the most terrifying of which was the December 2010 planned assault on *Jyllands-Posten*, the original scene of the controversial 2005 Muhammad cartoons. Special forces of the police stormed the terrorists’ hideout in the Copenhagen suburbs just hours before the planned attack, thereby pre-empting what could have been a massacre similar to the January 2015 attack on the French satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo*.²⁵ The Danish public had grown accustomed to the ever-present threat of terrorism, even though it may still have felt slightly distant and very target-specific.

Thus, when a 2011 Eurobarometer on national security asked Danish respondents what they felt were ‘the most important challenges to the security of [Danish] citizens at the moment’, a full 55 per cent pointed to ‘terrorism’. This figure was the highest for any European Union [EU] member state (the then EU-27 average was a much lower 25 per cent), and it was followed by the United Kingdom (47 per cent), Spain (38 per cent) and Germany (34 per cent). Minor threats identified by Danish respondents included ‘economic and financial crises’ (30 per cent), ‘organized crime’ and ‘environmental issues/climate change’ (both at 19 per cent).²⁶ This pointed, of course, to a central role for the intelligence community, as these feelings of insecurity would be addressed.

While a relatively high level of performance confidence in both PET and the FE could be reported, the Danish public generally has been anticipating terrorist attacks. In an October 2014 poll, 61 per cent of all respondents expressed the belief that it was either ‘probable’ or ‘highly probable’ that a terrorist attack would be carried out in Denmark in the next few years, a figure which mirrored earlier polls.²⁷ In the immediate aftermath of the February 2015 attacks on the cultural center of Krudttønden and the Copenhagen synagogue, referred to by the newspaper *Politiken* as ‘the expected terrorist attack[s]’, 64 per cent of all respondents declared that they expected another terrorist attack on Danish soil within the next year.²⁸

These polls come against a background of the famously strong ability of

the Danish public to handle uncertainty. In his seminal studies on cultural variation, the Dutch sociologist Geert Hofstede records a comparatively low level of uncertainty avoidance for Denmark, indicating that people do not 'feel threatened by uncertain or unknown situations'.²⁹ When transferred to an intelligence context, this suggests that there is a realization that the concept of 'absolute security' is an illusion and that the intelligence community cannot issue any guarantees against possible attacks. PET and the FE may very well be tasked to protect Denmark and Danish interests abroad, but there is an understanding that, regardless of the resources allocated to this task, not all attacks can be prevented, and any attack may be successful at any time. This creates a benign environment for the intelligence community in which capacity is viewed in relative terms and organisational or human errors are more likely to be accepted as part of a complex world.

Having noted this, it should be added that the public eye may also dwell critically on the capacity of the intelligence community to perform its tasks. It has done so on many occasions. In one of the more spectacular stories uncovered by the Danish media, in late 2013 it was reported how the working environment at PET had become so poisonous as to lead 600 members of staff belonging to the Police Union to withdraw from the works council so that negotiations had to be conducted with the then Director, Jacob Scharf, in an attempt to put an end to what was reported to be a hostile and abusive environment caused by a semi-dictatorial know-it-all top management.³⁰

Fuel was soon added to this initial conflict when it was revealed that some members of staff had submitted an official complaint against Scharf, accusing him of sexually harassing several women at PET.³¹ Once this sensitive line had been crossed by the media, other stories soon followed, including eyewitness accounts of an earlier Christmas luncheon where 'Scharf and [a female staff member] went as far as you can without really having sex. [They were] kissing and groping each other. It was extremely embarrassing because everyone could see it'.³² This latter incident led commentators to point to the possible security risks arising out of any extra-marital affair on the part of Scharf, suggesting that this was an issue not just for the Scharf household but for PET's political masters as well.³³

Whatever the exact nature of all this, the apparent crisis at PET led the media to question the operational status of the service. Was it possible, after all, that such serious incidents as those leaked to the press could leave the intelligence machine without a single dent? The National Commissioner, the chief executive officer of the Danish police, openly told the public that operational damage had been done, explaining that 'it is of course of vital

importance for the activities of PET that co-operation between management and staff works well'.³⁴ In my view, the crisis did not seem to stand in the way of the proper execution of PET's activities – the engine room seemed largely untouched – but also that the negative reporting would undermine public ethical trust in the service. The integrity of a number of senior staff members was being questioned, and following the resignation of several of his top managers, Scharf eventually decided to leave PET on 3 December 2013.³⁵ He was replaced by Jens Madsen on 1 January 2014.

In the weeks prior to the culmination of this crisis, the present author was approached by several journalists asking about the state of affairs in the engine room. Theirs was a very legitimate concern, and the focus on capacity – required if an informed opinion about the level of performance confidence which one may reasonably expect in the intelligence community was to be arrived at – seems only natural, given, for instance, the Eurobarometer poll cited earlier. Of course a strong ability to handle uncertainty does not translate into a disinterest in personal or public safety: both PET and the FE were expected to deliver results within a challenging context defined by a combination of relatively modest resources and a heightened threat level. The crisis in PET unfolded as the public was quietly celebrating both the Storm and the 'Nine Eyes' revelations, and it was not allowed really to weaken this feeling or the general performance confidence in the intelligence community mentioned above.

Ethical Trust

The increased interest in the capacity of PET and the FE was accompanied, almost inevitably, by a stronger focus on the ethical aspects of intelligence work. Most attention was on collection (including co-operation), but the Storm case also gave rise to the question of how far the Danish intelligence services may go in occasionally pursuing operations beyond collection and analysis. The debate revealed a general ignorance about the conditions in the intelligence world of which Denmark is also a part. A gap seems to have developed between the standards of the intelligence community and public expectations of what is actually being done.

As already noted, there was public support for the co-operation between PET and the CIA in the assassination of al-Awlaki; when asked whether PET should support foreign intelligence services track down terrorists if the purpose was to kill them, 55 per cent answered in the affirmative, despite the

claims of several experts that the service lacks the legal authority to do so.³⁶ The conclusion, so *Jyllands-Posten* noted, is that, 'When terrorism gets close, we are ready to break rules',³⁷ thereby suggesting a less than full internalization of the relevant norms among members of the public and possibly a discrepancy between the norms actually held and the existing legal framework.

The Storm case, however, was not unequivocal. On the one hand experts argued that *if* PET had really provided logistical support to the CIA to help the latter locate and then kill al-Awlaki, then the service would clearly be in violation of Danish laws. On the other hand, arguments were put forward to the effect that the assassination was legal, as the al-Qaeda leader could be considered a party to the then on-going war in Afghanistan and hence be a legitimate target.³⁸ Al-Awlaki would seem to have been killed not just in Yemen but also in a grey zone.

Politicians and voters jumped at the opportunity offered by this space of interpretation. A significant majority (70.5 per cent) of liberal and conservative voters were ready to indirectly support the assassination of terrorists, while only a minority (41.5 per cent) of centrist and socialist voters shared this opinion. A similar divide could of course be observed in Parliament. According to the Danish People's Party's spokesman on legal affairs, 'People shake their heads [in disbelief] over this highly academic discussion about whether PET has done something which they are not allowed to do', while the Socialist People's Party's spokeswoman explained that, 'If we want our system of due process to be implemented in other parts of the world, then we have to follow these principles ourselves, even when it hurts to do so'.³⁹

There was greater agreement, however, on the need for updated intelligence laws and more extensive control mechanisms. A spokesman for the liberal party *Venstre* suggested that 'It may be a good idea to have a clear legal basis and to get an overview of the existing control mechanisms – also to avoid a situation in which PET will be suspected of doing things which actually it has not done', thereby indicating that the previous level of control may have been relaxed slightly.⁴⁰ Holding a minority position, the Danish People's Party suggested that 'You just have to accept that PET is a secret service, and the question then is how much public insight and control are possible', adding that 'the existing intelligence control is enough'.⁴¹

A sudden suspicion could be felt that PET and the FE may be engaged in activities which go beyond the imagination of the public, and this was only reinforced by the revelations about the 'Nine Eyes'. As noted earlier, this co-operation was widely celebrated, but a burning question soon emerged: 'What do we offer in return for this privileged access to intelligence?' It was

suggested that the relatively close US–Danish political and military co-operation, as witnessed in both Iraq and Afghanistan, offered a partial explanation, but there was also a feeling that this was not the whole story.⁴² In the words of *Information*, the newspaper which first carried the revelations, answers were needed to a few very concrete questions:

Have Danish citizens – with or without permission, legally or illegally – been under US surveillance? We know that massive eavesdropping and surveillance of citizens in Germany, France and the UK has taken place. In all [these] countries the intelligence services have co-operated with the NSA. Is this also the case in this country? Yes or no?⁴³

Experts suggested that the price paid for close intelligence co-operation with the USA could very well be ‘the exchange of information about [our] own or other states’ citizens’.⁴⁴ A possible glimpse into this possibility was offered when leaked NSA documents seemed to show that the FE allows the NSA to harvest data from fiber cables running through Danish territory and containing data from Russian web users, among others.⁴⁵ These suspicions only fuelled distrust of the intelligence community in the media. To illustrate this on an anecdotal basis, a very competent investigative journalist sent me a text message asking whether ‘We as a nation are in a situation where paragraph 17 of the defense law has been invoked?’⁴⁶ This paragraph allows the Minister of Defence to suspend otherwise constitutionally guaranteed rights of privacy in communication ‘during war or other extraordinary conditions.’ The suggestion was therefore that the undeclared war on international terrorism represented just such an extraordinary situation.⁴⁷

An additional layer was introduced to this with the revelations in January 2014 that the NSA had been actively collecting intelligence within Denmark. The venue was the Copenhagen Conference and Exhibition Center, and the event was the 2009 United Nations Climate Change Conference (i.e. the 15th Conference of the Parties or COP15). According to *Information*, a leaked NSA document shows that the NSA actively targeted national delegations prior to COP15 and that it was also preparing to collect intelligence during the event itself. The document refers to ‘advance details of the Danish proposal and their efforts to launch a “rescue plan” to save [COP15]’, suggesting that this information had already been obtained. It also explains how ‘[SIGINT] will undoubtedly play a significant role in keeping our negotiators as well informed as possible throughout the 2-week event’.⁴⁸

Most SIGINT collection of course is done at great distances which means that US intelligence personnel need not have been present at the Conference and Exhibition Center or even in Denmark at the time of the COP15.

It would seem, however, that antennas were directed at participants at the COP15 and possibly even at Danish decision-makers and institutions. As this came to light just two months after 'The Nine Eyes' revelations, the question immediately emerged whether COP15 was an example of the price which has to be paid for privileged intelligence access?

Hard-pressed, the Director of the FE, Thomas Ahrenkiel, agreed to do an interview for *Politiken*. The service had examined the allegations surrounding COP15 and, after a request for information was sent to the NSA, drew the conclusion that the NSA *did not* spy on Danish politicians and civil servants during the event and that in general there is 'no reason to assume that illegal US intelligence activities are directed against Denmark [or Danish interests]'.⁴⁹ This sentence, which was also the standard reply of Prime Minister Helle Thorning-Schmidt and several of her ministers when confronted by reporters, still left open the understanding of the words 'illegal' and 'interests'.

It would, in principle, be possible for the NSA (or any other US or other 'friendly' foreign intelligence service such as the British Government Communications Headquarters, which has been shown to have sent a liaison officer to COP15) to direct its activities against Denmark after receiving the permission of the Danish authorities and to target subjects on which the Danish services would also welcome information.⁵⁰ One newspaper summed up the whole affair by explaining that 'Yes, we do exchange sensitive information with the USA. Yes, Danish law is being respected, also by the Americans. But no, we will not account exactly for why [this is happening]. And no, we will not make it any clearer how broad eavesdropping [activities] against several countries, including Denmark, may be seen as legal'.⁵¹

Most were satisfied with this, but critical voices were also heard. *Information* demanded questions – not answers – as it requested Thorning-Schmidt to ask US President Barack Obama and the NSA about the exact scope of US intelligence activities against and within Denmark.⁵² And the newspaper *BT* complained that 'Time and time again the government has produced meaningless explanations', adding that, 'If the government insists on these answers, then it will no longer seem just naïve but even untrue'.⁵³ A law professor echoed this, urging people to notice 'how little [they] say' and adding that 'The government has now reached a point where it is almost rejecting the documents put forward by Snowden. And I have to say that I learned in my childhood that denying facts is not the best defence'.⁵⁴

In Parliament, the left-wing party *Enhedslisten* immediately called a debate to ask Thorning-Schmidt, Minister of Defence Nicolai Wammen and

the then Minister of Justice Karen Hækkerup to 'account for whether the NSA or other US intelligence services carry out surveillance of Danish citizens, companies and politicians, for the legality of this according to Danish law and for whether the government will take steps to look more closely into these questions.'⁵⁵ The party followed up on this with a special hearing involving the two ministers, asking essentially the same questions. The answers invariably were the same, namely that there is 'no reason to assume that illegal US intelligence activities are directed against Denmark or Danish interests'.⁵⁶ There was a creeping suspicion that in political circles critical questions were being seen as a betrayal of the special US–Danish relationship that had been built up since the end of the Cold War.

In the absence of tailor-made opinion polls, it is hard to assess the possible damage of all of this to the public's ethical trust in PET and the FE.⁵⁷ It is the assessment of the present author that while PET and the FE have attracted much unwanted attention and provoked many painful questions about their operational standards, they still enjoy a relatively large degree of public ethical trust. A clear parliamentary majority has expressed its satisfaction with the answers provided, and the voters seem to mirror this. There have been few if any large-scale demonstrations to demand a change to intelligence activities and/or greater openness. Tellingly, the Danish 'Reclaim the Internet' demonstration on 11 February 2014, organised as the COP15 story was unfolding, attracted only a small fraction of the attention devoted to the unfortunate giraffe Marius, put down in the Copenhagen Zoo on 9 February 2014 and then fed to the Zoo lions.

This is also reflected in the laws regulating the two services. Originally passed in June 2013 and enacted on 1 January 2014, the general rule remains that individuals do not have a right to see the information which the services may hold about them. A later stipulation *did* ease access under the Public Information Act, but the paragraph guaranteeing individuals the right to see information concerning themselves was exempted.⁵⁸ On 1 January 2014 a new Committee for the Control of the Intelligence Services was established, allowing individuals to ask the Committee to investigate whether the two services hold and process information about them on an unlawful basis. Under this law, the Committee then makes sure that this is *not* the case [sic] and notifies the requestor.⁵⁹

Composed of five civilian members, all appointed by the Minister of Justice in consultation with the Minister of Defence, the Committee also oversees that the PET and the FE (including CFCS) perform their activities related to individuals as stipulated by their respective laws (thus replacing

the former Wamberg Committee established in 1964 and dissolved on 31 December 2013). This is in addition to the parliamentary Control Committee, set up in 1988, which also has five members (all parliamentarians and nominated by the five largest parties) and which sits in top secret meetings with the Prime Minister, the Minister of Justice and the Minister of Defence plus the Directors of both PET and the FE.

Experts argue that, while the introduction of the new Committee marks stricter public control of the intelligence services, much is still kept beyond the reach of the watchdogs. One example is possible FE–NSA co-operation on metadata which, since it does not relate to named individuals, falls outside the formal competence of the Committee. In the words of one legal expert, ‘It is a control institution, which does not include any specific intelligence-related expertise, has limited resources, cannot make binding stipulations and is subject to rules of secrecy’.⁶⁰ This criticism is echoed by a law professor, who explains that ‘the legal foundation is extremely general and lists so few real limits. So it is more in theory than in practice that we now have reassuring parliamentary control. There are a lot of elements in the work of the intelligence services which cannot be effectively controlled with the control system we have established, and this case [possible FE–NSA co-operation] also proves that’.⁶¹ But this, it should be remembered, is what a parliamentary majority wanted, and Danish voters, famously trustful of their political institutions, in general seem perfectly happy to leave it to their politicians to evaluate the need for and then to handle the control of the intelligence services.

Conclusion

The past few years have been quite tumultuous for the Danish intelligence community. Public interest in the operations and standards of PET and the FE as witnessed in media coverage has seen a dramatic increase. Symbolic of this, the 2014 Danish media award for the best investigative journalism went to a small team of journalists at *Information*, who have worked meticulously to uncover the role of especially the FE in international intelligence co-operation; their work on the FE–NSA link in particular has attracted widespread attention. To this should be added, however, that their COP15 revelations nearly drowned in the media hype caused by the decision of the Socialist People’s Party to leave the government in late January 2014.

Where does all this leave PET and the FE? It seems that they should

prepare for a future which will see them subjected to even greater scrutiny. As funding for the two services is gradually increased to handle the many challenges of a more complex threat environment, the totality of the Danish public will want to know if they are delivering results as they should and within the expected ethical framework. While some will have their eyes on output, others will be following processes. This development clearly will be a challenge.

Nonetheless the Danish intelligence community still enjoys relatively high levels of support. While the past few years may have been tumultuous, there has been only very sporadic public mobilisation to change anything. There seems to be a feeling that 'They do what they can' and that 'If they say this is good for us, then it probably is'. Performance confidence in the services has not been seriously shaken, nor has ethical trust. While a small minority of politicians has demanded changes and greater openness, the majority has been quite happy to express its support for the status quo and to have only a few restrictions introduced on the work of the services.

As suggested in the introduction, intelligence services may be seen as expert systems in so far as they are not readily accessible to members of the public. Their high levels of secrecy leave us dependent on their practitioners and on the latter's watchdogs. Still comparatively closed organizations with old-fashioned media strategies characterised by a fundamental reluctance to engage with the public, both PET and the FE successfully market their respective directors as gate-keepers between the world of secrecy and the public.⁶² The faces of otherwise faceless expert systems, Madsen and Ahrenkiel are supposed to inspire ethical trust. When the present author delivers public lectures on intelligence and ethical trust, members of the audience often note, for instance, that Ahrenkiel is 'the dream of every mother-in-law', and one young woman even proclaimed that his official photo on the FE website 'looks like a dating profile'.⁶³ Their staff being hidden from public view, the role of the directors is crucial.

A final observation may be that Denmark's intelligence culture seems to have become surprisingly robust. Studies show that the overall strategic culture in Denmark has hardened in recent years, as evidenced also by the willingness to stomach relatively high numbers of casualties in Iraq and especially in Afghanistan.⁶⁴ As a sub-category of strategic culture, the intelligence culture would be expected to follow this overall trend. The cases discussed here do seem to suggest that this is indeed the case: a greater willingness to think in terms of 'us' and 'them', rather than 'acceptable' and 'unacceptable' behavior, and to identify an Other which has to be defeated should, all

things being equal, produce an accompanying intelligence culture defined more by those who focus on outcomes than by those who focus on processes. The consequences, for both PET and the FE, may be a gradual development whereby they will be expected to deliver more but also be able to enjoy a comparatively generous freedom of maneuver, and perhaps even be allowed to cut a few corners when the need is felt.

Notes

- 1 'NSA collecting phone records of millions of Verizon customers daily', *The Guardian*, 6 June 2013.
- 2 The latter is both a defence and a foreign intelligence service.
- 3 Giddens (1990), p. 21-29.
- 4 Ibid., p. 83.
- 5 See, e.g., Person (1994), p. 401.
- 6 For a discussion of the (de-)monopolisation of expertise, see Beck (1994), p. 28-31.
- 7 In Feldman (2000), p. 27.
- 8 The disruption of regularised social life – routines – made possible by otherwise normally well-executed expert operations may cause a weakening of the foundation which it itself represents and on which our emotional stability rests; see Giddens (1990), chapter 4.
- 9 In Feldman (2000), p. 26. For a list of various definitions of ethical trust, see Misztal (1996).
- 10 Within an intelligence context, some of the more controversial and spectacular examples of broken public ethical trust would clearly be the use of unsanctioned torture or surveillance to collect information. However, does not have to be so dramatic. Consider, for instance, the suspected self-interested instrumentality displayed by Henrik Røboe Dam, then Head of the Danish Air Force Command, when he argued that the F-16 pilots Denmark deployed over Libya in 2011 would be much safer if they were flying fifth-generation jets. He clearly used his position as an Air Force general to influence a technical debate which most members of the Parliamentary Defence Committee found it difficult to grasp, causing them to be heavily dependent on expert advice. Later that same year it was reported that the Libya campaign had brought several members of the Defence Committee to conclude that the F-16 jets could in fact be kept in service longer than originally expected; see respectively 'Nye kampfly kan øge sikkerhed for piloter', *Danmarks Radio*, 22 March 2011; and 'F-16 indsats truer nye kampfly', *Ingeniøren*, 14 September 2011.
- 11 Gregory and Miller (1998), p. 101.
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Responding to Radicalization: Exporting the Dilemmas

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Introduction

Security and security threats are increasingly being framed by understandings of the world as interconnected and complex. Notions of complex global entanglements where both threats and attempts to address them travel across geographical boundaries are setting the parameters for key contemporary debates on security. At the same time, in foreign policy the post-9/11 period has revealed distinct limitations with regard to what large-scale military responses to ‘global security threats’ can achieve in and of themselves. More finely tuned, complex ‘small footprint’, yet often expansive approaches have therefore become increasingly central in multilateral efforts and alliances aimed at addressing insecurity. It is in this context of convergences between domestic, international and global policy arenas and the increased emphasis on more multi-faceted security governance and approaches that Countering Extremist Violence programs (CVE) have emerged as a prominent policy discourse in the domain of security governance.¹

This article first examines the background to the development of CVE as a concept and shows how it gained significant traction in the context of Danish security governance. It examines how key events – notably the London bombings, 9/11 and the ‘Cartoon Affair’ – served as precursors for the rise of CVE as a significant security policy tool in the Danish context. The analysis shows the complex entanglement of perceptions of domestic and global threats, value-based politics and justifications for expanding the powers of security and intelligence bodies. Moreover, the analysis also indicates

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how the complexities that define contemporary security issues and threats are being rendered governable through a rescaling to the level of individual or particular ‘in-risk societies’, a level of policy that has greater potential for showing that action is being taken. The apparent agreement of a general heuristic concept of ‘radicalization’ and the corresponding ‘solution’ provided by CVE models could appear to be a welcome basis for a consensus over how to address extremism domestically as well as across contexts (and in ways that avoid the excessive use of military force of the past). However, we show that there are important dilemmas and possibly unintended consequences involved in this course of action that deserve greater attention. These dilemmas are visible in the domestic context of Danish security policy, but they become even more evident in the context of recent Danish attempts to export CVE, for example, to address issues of ‘radicalization’ in the conflict-ridden Horn of Africa. Given this focus, while the chapter does not intend to ignore the seriousness of contemporary security challenges, nor the difficulties involved in developing effective responses, in the context of the increasing prevalence and popularity of CVE approaches and Denmark’s recent exports of them, attention to dilemmas and possibly unintended consequences is warranted.

Methodologically, the case of the ‘Danish model’ and its export to Kenya offers an ideal entry point from which to examine the evolving discourse and practice of CVE, the spaces of security policy this discourse opens up and the possibly unintended consequences that can follow both domestically and when Western countries become involved in combating radicalization abroad. The analysis aims to illustrate the complexities involved in defining and addressing contemporary security issues and threats, as well as identifying and discussing central dilemmas of importance for foreign-policy actors dealing with CVE. The chapter does not extend these observations to a critique based on causal arguments identifying the ‘absolute consequences’ of CVE, but more modestly points to the potential risks that deserve greater attention in a context, both global and Danish, in which use of CVE is on the rise. The authors have relied on personal correspondence with key staff in the Danish Security and Intelligence Service (Politiets Efterretningstjeneste, PET) and the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This has been combined with content analysis of internal papers and reports from relevant agencies and of publicly available policy documents and analysis. Finally, the chapter draws substantially on existing research and analysis, thereby elaborating on key themes and critiques in contemporary scholarship on anti-terrorism and CVE.²

The Danish Anti-Radicalization Model and its Immanent Dilemmas

Since the Danish cartoon affair, radicalization has become one of the most used political concepts in Danish media coverage and public discourse on immigration, both domestic and international conflicts, political violence and extremist ideology. Nonetheless an accurate definition of radicalization is lacking.³ Like the concept of terrorism, radicalization as concept has become what the German historian Reinhardt Koselleck has called ‘a common concept’ (*allgemeine Begriff*), one that is used by everybody as a general reference to a phenomenon as if everyone has the same understanding of it, though in practice definitions and interpretations differ widely.⁴ Today, like ‘terrorism’ and ‘security’, the concept of radicalization has a performative aspect, legitimizing actions and initiatives without further definition. If something, a certain discourse, a political program, specific chats on social media, ways of behaving and dressing in public spaces, a sudden development in religiosity etc. is pointed out as a source of radicalization it is ‘securitized’, meaning that the state requires and claims a right to take measures in order to preempt this ‘something’. Today the concept of radicalization is closely connected to a development of what in the Danish context is seen as a necessity in the name of ‘preventive security’, one that has been developed since 2008, particularly in the Department for Preventive Security in PET in cooperation with Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Social Affairs.⁵

The London Bombings

The term ‘radicalization’ is not a new linguistic coining, but it first acquired significance in Europe to describe threats from political and in particular religious (almost always Islamic) extremism in the aftermath of the London bombings in July 2005. During the coverage of the bloody chaos that dominated the days after the July 7 bombing in London, where in a suicide operation four terrorists blew themselves up – three in the underground and one on a bus – the media, commentators and terrorism experts developed the explanatory narrative that the four perpetrators were ordinary people living their lives in a suburb of Leeds who had all undergone rapid radicalization based on, it was assumed, discussions among themselves inspired by material from the Internet. They were called ‘homegrown’ terrorists because

they were not first-generation immigrants but had been raised in England and attended school there.⁶ Because of their apparent rapid transformation from rather ordinary members of their societies to extreme terrorists who were willing to kill themselves in order to spread death, destruction and fear as a political message that was later revealed to be a harsh condemnation of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, they were seen as having been 'radicalized'. Furthermore, this transformation from ordinary members of society into terrorists was accordingly described as a process of 'radicalization'.

Think Tanks in many countries initiated programs in order to provide new data and knowledge on radicalization, and the United Kingdom and Denmark in particular, followed by Holland, developed ambitious plans against radicalization. In Denmark the government responded to the London bombings by proposing 49 points involving new legislation, new tools for the police and intelligence service, expanded authority for PET in surveillance and more funding for research.⁷

Ramifications of 9/11 for Denmark

The attacks on September 11, 2001 meant that Denmark went from barely having any contingency measures in place for the event of terrorism to developing a comprehensive, sophisticated and extremely costly system in a very short time. The system was established so quickly that it was in place long before a threat assessment had been completed in 2004. Today, these contingency measures have not been scaled down, but are likely to have been upgraded.⁸ The establishment of an anti-terror preparedness system was broad, including the securing of ports, airports, infrastructure, other areas presenting risks to security, railway stations and trains, shipping and container transport, international money transfers, international trade, etc. Some of these measures were launched because of an awareness of security shortcomings in Denmark, while others resulted from obligations imposed on the country through its membership of the EU and other international organizations. All parts of the Danish emergency preparedness system were reconsidered and reorganized in the aftermath of 9/11, with the terror threat being the main regulatory principle.

The Social Democratic government that was in power on 9/11 was quick to implement a number of initiatives with reference to the threat of terrorism. The emergency preparedness agency, the extra funding given to PET and Danish Defence and Intelligence Service (DDIS)

(FE) and revisions to the penal code gave the police and intelligence services increased powers of surveillance, including the electronic collection

of data and the cross-referencing of confidential public records. Unlike the previous penal code, the new code allowed for the prosecution of persons for inciting acts of terrorism and for other terrorism-related acts.

The New Security Threat: A Cocktail of Immigration, Islam, and Radicalization

The government lost the November 2001 general election and was replaced by a new government led by Anders Fogh Rasmussen consisting of a coalition between the Liberal Party (Venstre) and the Conservative Party (Konservervative Folkeparti), with parliamentary support from the Danish People's Party (Dansk Folkeparti). All three parties prioritized a hard-line stance in the so-called War on Terror, which, it was assumed, could only be won by adopting a resolute policy, including restrictions in immigration and unanimous support for the policies of George W. Bush in response to 9/11. Denmark took part in the war in Afghanistan and was active in supporting the Iraq war by deploying troops in southern Iraq. Since then Denmark has been militarily engaged in Libya with jet fighters, has intervened in Mali and is now providing jet fighters to the war against Islamic State.

In the political debate among political parties and voters on the political right, the War on Terrorism was largely justified as defending Danish values. In his first New Year's speech, the Prime Minister launched a government program that strongly emphasized value-based politics, particularly liberal and democratic values, which on this occasion were portrayed as inherently Danish. The best way of defending such values was deemed to be a sense of *social cohesion*, a phrase adapted from the words of Ralf Pittelkow, a high-profile right-wing commentator in the Danish Daily *Jyllands-Posten*, and Karen Jespersen, a former minister first for the Social Democratic Party, then for the Liberal Party, and also a married couple who, in a number of books, strongly argued the case for right-leaning, value-based politics.⁹ A number of pundits pointed out that Islam in general and Islamism in particular had anti-democratic and anti-liberal aspects, suggesting that the greatest threat to social cohesion in Denmark was posed by Muslim immigration to the country. Given that, according to these pundits, social cohesion was the best defence against terrorism – which after 9/11 was virtually identical with 'Islamic terrorism' – the political debate on terrorism in Denmark very often conflated value-based politics, criticism of Islamism, the curtailing of immigration and protection against terrorism.¹⁰

The Cartoon Affair and Radicalization

The most explosive expression of this cocktail of values emerged with the 2005 Cartoon Affair, which became central in shaping new and emerging initiatives to address 'radicalization' and 'Islamism'. The cartoon affair developed into a powerful confrontation between uncompromising advocates of freedom of speech and those who saw caricatures of the Prophet Mohammed as a prominent example of the humiliation, repression and ridiculing of Islam in the west. As tragically documented in 2015 by the terror attack on the satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* in Paris on January 7 and the Copenhagen shooting on February 14-15, as well as the domestic and international reactions to these events, the cartoon affair is still a source of violent confrontation between jihadists and European states.

As for the cartoon affair in Denmark, starting in 2005, for a long time it looked as if the case of the drawings would remain a Danish concern, yet another expression of the cultural struggle which the government had emphasized as a key issue. On the sidelines stood a number of imams who had formed a so-called action committee. In October eleven Muslim ambassadors sent a letter to the Prime Minister asking for a meeting on the matter, but they were refused by Anders Fogh Rasmussen, who informed them that it was not his role to censor Danish newspapers. Although international protests and demonstrations erupted, it seemed as if the affair could be contained to the Danish homeland. But it was only a matter of time before this hope proved false. In January 2006 all hell broke loose in the Middle East, and Denmark was placed in what was close to a state of emergency.¹¹ When the crisis had reached its peak, a somewhat shaken Danish Prime Minister described the situation as uncontrollable. From late January until late February, a succession of dramatic events unfolded: tumultuous mass demonstrations which cost civilian lives, burnings of flags and effigies of Anders Fogh Rasmussen, boycotts of Danish products, and attacks on and attempted burnings of Danish embassies and diplomatic missions in Damascus, Beirut, Jakarta and Teheran. On January 26, Saudi Arabia recalled its ambassador to Denmark; on January 29, Libya closed its People's Bureau (embassy) in Copenhagen, and the ambassadors of Syria and Pakistan were likewise recalled for consultation. At the height of the crisis, Denmark closed its embassies in Iran, Indonesia and Syria, as well as its diplomatic mission in Lebanon. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark advised Danes against traveling to most countries in the Middle East, as well as to

Pakistan, Indonesia and Malaysia. Large-scale demonstrations took place in European cities, and after the attacks on the Danish embassies the matter was raised at the highest level within the EU, the UN and the United States, at which time it had already been given high priority within the Arab League and the OIC (Organization of the Islamic Conference).

The government reinforced the struggle between Danish values, epitomized in the principle of freedom of speech, and radicalized Islamism, which was seen as the greatest threat to Danish security, both as pretext for terrorism and as a threat to social cohesion. Freedom of speech became a symbol of Danish values, at least when it came to criticism of Islam, while criticism of democracy was seen as an expression of radicalized ideology, which had to be fought without compromise.

With the reprinting of the drawings on February 12, 2008, the affair escalated further, with threats on different jihadist forums increasing significantly:¹² two Tunisians in the Brabrand suburb of Aarhus were arrested for planning to assassinate the cartoonist and graphic artist Kurt Westergaard, the man responsible for the (in)famous drawing. As a manifestation of disgust at this intended atrocity, virtually all the Danish newspapers reprinted the caricatures of the Prophet, which immediately reinvigorated the issue on jihadist websites. Since then, revenge for the cartoons has been a key priority for the al-Qaida network and its sympathizers. The first direct response took place on June 2 of that year, when a car bomb exploded outside the Danish embassy in Islamabad. As well as killing eight people, the bomb caused extensive damage, which could have been much greater had it been detonated closer to the embassy gates. This was followed in September by an al-Qaida video in which the planning of the bombing was documented and the grounds for the attack presented in a thorough report, which was surprisingly well informed on matters of Danish domestic politics. Other incidents that played a role in putting radicalization and the threat of terrorism against Denmark on the top of the Danish security agenda were the attack against Kurt Westergaard and the 'Headley case'.¹³

All this led the government to introduce its first plan against radicalization in January 2009, which placed Denmark, together with United Kingdom, in the forefront of western states in developing antiradicalization programs.¹⁴ Since then Denmark has launched new plans and initiatives, the last one as recently as January 2015 as a direct response to the terrorism attack against *Charlie Hebdo* magazine in Paris on January 7, 2015.

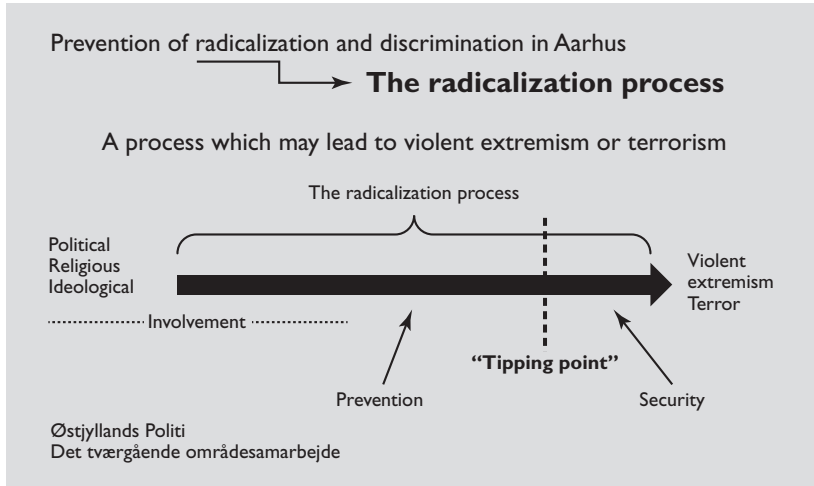
The Danish Model of Anti-Radicalization

The responsibility for developing the plans was primarily placed WITH PET, which introduced a department for preventive security. Together with a newly established office in the Ministry of Integration, which later became part of an expanded Ministry of Social Affairs, with the title of 'Office for Democracy', thus signaling that the government saw democracy as in direct contradiction to radicalization (sometimes also labeled extremism) the idea was to initiate a whole range of programs that should include awareness of signs of concern in the form of radical behavior, thus targeting vulnerable societies like ghettos with a majority of Muslim immigrants with public diplomacy and dialogue initiatives, recognizing the local authorities and giving them the tools to address 'potential radicals', strengthening social workers, teachers, police officers through courses organized by PET and the Office for Democracy in order to make them aware of signs of concern, and establishing an information network to report and cope with developing problems concerning radicalization and persons in danger of becoming radicalized. PET also developed exit programs whereby members of extremist groups could, if they wished, enroll in a program of resocialisation. Some of these efforts may already have been partly on the drawing board before the London bombings and the cartoon affair, such as the organization of cooperative links between schools, social authorities and the police (SSP) in preventing youth criminality, but it can hardly be doubted that these initiatives were boosted and expanded after the London bombings and the cartoon affair in order to counter what were identified as 'early signs of radicalization'.¹⁵

The biggest challenge in these efforts was and still is to give an accurate definition or description of what radicalization really is. The problem is that identification of 'radicalization' and the corresponding CVE programs offer possibilities for demonstrating that action is being taken, but neither the notion of 'radicalization' nor the model of CVE rest on convincing conceptualizations or empirical grounding. Despite this lack of conceptualization and thus also of a solid basis for collecting empirical data concerning either 'radicalized individuals' or the impact of anti-radicalization programs, Denmark's efforts in this regard have been promoted and expanded ever since the inauguration of the plan in 2009.¹⁶ Instead of solid conceptualization and empirical grounding, it seems the authorities operate with a pragmatic model, a heuristic working model that describes radicalization in a formulaic manner as a process in which an individual moves from a phase of showing normal behavior (without further definition) to phases where the individual gradually but increasingly diverges from normal behavior until he or she

reaches a so-called ‘tipping point’, described as the point where the radicalized individual transgresses the boundary between radical thinking and violent action, that is, from thoughts to action. This “tipping point” is conceptualized as a point reached not by all individuals but by those few with somehow vulnerable minds.¹⁷

Figure 1. ‘Tipping Point Model’ – a reproduction of a slide presented by Østjyllands Politi in Beirut, March 2015.



Source: Aarhus Kommune

Thus Denmark’s anti-radicalization model has not been developed in a scientific manner, based on theory and solid empirical data, but more in an experimental manner in an interplay between the Department of Preventive Security in PET, the Office for Democracy in the Ministry, and operators and agencies in the field. Concerning the latter, Østjyllands Politi, the municipal police in Denmark’s second largest city Aarhus, and the municipality, Aarhus Kommune, have been very active in dealing with issues of radicalization, which made them famous for the so-called Aarhus Model, especially after the problem of Syrian ‘Foreign Fighters’ became the issue of the day. It is not clear exactly who – PET or the Aarhus Kommune – took the lead role in the process of developing the Model, but having been implemented throughout Denmark it can now accurately be called ‘the Danish Model’. The reason why Aarhus has been at the forefront of developing anti-radicalization tools is, among other things, the existence of certain mosques in Aarhus which are considered to have an extremist profile, especially the Grimhøj mosque.

Figure 2.

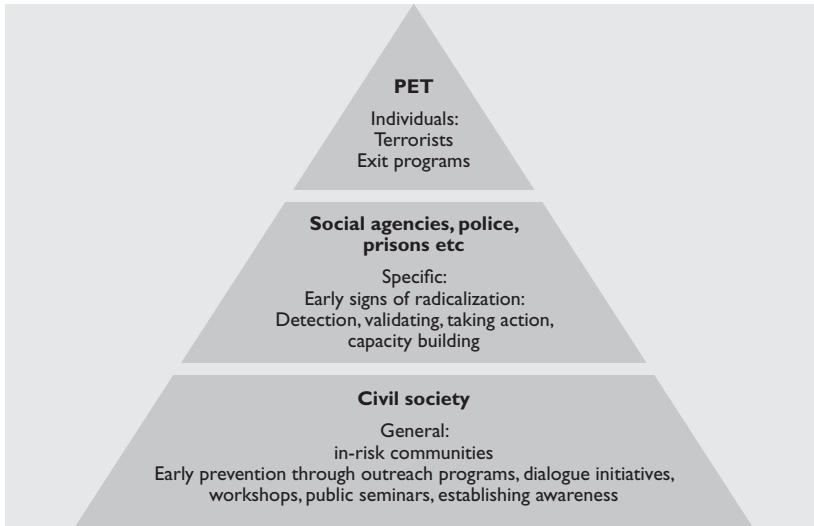


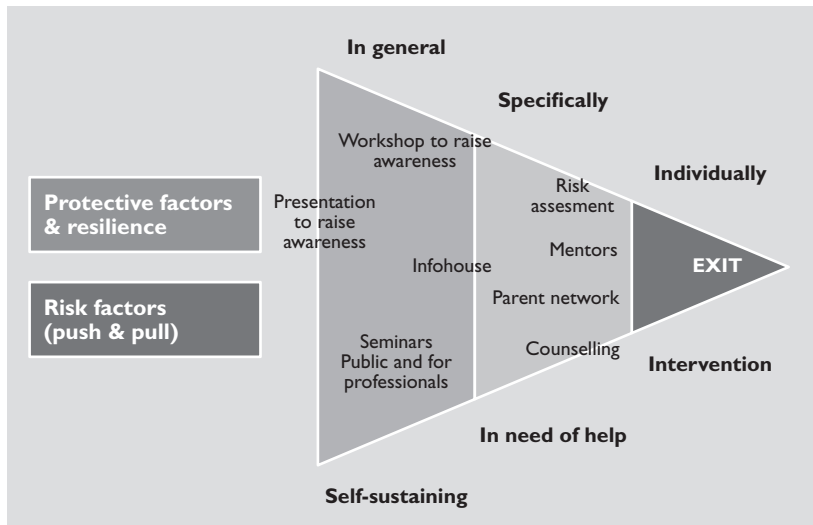
Fig. 2 illustrates the three layers in the Danish Model in form of a triangle. The base of the triangle illustrates what are defined as ‘in-risk communities, potentially areas of larger cities with a majority of (Muslim) immigrants like north-west Copenhagen or Brabrand in Aarhus, where the Grimhøj mosque is located. Here the model primarily promotes outreach programs in order to establish a dialogue between different groups and communities, recognizing local initiatives to promote dialogue and addressing civil-society actors to deal with vulnerable groups or individuals. At the same time social workers, police officers and others, as well as school pupils, are offered workshops and public seminars to teach them to spot early signs of radicalization, all with the purpose of increasing awareness. If awareness leads to observations in need of reporting, information is to be reported through a call to an Info-House, basically a telephone operated by a specially designated police officer, who may consult a social worker. The staff at the Info-House always has a direct connection to PET, which will be consulted if it is seen necessary.

Such Info-Houses are to be established in all police districts in Denmark. Having received a report, the staff in the Info-House will decide what further action, if any, should be taken. We have now moved from the base of the triangle (Model) to the middle level of programs for the capacity building of institutions and persons working professionally with criminals, detainees etc. in risk of being radicalized and thereby of enacting political (Islamic) violence. In this regard much attention has been given to the risk of so-called

crossover criminals in prisons, that is, criminals, maybe gang members, who are recruited for terrorism while in prison. Awareness and reporting have very high priority at this level as well, but here they are combined with actions to enroll the 'at risk' individual into special programs aimed to remove him or her from the radicalization process, provided he or she is willing. On the third level, the top layer of the triangle (Model), the focus is on 'known radicals' or 'terrorists', actions taken here having basically the character of preemptive operations, most likely in the form of exit programs, in order to disengage the person involved from violent extremism.¹⁸

Fig. 3 provides a more detailed illustration of the Danish Model. It is a reproduction of a slide from a presentation by Østjyllands Politi/Aarhus Kommune of the Model at a seminar in Beirut, Lebanon, in March 2015.¹⁹

Figure 3.



Evaluating the Danish Model

It is very difficult to evaluate whether the Model is working because of the lack of an accurate definition of radicalization. There are too many unknown factors, the most obvious being the impossibility of knowing whether a person who is spotted as being in the early phase of radicalization would actually have ended up being engaged in violent extremism. Of course one can measure how many workshops and seminars have been organized, how many individuals have attended them, how many dialogue activities have been initiated etc.²⁰ The higher up the triangle the less uncertainty about

the data because at the top layer the Model deals with identified ‘radicals’ or ‘terrorists’. The lower down the triangle the greater the uncertainty in the data material and also the greater the risk of unintended consequences: the awareness and extended information networks consisting of social workers, teachers, parents and even school pupils etc., who are trained and/or encouraged to spot signs of early radicalization, could be perceived as effective if it actually prevents radicalization, but it also carries the risk of being perceived as a very detailed surveillance network that keep eyes on everybody’s actions everywhere, even using voluntary informants in local communities to do so. When this awareness network is expanded especially to target those identified as ‘at-risk communities’ – typically communities with a majority of Muslim immigrants – it is obvious that citizens of these communities may feel exposed to increased surveillance and selected targeting just because they are Muslim immigrants.²¹ The creation of these feelings as an unintended consequence is amplified by the very polarized and value-based political discourse that identifies security threats as stemming primarily from Islam and Muslim immigrants in society. In other words, outreach and awareness programs that are implemented in order to create safety and trust in society, as well as to prevent radicalization and extremism, risk the unintended consequence of creating a society of mistrust, with the additional danger of laying the ground for more radicalization rather than preventing it. At the very least this is a dilemma that has to be taking into consideration when evaluating the Danish Model.²²

Recent Developments: Radicalization, Foreign Fighters and Threat Assessment

Recent developments in threat assessments highlight the threat of foreign fighters as a key security predicament for the internal security of western countries. This focus on foreign fighters has also been central in shaping Danish domestic security policies. The ‘foreign fighter debate’ is shaped by other debates on the changing character and scales of terrorism.

Since President Barack Obama boosted the drone campaign against al-Qaida especially, including targeted killings of al-Qaida senior leaders and operators, the threat from al-Qaida has decreased, and today al-Qaida is seen as weak and in a process of fragmentation. Even though the situations in Yemen (AQAP, Al-Qaida on the Arab Peninsula) and Syria (by way of Jabhat al-Nusra) have provided space for renewed al-Qaida activity, this is primarily taking place in a regional context. Yet simultaneously with the decreased global threat from al-Qaida, regional terrorism, insurgency, political con-

flicts and civil wars have spread dramatically in Sahel, including in Libya, the Horn of Africa, the Middle East and South Asia. It seems that the prize for weakening the global threat of terrorism from al-Qaida by way of wars, military interventions, drone campaigns and targeted killings, and the franchising of US counterinsurgency operations to local militias etc., is a dramatic increase in regional terrorism and conflict.²³ Thus terrorism researchers are discussing whether this development should be seen as a general decline in terrorism threats against the west or whether these regional conflicts themselves pose new global threats. The intelligence services and some researchers tend to prefer the latter interpretation, namely that regional conflict zones will attract foreign fighters from the west who could pose a serious threat to western states and societies on their return.²⁴

Thus in the EU, as well as among intelligence agencies in Denmark and elsewhere, the threat from foreign fighters is considered very substantial, and several initiatives are being taken to counter it. A close reading of the assessments of the security risk posed by foreign fighters reveals that they are clearly not based on either unambiguous or solid empirical grounds. The assessments and the documentation refer to classified interviews with intelligence agencies or classified cases.²⁵ What remains is the fact that intelligence agencies and think tanks all refer to the same few examples in the apparent absence of more solid empirical evidence.²⁶ Nonetheless threat assessments in recent years point to foreign fighters as a key security threat, which seems to be a key discourse, if not the dominant one, on understanding terrorism and security threats, even in cases where such threats are evolving without any clear evidence of interference from foreign fighters has been documented.

Thus from the beginning, the brutal and tragic attack on the French satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* on 7 January 2015 was linked by commentators to the issue of foreign fighters. Commentators referred to the high degree of professionalism that had characterized the attack, indicating military training, a point of view that was actually rejected by experts on military matters. It soon became known that the assailants had a long history within extremist milieus in Paris, going back more than ten years, and that one of them had himself sought training in Yemen, but also that none of them had a background as a foreign fighter: Amedy Coulibaly had converted to radical Islam in a French prison, where he also met Kouachi. Nonetheless, their activities continued to be linked by commentators to the issue of foreign fighters, and the Danish Minister for Justice announced on the media that Danish Intelligence Agencies would be receiving additional resources to handle the problem and that the Government would now expedite a bill

to deprive those suspected of intending to travel to Syria to fight of their passports. There seems to be no doubt that the foreign fighter issue is conducive to the career of terrorism experts, as well as to politicians who wish to demonstrate their ability to act and to increase the funding and power of intelligence agencies, despite the fact that the *Charlie Hebdo* attack was not related to the foreign fighter issue. Rather, it should have been linked to the failure of the French intelligence services, who knew about both the assailants and the threat they posed. Not only would a stronger focus on the foreign fighter issue not have prevented the *Charlie Hebdo* attack, this focus may even have made the French intelligence service (Direction générale de la sécurité intérieure, DGSI) underestimate the threat of terrorism from the inside the French state.²⁷

Exactly the same thoughts would apply to the attacks in Copenhagen on 14 and 15 February 2015 and the Government's subsequent proposal of 19 February to allocate almost one billion Danish *kroner* primarily to the funding of increased intelligence on Syria fighters, even though the assailant in this tragic episode was in fact not a Syria fighter either.

As a response to the Paris attack, in January 2015 the Danish Parliament agreed to provide more funding to anti-radicalization programs. A close reading of the new initiatives shows that they primarily represent an expansion of the tools and methods already developed in what we have described above as the Danish Model. Ironically this program was not able to stop the Copenhagen gunman from his actions, despite the fact that he was well known to the authorities in social affairs departments, prison, the court system, the police and PET. In fact, staff in the prison reported to PET their feelings that he was showing signs of radicalization. Despite still being subject to legal procedures and not having completed the prison sentence he had already had received for stabbing a passenger in the subway, he was allowed to leave prison without any follow-up procedures and to return to the neighborhood where he used to be a member of a gang. The day before his shooting, he went to the municipality asking for help but was rejected. The question is, of course, why the system did not succeed in preventing him from committing these bloody actions?

Hence it is clear that threat perception in Denmark is first very much focused on external threats, threats entering Denmark from outside the EU, like conflict zones in Syria, and secondly that these threats are related to Islamism. In other words, for the Danish political establishment the threat to Danish security is primarily assessed as being external and as related to jihadist groups abroad. Even if that had not been the case with the perpetra-

tor of the Copenhagen-shooting, it facilitates the ‘exteriorization of “otherness”’, even when terrorists have been born in or are long-term residents of Denmark or other western countries. It is assumed that their socialization must by definition be related to foreign visits or foreign elements that have entered Denmark.²⁸

One dilemma in the anti-radicalization program seems to be, then, that it is too receptive to the public political discourse on threat assessment and thus blurs the distinction between external and internal threats. For the politicians it is, of course, more convenient if threats to Danish security are represented as emanating from the outside and are not related to Danish domestic or foreign politics, but it presents a serious dilemma if this unbalanced focus is reproduced in actual anti-radicalization programs. This problem may be related to the lack, both empirically and conceptually, of a sound definition of what radicalization actually is and the present heuristic model, which renders radicalization an individual process attributed to individual problems, identities, cultures and modes of belonging that are played out beyond political context (including the possibly unintended consequences associated with both domestic and foreign security policy). In other words, the basic understanding of radicalization in the present Danish Model gives radicalization an individualized and depoliticized interpretation. This, of course, renders the understanding of radicalization universal. As the process of radicalization is understood as a process unfolding largely independently of time and space, this puts the Danish understanding of radicalization at severe risk of ignoring crucial political aspects that may have a profound influence both in potentially producing further radicalization and adequately countering it. These dilemmas are apparent not only domestically but also in contexts abroad.

Exporting the Dilemmas

With the rise of anti-radicalization and preventive security discourses from the mid-2000s, new policy spaces opened up for Denmark, not only domestically, but also in foreign policy. Specifically, in recent years Denmark has started exporting its CVE expertise, thereby transferring domestic security expertise into the domain of foreign policy.

This promotion of CVE discourses, and Denmark’s recent export of CVE knowledge, can be seen as being embedded within wider global shifts in the understanding of, and responses to, international security threats. Initially

the ‘war on terror’ was guided by a military approach focused on eliminating the enemy. Yet against the backdrop of military interventions – in particular in Afghanistan and Iraq – it became apparent that there were clear limits to what military force alone could achieve. Adaptations following this realization decreased the appetite for large-scale US stabilization missions, and there was a partial shift from ‘direct’ approaches guided by a logic of military force and effort to an increase in more ‘indirect’ approaches to defeating ‘subversion’ and radicalism,²⁹ as well as an increase in European involvement. Such approaches focusing on prevention, community-oriented programming, local capacity-building etc. are reflected across the spectrum of emerging counterinsurgency, anti-radicalization and CVE discourses and practices. It is within the context of these wider shifts that some of Denmark’s key capacities from domestic security and crime expertise were rendered transferable to the domain of foreign policy. Denmark and other smaller European nations have not had the capacity to muster any materially sizable military contributions to big missions such as Iraq and Afghanistan (although Danish support to the U.S. seen in relation to Denmark’s size has been substantial). Yet when it comes to more flexible and preventative approaches that need fewer ‘boots on the ground,’ smaller nations, including the Scandinavian countries, have a specific expertise that resonates with the wider emerging discourses of anti-radicalization. As a case in point, the Danish Model offers exactly the adaptable ‘risk/resilience assessment techniques’³⁰ that are called for in key policy discourses of prevention and anti-radicalization.

The Danish Model in Kenya

An illustrative example of Danish domestic security and prevention capacities entering the foreign policy domain is the partnership program on counter-radicalisation initiated in 2012 by the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which provided funding for a partnership between PET and its Kenyan counterpart, the National Intelligence Service (NIS) and the Kenyan National Counter-Terrorism Centre (NCTC).³¹ Kenya has experienced severe security challenges, especially from attacks carried out by al-Shabaab and their sympathizers and affiliates, including Al-Hijra, the Kenyan branch of al-Shabaab. In particular the coastal areas are seen as vulnerable to radicalization because of the Muslim populations inhabiting these areas and because of the location close to the border with Somalia. As already shown, PET in turn has substantial experience in working with crime prevention, society-centered approaches, intelligence etc. in Denmark. The rationale that underpins the CVE program partnership with Kenya is that the capacities built

up and used in Danish domestic efforts to prevent crime and the activities and mobilization of other forms of groups and gangs also constitute useful and relevant tools in preventing and defeating terror through anti-radicalization approaches.³² Anti-radicalization thereby emerges not only as a tool in domestic security governance and prevention, it also connects ‘lessons learned’ in domestic contexts to international efforts to improve anti-terror approaches. In this regard Denmark is seen as a front-runner in Europe. The PET–NIS anti-radicalization partnership program has received substantial international recognition, even though it has so far only been implemented as a pilot project, testing the ground for the possible expansion of CVE programming in Kenya. Several foreign donors and foreign-policy actors have shown an interest in learning from, contributing to or transferring the program.³³ From Denmark’s foreign policy perspective, the export of Danish CVE expertise is important in placing the country on the international relations map and in giving Denmark a position as a significant international actor and ally in wider stabilization and security efforts.³⁴ Moreover, the international acknowledgement achieved with the partnership program is also more widely granting recognition to the Danish Model and may thereby also add further legitimacy to the expansion of CVE activities ‘at home’.

In Kenya the CVE partnership approach builds on the key components of the Danish Model – from civil society engagements and dialogues, to the capacity-building of local law enforcement institutions (particularly in detecting ‘early signs’ of radicalization), and, finally, to efforts to disengage individuals already deemed to be extremists. Activities thereby include outreach and dialogue meetings within communities that are profiled as communities ‘at risk’ and engagements with ‘informal’ civil-society elements such as elder councils and village leaders; capacity-building of prisons and probation services to enable them to better detect and respond to individuals understood to be at risk of radicalization (this includes ‘train the trainer’ and mentoring approaches); efforts to introduce CVE activities as part of wider counter-terrorism approaches; and support to exit-activities by engaging ‘known radicals’ and encouraging their exit from groups considered to be extremist.³⁵ A recurrent focus across the activities is the focus on prevention by enabling more fine-tuned identification of individuals deemed to be at risk. Such identification and selective targeting takes account of general crime factors, signs of ideological commitment, family situation, area of origin, how the individual in question is thriving in his or her environment, motivational factors and grievances, childhood factors etc. Any knowledge about these factors is deemed important for being able to tailor the engagements

and dialogue aimed at halting and/or reversing radicalization. There are currently considerations as to whether to work directly with the police and how to expand capacity-building activities to include also schools (which in the Danish Model are central sites for raising awareness of how to identify early signs of radicalization, which can then be reported and addressed).³⁶

The pilot phase of the CVE program in Kenya is generally recognized to have been successful by the involved program partners and has, as mentioned, received the interest and recognition of other international actors and donors engaged in stabilization and security governance in the Horn of Africa. “This is likely to generally boost the recognition of ‘the Danish Model’ and could thereby legitimize further expansion of Danish CVE home and abroad.”

Results have not at this stage been made public, and it is also clear, more generally, that ‘success’ is hard to measure in so far as radicalization and anti-radicalization are understood as gradual psycho-social processes.³⁷ Indications of success are therefore primarily defined in terms of the interest and willingness that local partners have shown in continuing and expanding the program, as well as in relation to the cases that have been detected and addressed in the prisons and through the exit activities. Regarding the latter, the Kenyan partners have reported a substantial number of cases.³⁸ Thus the program appears to be addressing and engaging key aspects which other, similar programs have been criticized for not prioritizing sufficiently. More specifically, a recent evaluation of CVE in Kenya has called for more systematic and specific identification and targeting of sub-sets of the population ‘at risk of being attracted to VE (Violent Extremism)’ and greater awareness of the various ‘individual-level drivers’.³⁹ In meeting these recommendations by placing a firm emphasis on the individual and on early signs of radicalization etc., the Danish Model can be regarded as an example of engagement approximating to what is considered ‘best practice’ with regard to contemporary anti-radicalization discourses.

However, as in Denmark’s anti-radicalization plans, the flipside of the CVE emphasis on the individual tends to be however a de-emphasis on the broader political context. This constitutes an enabling factor for the apparent ability to ‘export’ CVE across different contexts: as the conception of ‘the radicalization process’ offers a generalized explanatory tool detailing the steps whereby individuals become radicalized and, respectively, how this process may be reversed or prevented, it can ostensibly be employed in ‘any and all given contexts of political violence’.⁴⁰ This, however, raises important ques-

tions with regard to both the policies and the solutions devised for conflict-affected contexts, as well as with reference to the possible overlooking of more ambiguous and inconvenient factors, such as flawed intervention policies, state violence, exclusion and marginalization, which tend to shape such contexts. With the aim of starting to engage with some of these questions and dilemmas more seriously (as well as risks associated with depoliticization) in relation to Denmark's export of anti-radicalization, the following section examines the political context and dynamics of violence and the existing security infrastructure in Kenya within which the Danish CVE partnership program is situated.

Socio-psychological Vulnerability or Political Choice?

On October 2011, Kenya's armed forces invaded Somalia with the specific aim of ousting al-Shabaab from the port city of Kismayo, and the more general aim of defeating the al-Shabaab movement in order to secure Kenya's border and coastal areas. This invasion and Kenya's subsequent military presence in Somalia significantly changed Somali-Kenyan relations, and they are the key to understanding the political context of more recent dynamics of violence and attacks within Kenya, especially in the regions bordering Somalia. A closer look at Somali-Kenyan political relations complicates the narrow conception of violence as 'radicalization-preceded violence'⁴¹ ascribed to socio-psychological vulnerability. Instead it indicates other possible explanations for violence, such as political choice, anger and perceived injustice.

In Somalia, the Kenyan forces played an important role in ousting al-Shabaab from their former stronghold of Kismayo, and since 2011 al-Shabaab has experienced significant territorial losses. Meanwhile the movement changed its techniques and strategies and now focuses on both civic and public targets inside Kenya: as is not strong enough to win military victories within Somalia, it instead targets 'soft goals' inside Kenya. As Anderson and McKnight note, "by June 2014, it was estimated conservatively that there had been more than 80 such attacks in Kenya since the invasion",⁴² ranging from attacks on buses, communities and neighborhoods inside Kenya, to large-scale examples including the attack on the Westgate mall in September 2013, and the recent attack at Garissa University on 2 April 2015.

The invasion and Kenya's military presence has received mixed reactions among Somalis. On the one hand al-Shabaab has lost support among the general population, and many welcome support in defeating the movement. Moreover, prior to the invasion Kenya experienced a number of at-

tacks threatening its tourist industry in the coastal areas. On the other hand, Kenya's approach and pursuit of self-serving agendas inside Somalia has caused controversy and anger amongst Somalis in both Somalia and Kenya). Kenya's close alliance with (and military support to) clan-specific militias (who subsequently have fought against other clan militias in the area) and Kenya's instrumentalization of the war to pursue its own economic interests by taking control of the prosperous Kismayo harbor, have undermined much of the popular Somali support for Kenya, as the engagement can be seen as occupation for economic gain⁴³ under the guise of peace-building and stabilization operations. In addition, Kenya's responses to the internal security threats (i.e. within Kenya), which substantially increased after the invasion into Somalia, and al-Shabaab's increasing attacks on Kenyan soil have been deeply politically contested. The Kenyan authorities' heavy-handed responses – which will be discussed in more detail below – have exacerbated existing historical grievances and experiences of marginalization by Muslim communities inside Kenya. These factors all play a key role in the resistance, violence and 'radicalization' that Kenya has experienced in the last ten years. Moreover, these are also factors from which al-Shabaab has benefitted when mobilizing.⁴⁴ Accusations of occupation, corrupt interests, the marginalization of Muslims etc. are central to al-Shabaab's condemnation of Kenya, and have been reiterated as justifications whenever al-Shabaab has launched attacks inside Kenya.⁴⁵

This brief sketch reveals much more complicated explanations of violence than the framing put forward in CVE efforts. As pointed out by Heath-Kelly and Jarvis, CVE invokes 'the possibility that future violent acts can be prevented by targeting suspect communities with counter-radicalization processes',⁴⁶ a frame in which political choice is translated into psychological and social vulnerability in the effort to identify potential 'radicals'. Both such 'diagnosis' and the proposed 'cure' tend towards de-politicization,⁴⁷ thus risking not adequately factoring in the contemporary entanglements of Somalia–Kenyan politics, conflict dynamics and violence.

Closely related to the risk of de-politicization, which tends to mark CVE approaches, is a set of dilemmas revolving around the ways in which the practices and approaches exported from one context to another become layered on top of existing institutions, practices and interests. We now turn to the internal dynamics of security practices and violence inside Kenya and the ways in which these may interact with CVE programs.

The Layering of Institutions, Practices and Agendas

The practice of exporting CVE expertise rests on the idea that interveners can transfer their knowledge, capacity and ‘good practice’ from their domestic context to the partner agencies of the receiving country – in the case in point, Kenyan law enforcement agencies and the NIS. PET stresses the need to build on existing structures, while also re-educating them and enabling them to adopt new and better practices as put forward by the CVE education.⁴⁸

Research in Denmark shows, however, that when different sectors and institutions (for example, schools, police, social offices) have joined forces in anti-radicalization efforts, this has led to substantial inconsistencies, rather than straightforward knowledge transfers from one sector to another. Even when a ‘working consensus’ exists that a perspective on individuals and communities at risk should be dominant, there tend to be substantial diversities in professional norms, interests and practices, meaning that ‘there is no guarantee that “signs” are interpreted or understood correctly’ or consistently.⁴⁹ If we consider these conclusions from the Danish context, it gives reason to raise questions about what happens when the Danish Model is layered onto the existing Kenyan security structure.

A number of dilemmas and possibly unintended consequences deserve attention. To begin with, existing attempts to profile potentially radical individuals and practices of decentering security approaches to reach into the civil sphere are in Kenya deeply enmeshed in socio-political and religious power struggles, conflicts and lines of divisions. Adopting anti-terror and anti-radicalization discourse and ideology has become a way for Kenyan security actors to seek to beef up their resources and standing. Particularly in the aftermath of al-Shabaab’s attack on the Westgate mall, Muslims have increasingly been profiled by Kenyan security forces, who have met much criticism both for their systematic profiling itself and for the associated security operations, including crackdowns on Somali-inhabited neighborhoods⁵⁰ allegedly targeting illegal immigrants and ‘criminals’, and also including a series of targeted killings of a number of prominent Muslim clerics accused of potentially radicalizing youth.⁵¹ Human Rights Watch noted in August 2013 that it had ‘strong evidence’ of the Kenyan Anti-Terrorism Police Unit organizing these extrajudicial killings and enforced disappearances.⁵² During the same period, the government has also started initiatives encouraging Kenyans ‘to be vigilant in their neighborhood and report suspicious activities’,⁵³ allegedly and somewhat paradoxically in the name of seeking to protect the population.

The crackdowns and killings have been targeted at, for example, the Somali-inhabited Eastleigh neighborhood in Nairobi and the coastal areas where many Muslim communities are settled and where there are already profound suspicions of the government due to a longer history of experiences of injustices in respect of resource allocation and representation. This cycle of grievances, marginalization, mistrust and government 'anti-terror' operations provides potentially fertile ground for political mobilization against the government and in support of alternatives such as al-Shabaab.⁵⁴

In brief, the imported CVE approaches become layered onto a deeply politically loaded and complex context. Yet, as the CVE discourse generally and the Danish model in particular relies on an individualized notion of 'radicalization',⁵⁵ there is an obvious risk that such deeply politicized state–society interactions, patterns of marginalization and mistrust etc. are not explicitly taken into account in the CVE initiatives. One the basis exactly of the Danish CVE model's emphasis on the individual and on socio-psychological vulnerability, it appears that the 'solution' offered is the introduction of new tools and training to improve the capacity of CTT and of jail and probation staff to be better able to detect and target 'early signs of radicalization'. As already noted, there are plans to possibly expand CVE activities from jails and outreach initiatives to build the capacities of police forces more generally, as well as to train staff at schools in selected communities to become more alert to detecting young people who are potentially becoming radicalized.⁵⁶ The selection of communities deemed to be at risk is generally based on strategic confidential analysis and intelligence. As such, the CVE's conceptualization of radicalization as an individual, socio-psychological process justifies particular state security forces' intervention into the lives of individuals who show, or are believed to show, divergence from the notions and images of the good and peaceful citizen. Particular people, institutions and communities thus become 'legitimate targets'⁵⁷ for intervention, as they are ascribed malign identities and belongings. In a context like Kenya, which is already shaped by deeply politicized and contested state security practices, as well as by profound inter-religious and inter-ethnic tensions, this raises questions with regard to the risks of further undermining trust between the state and Muslim populations through the introduction of CVE, as well as among the different population groups (Somali, Kenyan, Kenyan-Somalis, Christians, Muslims). Specifically, how can external CVE experts navigate and understand these complexities, especially if they employ a model that deemphasizes wider political context? How can they prevent the expansion of tools for detecting and reporting 'signs of radicalization' in prisons, schools and com-

munities further deepening suspicion, mistrust and, potentially, violence, and/or be used as ‘community intelligence’ for extending the already existing state practices of discriminatory profiling and targeted killings?

Part of the answer provided by the contributors to the Danish export of CVE is that that CVE partnerships should focus on cooperation and capacity-building with ‘benign’ partners who will work towards more human rights-sensitive security provision and who do not have executive powers.⁵⁸ Yet, this again runs the risk of underestimating the significance of the wider political context; after all, intelligence agencies collect intelligence for (and serve as part of) the wider security apparatus, and do not as such operate in a discrete sphere. The difficulties in targeting the ‘good forces’ – as if they existed as separate powers – is illustrated in the specific context of Kenya, where a highly criticized anti-terror law⁵⁹ has recently granted the PET partner NIS executive and potentially democratically uncontrolled powers as well. In a sharp critique of this, Human Rights Watch points out, for example, how Article 62 of Kenya’s anti-terror law of 2014 authorizes NIS officers to ‘do anything necessary to preserve national security’ and to detain people even on suspicion of ‘engaging in any act or thing or being in possession of anything which poses a threat to national security (...)’.⁶⁰ Article 66, furthermore, enables NIS staff to carry out ‘covert operations’, broadly defined as ‘measures aimed at neutralizing threats against national security.’⁶¹

The problems of excess violence that have haunted Kenyan security approaches and institutions – particularly since the war against al-Shabaab began – could of course, be seen as evidence exactly of the need for external education and capacity-building. However, here it should be remembered that many of the abuses mentioned above (deportations, targeted killings, crackdowns on Muslim communities etc.) have occurred since Kenya adopted its new constitution, one committed to developing stronger protections for human rights. The bill of rights includes the National Police Service Act (2011), the Independent Policing Oversight Act (2011) and the establishment of the National Police Service Commission. These Acts placed limits on the use of force and the powers of arrests and detention, and as such held the potential for furthering oversight and accountability, but instead they have largely been eroded through legislative counter-amendments that have again reduced the potential for accountability. In this respect, the anti-terror law specifically empowering NIS can be seen as a step backwards.⁶² This illustrates the complex co-existence of public commitments in favor of human rights and democratic oversight and the simultaneous raise of abusive and unaccountable practices, which further highlights the need to consider

carefully exactly if – and which types of – support and intervention are likely to actually further the former and circumvent the latter. The pertinence of engaging with these questions is further highlighted by previous and recent indications and accusations of external support to Kenyan anti-terror and CVE approaches inadvertently contributing to rather than curbing violence.⁶³

Conclusion

We recognize that the security problems that Kenya, like many other conflict-affected settings, is facing are real enough, and that there are great pressures on policy-makers in both the Global South and the Global North to demonstrate that they are taking these problems seriously and are able to respond to them. In recognizing these immense security and policy challenges, however, it has not been the aim and approach of this chapter to seek and define new answers and solutions (there is currently already a growing amount of problem-solving and commissioned policy research on the topic, indicating the growing convergence between terrorism studies and state policy interests). Rather, we have tried to highlight the potential dilemmas, pitfalls and unintended consequences that merit more attention, particularly in a context where Denmark is increasingly exporting its security expertise. The case study of the Danish export of CVE to Kenya served to highlight further the dilemmas, potential risks and unintended consequences associated with the Danish Model. As we have shown, these dilemmas are already discernable in the domestic Danish context, but they are highlighted further when considering the institutional layering and complex socio-political dynamics of violence in relation to the export of CVE.

The dilemmas immanent in the Danish Model of anti-radicalization are rooted in the lack of a proper definition or of a solid, empirically based theory of what is meant by radicalization. As has been pointed out, the universalistic approach to a heuristic understanding of radicalization beyond time and space is grounded in an individualistic interpretation of the phenomenon, which leads to a socio-psychological model of ‘identifying radicals’ beyond the political context: de-politicization. Furthermore, it tends to interpret threats of terrorism and radicalization as stemming from the outside, that is, the root of terrorism in Denmark tends to be seen as located in conflict zones outside the EU’s borders. This gives rise to a dilemma in which outside–inside relations are blurred, with a tendency to underestimate

possible domestic political dynamics. These aspects are all easily reproduced when exporting the Danish Model of CVE. Identification of individuals as radicalized is based on socio-psychological parameters that run the risk of ignoring or at least downgrading the political context and the behavior of public security agencies. Rather than creating trust between citizen and state, this dilemma both in Denmark and abroad could risk developing a state of mistrust, which, according to the German philosopher Hannah Arendt in her book on *The Origin of Totalitarianism*, is a crucial factor in transforming a state into an authoritarian regime.⁶⁴

Thus a central point emerging from the above analysis is a call for caution with regard to the contemporary focus on seemingly ‘urgent’ issues and the consequent displacement of political and historical contextualization.

Notes

- 1 ‘Strengthening Multilateral Engagement on Countering Violent Extremism’, *Meeting Note*, High-level Meeting on CVE 2014, The Global Center on Cooperative Security; ‘Africa Week in Review – 7 March 2014’, *Security Assistance Monitor* [online]. No longer available.
- 2 We are grateful for the information and access to documents provided to us by the Danish authorities, but the authors alone are responsible for the analysis and conclusions presented in the present chapter.
- 3 On problems on definitions and theory, see Gemmerli (2014) and Schmid (2013).
- 4 Koselleck (2004).
- 5 On securitization, see Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde (1998), p. 23.
- 6 It later turned out that they had been affiliated for years with Islamist circles in the UK and had been in close contact with jihadists in Pakistan. Nevertheless the case became central in elevating the concepts ‘home-grown’ and ‘radicalization’ within policies for the state prevention of terrorism. On Homegrown radicalization narratives, see Wiktorowicz (2005) and Sageman (2008).
- 7 Stevnsborg (2010) p. 217; Danish Government (2005).
- 8 Hansen (2011).
- 9 Jespersen and Pittelkow (2005).
- 10 Høilund (2011) and Thorup (2013).
- 11 Erslev Andersen (2008).
- 12 *Assessment of the Terror Threat against Denmark* [online], Center for Terror Analyses/PET, 10 January 2013, available from <https://www.pet.dk/English/-/media/Engelsk/2013VTDENGENDpdf.ashx>, accessed April 2015.
- 13 Threats against Denmark continued to show up on jihadist websites. On New Year’s Day 2010, a young Somali resident of Denmark assaulted Kurt Westergaard in his home in Viby, Aarhus, but the cartoonist managed to seek refuge in a safe room built into his

house. The FBI, who in 2009 arrested an American citizen of Pakistani descent at Chicago airport, thwarted the most terrifying terrorist action. It turned out that David Headley, the American alias he had assumed, was linked to a Pakistani-Canadian businessman, Rana, who did business out of Chicago, where he had been able to provide Headley with a false identity, false papers, money and travel documents. Moreover, Headley had visited Copenhagen and Aarhus twice, viewing potential terror targets. Working in exactly the same way, he had prepared the ground for the November 2008 Mumbai terrorist attack, in which 179 people were killed in an exceedingly well-organized attack. It turned out that Headley was in contact with the various Pakistani groups that had carried out the Mumbai attack and that were now planning a terrorist action in Denmark as retaliation for the Muhammad caricatures. There were, then, indications that groups in the U.S. had connections in Pakistan as well as in Europe, the plot against Denmark being one of the most sophisticated since the London bombings.

- 14 Danish Government (2009).
- 15 SSP: School, Social Authority, Police. See: <https://www.politi.dk/da/ompolitiet/sspsamarbejde/>, accessed April 2015.
- 16 Gemmerli, op.cit.
- 17 Gemmerli, op.cit. p. 14
- 18 Personal communication from PET staff.
- 19 Presentation on the 'Aarhus Model' by Østjyllands Politi and Aarhus Kommune at Seminar on Youth Radicalization in Lebanon, Carnegie Middle East Institute, Beirut, 19 March 2015.
- 20 Personal communication with staff from PET.
- 21 Statements from the Danish NGO, Exitcirklen (Exit Circle) by Khaterah Parwani at seminar on The Threat from Islamic State (in Danish) 6 February 2015.
- 22 Gemmerli (2014); Lindekilde (2015).
- 23 Hove (2014).
- 24 Hove, ibid.
- 25 de Roy van Zuijdewijn (2014); Erslev Andersen and Moe (forthcoming); Hemmingsen (2015).
- 26 The example par excellence of the threat from Syria fighters is the case of Mehdi Nemmouche, a Frenchman of Algerian origin who on 24 May 2014 shot and killed four persons in a Jewish museum in Brussels. The assailant had spent a year in Syria, serving as a brutal prison guard in a prison run by the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), but his motives for being in Syria were, according to former ISIL prisoners speaking against him, disputable. Prior to his stay in Syria, he had for years pursued a criminal career. In other words, it is not possible to decide whether Nemmouche carried out the shootings in Brussels because he had been in Syria or for other reasons (*The Independent*, December 2014). Hegghammer (2013).
- 27 On 11 January 2014, Islamic State published a video produced by the hostage-taker who barricaded himself in a kosher supermarket in Paris during the violent aftermath of the attack on the satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo*. In the video, filmed in Paris, he vows allegiance to Caliph Ibrahim, the leader of Islamic State. This, of course, represents a factual – if one-sided – relation between the hostage-taker and Islamic State, but does it also make the former a 'Syria Fighter'? We do not think so. He was released from prison in the spring of 2014 and has not been near conflict zones, including Syria. He has led a criminal lifestyle, though, since roughly 2002, living in Paris with his girlfriend Hayat Boumedienne since his release from prison. He met one of the *Charlie Hebdo* assailants in prison, where he also adopted Jihadi ideology. He was a classic 'solo-terrorist' who had

- frequented extremist milieus for more than 10 years. It is, by the way, interesting that both the al-Qaeda (in a video uploaded by al-Qaeda on the Arab Peninsula in the days prior to the attack on Charlie Hebdo) and Islamic State claimed responsibility for the attacks in Paris: The two organizations find it difficult to cooperate in Syria, where they wage war against each other, but their 'freelance operators' are supposedly able, then, to cooperate in Paris? The unlikelihood of this scenario clearly indicates that the French Jihadi network is not at all directed or controlled by either Islamic State or al-Qaeda. We elaborate on the issue of foreign fighters in Erslev Andersen and Moe (2015).
- 28 Baker-Beall, Heath-Kelly and Jarvis (2015).
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 - 30 Lindekilde (2015).
 - 31 Personal communication Danish Security and Intelligence Service (PET) staff, DIIS 2015; see also Danish Government (2014).
 - 32 Personal communication, Danish Security and Intelligence Service (PET) staff, DIIS 2015.
 - 33 Personal communication, Danish Security and Intelligence Service (PET) staff, DIIS 2015. On the interest in exporting Danish CVE expertise to conflict-affected settings, see also statements from the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs Martin Lidegaard: "Lidegaard: Terror skal bekæmpes uden for EUs grænser. Samarbejde med Tyrkiet og træning af politiet i Mellemosten er ifølge ministeren effective midler mod terror", *Ritzau*, 19 January 2015.
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 - 36 Ibid; See also Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark (2014), 'Forebyggelse af voldelig ekstremisme. Udenrigsministeriet styrker dansk bidrag til det internationale samarbejde', *Nyheder fra Udenrigsministeriet* [online], available from http://um.dk/da/-/media/UM/Danish-site/Documents/Udenrigspolitik/Nyheder_udenrigspolitik/2014/Forebyggelse%20af%20voldlig%20ekstremisme%20-%20styrket%20dansk%20bidrag%20FINAL.PDF, accessed April 2015.
 - 37 Personal communication, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2015.
 - 38 Personal communication, PET staff.
 - 39 Khalil and Zeuthen (2014).
 - 40 Baker-Beall, Heath-Kelly and Jarvis (2015).
 - 41 Ibid. p. 1.
 - 42 Anderson and McKnight (2014).
 - 43 Including also covert military support from the United States of America, see Anderson and McKnight (2014).
 - 44 Personal communication, Somali researcher, political analyst, development worker, Somaliland Hargeisa 2014; Anderson and McKnight (2014).
 - 45 It is also worth noting that al-Shabaab's initial rise to power and influence in Somalia happened in the context of a military invasion, namely the U.S.-supported Ethiopian invasion against the Union of Islamic Courts in 2006. As Somalia expert Roland Marchal

- notes, al-Shabbab had never had the level of backing it gained during this invasion and military occupation, see Marchal, Roland (2011), 'The rise of a jihad in a country at war: Harakat al-Shabaab al-Mujaheddin in Somalia' [online], Rapport for CNRS, SciencesPo, Paris. Available from http://www.sciencespo.fr/ceri/sites/sciencespo.fr/ceri/files/art_RM2.pdf, accessed 4 April 2015; see also Erslev Andersen and Moe (forthcoming).
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Coping with a Disorderly World: Denmark and the European External Action Service 2009-2014

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Introduction

Current public policy and academic debates on the international order are characterized by a focus on the complexity of its multileveled nature, normative uncertainty and perceived instability. In recent years, events defining this shift have included the 2001 attacks on the United States and the ensuing wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. However, the financial crisis of 2008 also originated in the United States, then spreading globally and leading to a long economic recession, which is still affecting several European economies. 2014 has also been a year of upheaval in its own right, defined by the rise of ISIS in Iraq and Syria and by Russia's annexation of Crimea, which was later transformed into an all-out war in eastern Ukraine between Russia-sponsored separatists and the Ukraine military.

This environment is particularly challenging to small states such as Denmark. A less orderly world makes it more difficult to vie for influence. It makes it more expensive and cumbersome to allocate resources to different areas, ranging from international organizations to increasingly powerful non-governmental actors. It is harder to identify niches for a distinctive foreign policy action. This in turns has led to a tendency to favor, or at least welcome, international cooperative arrangements as a way to channel specific foreign-policy priorities.

In Europe, one of the main venues for fulfilling that purpose is the European Union. In recent years, the EU has greatly expanded its competences in the sphere of external action, in anything from trade to international cli-

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mate negotiations. As the Eurozone crisis has demonstrated, even the better integrated EU competences routinely suffer setbacks in terms of the extent to which member states are willing to pull national sovereignty together. Even so, the field of EU external relations has grown to gradually encompass even issues where national sovereignty tends to be jealously guarded, such as security and defence policy. The creation of the European External Action Service (EEAS) in 2009 set the stage for a new architecture of European foreign policy-making. While still in its infancy, the Service has provided the EU with an embryonic diplomatic corps and has opened up new opportunities, especially for small European states, to influence the international agenda and allocate resources.

This article sets out to situate the creation and development of the EEAS in the context of how small states are adapting to a complex international context. It starts by teasing out some of the trends that have defined the recent debate on the world order, from a normative as well as a power-distribution standpoint. The article then zooms in to consider the role of small states and the criteria guiding their search for adaptation in the international arena. In this context, it will describe the role that the EU has played for small states, particularly the emergence of the EEAS. The article analyses policy adaptation by tracing three parallel dimensions of Europeanisation. First, it explores how the creation of the EEAS has contributed to Europeanisation, defined as the top-down process of national adaptation that reorients national organisational and procedural structures and policy-making processes.¹ Secondly, at the same time member states may project their national foreign-policy interests on to EU institutions and use the EU as an ‘influence multiplier’ to the extent that it preserves or strengthens rather than undermines national executive capacity.² Yet, thirdly, bottom-up processes may also lead to elite socialisation and policy convergence as a consequence of participation in EU decision-making structures.³ As a result, foreign-policy cultures and identities become more similar and national, and European interests may converge.

Lastly, the article describes the case of Denmark and the EEAS five years since the latter’s inception, examining the ways in which the Danish Foreign Service is adapting to the new foreign-policy structures and is seeking to advance its own priorities through it. The data used in the case study draw to a significant extent on background interviews carried out in spring 2013 and fall 2014 with civil servants in the European External Action Service, the Danish representation to the EU and the Danish Foreign Ministry.

A Disorderly World

During the first decade and a half of the 21st century, the public policy debate in the west surrounding questions of international order has been dominated by a narrative of disorder. The world is not bipolar, as during the Cold War, but neither is it unipolar, as in the 1990s. Attributes such as ‘multipolar’, ‘non-polar’, ‘a-polar’ and ‘post-American’ have been coined to describe a much more uncertain shift in global power.⁴ This abundance of prefixes creates the impression that we are living in a historical phase of transition, defined more by the preceding ones than by any distinctive quality of its own. What had brought the international order together during the most recent phase was the unrivalled pre-eminence of the United States in the military, economic and cultural realms. However, during the past decade, American hegemony in some or all of these realms has been challenged by events such as the Iraq war and the 2008 financial meltdown and subsequent recession, which have corroborated an increasingly widespread perception of Western decline.⁵

In the meantime, the economic and political prowess of so-called emerging powers has become apparent. In less than thirty years, China’s GDP has grown tenfold, and its economy in real terms is now expected to overtake that of the United States by the year 2020, having surpassed it in 2013 in terms of purchasing power parity. Singapore’s per capita GDP is already 20% higher than that of the United States. Brazil has become a contributor to overseas development assistance to the tune of US\$4 billion a year, a figure comparable to that of countries such as Sweden and Canada.⁶ For a fuller picture, it is useful to consider an integrated global modeling index such as International Futures, developed by the University of Denver, and measures of global political and economic influence conceived as a composite sum of national wealth, defence spending, population growth and technological innovation in a given country. According to the model, which is used inter alia by the US National Intelligence Council and the European Commission, the significance of the United States as a percentage of global power will decrease from about 22% in 2005 to 18% in 2025, while Europe’s percentage collectively goes down from 17 to 13%. China and India, conversely, rise from 12% to 16% and from 7.5% to 10% respectively.⁷

One might expect the growing influence of emerging economies to be matched by a doctrine or at least policy guidelines about managing international cooperation. To be sure, from Brazilia to Beijing, one hears echoes of the ‘developmentalism’ that was *en vogue* in the 1970s. Occasionally, the

academic and policy debates dwell on 'state capitalism', an economic paradigm emerging from the likes of China and Russia as a response to western free-market capitalism. This new phase has generated a plethora of groupings bringing together different collections of countries, from the Shanghai Cooperation Organization to the now famed BRICS.⁸ But in practice, the task of representing the world's emerging powers has rarely led to the emergence of a constructive or particularly distinctive posture. As far as western reactions to this state of affairs are concerned, at the outset of the financial crisis in 2008 the west responded to calls for a more balanced order of global governance by upgrading the G20 meeting of finance ministers into a meeting point for the heads of state and government of the world's major economies. But that forum too has lost its shine less than half a decade following its establishment, among other reasons because of its poor record of implementation.⁹

The result is an increasingly amorphous diffusion of power in the world. The United States and China are rivals, but their financial systems and trade flows are deeply interwoven. Russia is unlikely to become 'westernized' any time soon, but until the past year, that only led the west to court Moscow more assiduously. What follows US primacy is not going to be an orderly, 'multipolar' redistribution of global power around a handful of identifiable centers. Nor have the much-maligned 'coalitions of the willing' that accompanied the U.S.-led military interventions of the past decade been rolled back to traditional multilateralism based on inclusive institutions such as the United Nations. If anything, the past decade has testified to the obsolescence of the global order that emerged after the Second World War. Multilateral organizations such as the United Nations presented a world exhausted by war and craving reconciliation with a nearly finished product, to a large degree modeled on the ideological markers of the west. That included decision-making bodies in which the west was overrepresented. But today, when multilateral, global organizations are not simply being bypassed or ignored, they have been replaced by smaller groups of like-minded countries, or even ad hoc constellations that serve minimal, often single issue purposes.¹⁰

The British political thinker Hedley Bull had seen this state of affairs coming already some decades ago. In his 1977 seminal book, *The Anarchical Society*, he was among the first to theorize the emergence of what he called 'a neo-medieval world.' This is a world order which, unlike its more traditionalist 'Westphalian' variant founded on the centrality and primacy of nation states, is characterized by overlapping political authority, fuzzy borders and mixed loyalties. When it comes to the desirability of such a world, he

argued, it all boils down to what we mean by 'order.' 'Order,' Bull explains, 'is necessarily a *relative* concept: an arrangement (say, of books) that is orderly in relation to one purpose (finding a book by a particular author) may be disorderly in relation to another purpose (finding a book on a particular subject).'¹¹

This observation does not change the fact that we yearn for some kind of ordering. 'Order in social life,' Bull acknowledges, 'is desirable because it is the condition for the realization of other values.'¹² This may include things such as peace, prosperity, survival, co-existence, toleration and justice.¹³ In other words, we may choose to catalogue a library differently, we may even choose to digitalize it or dismantle it altogether; but what matters in the act of cataloguing is that it helps us find the books we are looking for. This understanding of the international order has received much attention in International Relations (IR) scholarship, particularly when applied to the European case. Barry Buzan, for one, has been keen to revisit and update some of the basic tenets the so-called English school of IR in order to operationalize the conceptual and empirical significance of Bull's notion of an 'international society' to today's globalized world.¹⁴ Ole Wæver has further deepened the analysis of order carried out by the English school by delving into the European case.¹⁵ Europe, Wæver argues, increasingly resembles an imperial construction of the neo-medieval kind also identified by Bull and Martin Wight. This entails the emergence of a power constellation in the continent structured around a structuration of concentric circles, radiating from a center symbolically located in Brussels. In such a constellation, the more interesting phenomena do not happen close to the center, for the center will exert a degree of control that is very direct. What is interesting is what happens on the periphery of the 'empire:' in keeping with the neo-medieval metaphor proposed by Bull, on the (European) periphery borders are blurred, political allegiances to the center may also be less clear-cut, and loyalties overlap. Here there is space for actors that are both below and above the state level, and here it is also more likely for other centers and 'empires', be they Russia or Turkey, to exert their influence. It is in this context that the EU's decision to launch an External Action Service assumes a particular importance and role, to which we now turn.

The Adaptation of Small States and the Creation of the EEAS

So how is this way of going about 'order' affecting today's international environment? And how do states, particularly small states such as Denmark, adapt to it? Recent studies argue that small states may take advantage of the transformed environment by acting as 'smart states'.¹⁶ Small states, that is, states with a limited material resource base, are expected to favour international institutions and aim to secure multilateral agreements because it allows them to exert an influence they otherwise would not have.¹⁷ As a result, a major function of international institutions as perceived by small states is that they 'allow these states, acting collectively, to help shape developing international attitudes, dogmas, and codes of proper behaviour'.¹⁸ Small states are seen as being 'disadvantaged by bilateralism,' whereas international arrangements 'incorporate a larger role in decision-making for states that are not great powers and could not aspire to be so.'¹⁹ International institutions thus also provide for a level-playing field based on agreed rules and norms, and they help shepherd interaction among nations away from the raw power politics of international anarchy.²⁰

Membership of international institutions may also be a way for small states to achieve economies of scale, where the costs of foreign policy can be minimised through cooperative engagement.²¹ Small states will try to 'minimise the costs of conducting national foreign policy by initiating more joint actions and by targeting multiple-actor fora.'²² Since the resources of small states are subject to more scarcity than those of large states, this may be an important driver when engaging in common foreign policy-making, particularly for small states. As East remarked in 1973, 'economic issues seem relatively more important to small states than to large states.'²³

Small States in the European Union

In past decades, the European Union has sought to strengthen its foreign policy capabilities and overall ambitions.²⁴ Although European foreign policy is traditionally considered to be dominated by its larger members, such as France, Germany and the United Kingdom, several scholars argue that small states can successfully use the EU framework to pursue national objectives of their own.²⁵ Here, it is assumed that a small state should pursue certain strategies by acting as a so-called smart state. A smart state strategy in the EU framework is thought to have three defining characteristics. First, goals

and means must be 'highly focused and sharply ordered in accordance with preferences.'²⁶ Since small states do not have sufficient resources to pursue a broad political agenda, a precondition of small state diplomatic excellence thus becomes the ability to prioritize and focus on the most relevant issues.²⁷ Secondly, 'small states must present their initiatives as being in the interests of the Union as a whole, i.e., a common interest.'²⁸ Political initiatives by small EU member states should avoid conflict with existing EU initiatives. Finally, small states launching policy initiatives 'should seek to mediate between the different great power interests in order to achieve consensus.'²⁹ This will give small states agenda-setting powers they otherwise would not have.

The establishment of the European External Action Service (EEAS) represented a litmus test of some of these assumptions. Created in 2009 following the adoption of the Treaty of Lisbon, the EEAS set out to establish a new EU diplomatic system to manage relations between the EU and its member states, as well as mediating between the EU, third states and international actors. The current structure of EEAS was agreed in 2010,³⁰ and the EEAS began its work in January 2011, when staff from the Commission (almost all from the Directorate General for External Relations and some from DG trade) was merged with staff from the secretariat of the Council of the EU, the body representing the executive governments of the EU's member states. Moreover, diplomats from member states were recruited to bring national expertise into the Service. The EEAS is composed of some 6000 staff, hosted at a headquarters in Brussels, as well as 140 EU delegations around the world, covering 170 countries and all international organisations. These EU delegations formally replaced the previous delegations of the European Commission.

Such a new diplomatic system at the EU level opens up new opportunities for national diplomacies to influence the international agenda and allocate resources. In keeping with the notion that small states favour strengthened institutions in order to achieve influence and possibly economies of scale, some broad trends are detectable in the adaptation strategies of small diplomacies to the EEAS, five years since its inception.³¹

First, the EU is increasingly seen as a power multiplier of national foreign policy by several small member states, such as Sweden, Finland, Portugal and Poland.³² Why precisely them? Here, the EEAS is regarded as an effective means to prioritize and specify national interests. Specific measures in this regard include a heavier reliance on EU policy and reporting from the EEAS, which can increase the scope of national policy and allow member states to

rearrange the national priorities on which to spend their resources. Another measure is to use national seconded staff to the EEAS to feed national priorities into the work done at the EU level at an early stage. Similarly, using recruiting strategies to place national diplomats at important posts at EU level can be another way to gain influence in the EU and maximise national power.

Secondly, the creation of the EEAS has brought a new emphasis on rational cost efficiency. The financial crisis has led to significant budget cuts to national services in most member states, and it remains to be seen how EEAS structures can be used to do more for less resources. Here, the paramount focus is on EU delegations and the added value they can give in terms of burden-sharing and co-location.³³ Many member states have started to show an interest in the possibility of co-locating embassies with EU delegations, which saves on practical costs and facilitates coordinated action. Even countries that are more reluctant to integrate their foreign policy, such as the Czech Republic, have shown an interest in such practical burden-sharing measures.³⁴ Many member states also remain open to delegating more responsibility to the EEAS within a number of areas, including the possibility of extended consular cooperation, an increased role for the EEAS in international organisations and the coordination of development assistance.³⁵ Burden-sharing in the context of crisis coordination is broadly supported by the member states as an especially crucial field in which the role of the EEAS may be strengthened.

A final trend regarding the Europeanization of foreign policy is that, while EU member states are eager to take advantage of the new opportunities created for national diplomacies by the EEAS, the latter's creation is not regarded as having led to any significant Europeanisation of national interests.³⁶ The EEAS has not had a profound impact on the contents of national priorities or interests, nor has it led to organizational adaptation on the part of the national structures of member-state foreign services. Rather, the primacy of national structures and the importance of national control are continually stressed by member states. And this has occurred even against a background in which almost all member states have restructured and rationalized their national representation structures following the establishment of the EEAS.

The Case of Denmark

Denmark shares similar adaptation patterns to the EEAS with other small state diplomacies in Europe. This case study provides a specific, in-depth account of how Danish national diplomacy is adapting.

Danish foreign policy identity has traditionally been based on long-standing, widely supported and normatively infused internationalism.³⁷ When the post-Cold War international order dissolved in 1989, Denmark was able to introduce a fundamental change of policy in which ‘action replaced reaction and internationalism replaced balancing.’³⁸ This new foreign policy doctrine of ‘active internationalism’ thus had two components: it was ‘active’ in that it required a high level of international engagement, and it was ‘internationalist’ in that it was committed to the internationalist aims and values of the UN, supporting the vision of an institutionalized and pluralist international order.³⁹ Throughout the 1990s, Danish foreign policy-makers contributed considerably to international efforts in both peacekeeping and peace-building, most notably in Iraq in 1991, Bosnia in the mid-1990s and Kosovo in 1999.

The EU has long been a central framework for the general conduct of the country’s foreign relations, if not the central. However, Denmark is at the same time known to have serious reservations about certain aspects of EU cooperation, not least within foreign and security policy. This was exemplified by the Danish parliament’s rejection of the Single European Act in 1986, partly because of its provisions on establishing a common foreign and security policy, and again in 1992, with the Danish ‘no vote’ on the Maastricht Treaty, which led to the establishment of the four Danish opt-outs including one within defence policy. This reflects a general trend in the Danish public’s view of the EU, namely a general resistance towards political integration in Europe and the fear of abrogating sovereignty. In practice, the opt-out means that Denmark has conducted its military policy NATO and other bilateral means.

However, it is generally agreed by Danish foreign policy-makers that Danish interests would be better served if Denmark were also able to participate fully within an EU framework when conducting foreign and security policy, and that the opt-outs constitute a significant hindrance for the conduct of national foreign policy.⁴⁰ Similarly, the majority of Danish political parties are considered to be pro-European and favour a strengthening of cooperation with the EU in all or most aspects.

When it comes to the EEAS, Copenhagen has from the beginning been a strong supporter of the service in both its creation and its continued operation. As a small state, Denmark has a great interest in having a strong EU platform coordinating foreign policy, as it provides Denmark with room for manoeuvre and influence it would not otherwise have.⁴¹ The Danish government has therefore always been a strong supporter of strengthening EU foreign policy, and despite the defence opt-out, there are no areas within EU foreign policy where Denmark has not taken a supportive stance. With regard to the establishment of the EEAS, Denmark assumed an active role early in the process, and it has continued to play an assertive role in empowering the service. With the appointment of a top Danish diplomat, Poul Skytte Christoffersen, in 2009 as special advisor to then High Representative Catherine Ashton, Denmark has been able to follow the process closely and has in some respects assumed a leadership position in the establishment of the EEAS.

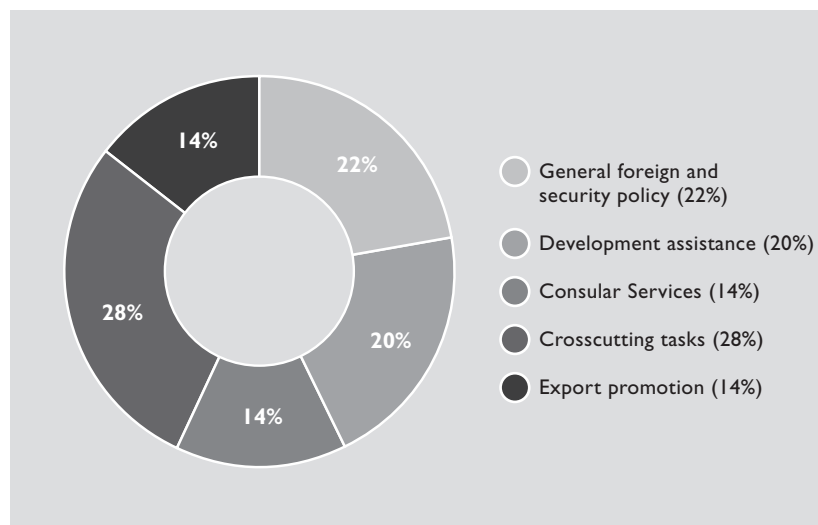
In 2013, when the EEAS underwent its first review, Denmark took a maximalist stance in line with several smaller EU states as well as Germany, supporting the idea of further empowering the service as a politically strong actor given the autonomy of action and originality of identity.⁴² The Danish view has been that the EEAS should serve as a strong platform for the coordination of all the EU's external policies and the activities of the member states. Moreover, Denmark has supported a strong role for the new EU delegations, including the development of new forms of cooperation with member states, such as the increased use of co-location, joint programming and joint initiatives. Denmark has also been pushing for the EEAS to take over a larger coordinating role in international organisations.

Despite its generally supportive role in all aspects of empowering the service, Denmark has also taken a cautious approach towards delegating tasks and functions to the EEAS. As mentioned, the service was institutionally established in 2009, but it was not until 2011 that it became operational.

From the beginning, the EEAS some serious challenges with institutional battles, especially with the European Commission, limited political room to manoeuvre, a lack of leadership and budgetary constraints. Since then, the EEAS has undergone a deep internal restructuring process to address the initial shortcomings and to adapt to changing expectations, and therefore the focus has until now been largely on merely getting the service in place. As a result, the view is that the EEAS is still in its infancy, and even in relation to what Denmark desires to do, there are obvious limits for what it has the capacity to do in its current form.⁴³ In fact, there are only a few tasks

which the Danish foreign service could delegate to the EEAS. Looking at the full-time equivalent of Danish foreign service-operations, only 22 percent of time is spent on general foreign policy, the remaining time being spent on tasks which could not be delegated to the EEAS. This includes export promotion, consular services, bilateral aid, crisis management and administration, as well as tasks within general foreign policy such as government visits. Thus, the EEAS does not serve as a relevant player in the vast majority of the work carried out by the Danish foreign service.

Figure 1. National Foreign Ministry Tasks



Source: *Authors' elaboration of figures provided by the Danish foreign ministry in the spring of 2013.*

Against this background, the Lisbon Treaty and the establishment of the EEAS do not change the need to promote Danish interests on the global stage. The underlying assumption is that the EEAS complements rather than substitutes national tasks and functions in diplomatic and consular matters, whereas Denmark prefers to retain its substantial national autonomy. Although it constitutes an increasingly important component of Danish foreign-service operations, the EEAS remains just one of several channels through which national foreign policy can be conducted.

However, the EEAS provides different additional options for conducting national foreign policy. While it will not have an independent impact on national priorities any time soon, let alone lead to a change in the current

representation structure of the national service, the EEAS provides increased freedom in focusing on defining unclear national priorities. As is already the case, and is likely to be more so in the future, the service can be used to collect information, conduct analysis and define priorities coming from the EU, including in areas where Denmark may not have the resources to do so, for example, with EU delegations in countries where there is no Danish representation. Thus, by relying to a greater extent on the EU, which covers a large spectrum of policy areas, Denmark has the option of focusing more specifically on interests of particular national importance.

Moreover, the new system for foreign policy brings increased freedom in terms of means.⁴⁴ The EU system has a large and sophisticated toolbox of incentives and penalties, allowing Denmark to reach a much larger scene than would otherwise be possible. The EU framework possesses instruments for sanctions, crisis management, trade, aid and asylum policy that are valuable for a small state.

Lastly, the service can also bring added value in the form of increasing the cost efficiency of the conduct of Danish foreign policy. Although not yet implemented, Denmark is eager to explore cost-effective solutions such as the co-location of Danish staff with EU delegations or initiatives to increase the joint programming of development aid. Such options, now made possible through the establishment of the EEAS, would allow Denmark to do more for the same resources. Co-location can be a means to increase representation in more countries than would otherwise be possible, where increased coordination of aid would improve the general effectiveness of the EU in this area and allow Denmark to increase the scope of its own involvement. Denmark already regards positively the experience of Nordic embassy cooperation and co-location, so co-location is not a new way of rationalising resources in the Danish structure of representation.

Though Denmark remains positive about implementing such cost-saving measures in the future, there also exists some scepticism in this area. With regard to co-location, there exist a range of obstacles, including the expectation management of national and EEAS staff when a certain national diplomatic culture is to be embedded in an EU delegation, as well as logistical and differing security threat perceptions.

When it comes to coordinating development aid, this is likely to be a longer process requiring a synchronisation of development programming across member states. Development aid also remains a core national priority for Denmark, where the policy area is one of high priority and prestige of the Danish foreign policy identity, and it is an area where Denmark usually acts

bilaterally or through the UN framework. In multilateral development contexts, Denmark acts alone, with other ad hoc groupings or with the Nordic countries, but rarely with the EU or the Commission.

Denmark expects a greater consistency and effectiveness in EU's external action to benefit EU member states, and it has spent a significant amount of resources in feeding into the new EU foreign policy system. At the same time, the Danish view is that the High Representative and the EEAS are only as strong as the member states allow them to be.⁴⁵

Changes in National Structure and Resources and the Role of the EEAS

In the beginning of 2014, the Danish Foreign Ministry underwent a large reform to the national foreign service, mainly in order to tackle budget cuts following the international financial crisis, as well as to adapt to a changing global order. The reform went under the slogan 'More focus on the World, less on Europe – and more on the EU', implying that, while the focus is shifting towards emerging economies and away from traditional markets in Europe, efforts in EU decision-making centers should be prioritized. The reform led to the opening of new embassies in a range of South American and Asian countries with growth potential, including Colombia, the Philippines and Burma, and efforts were strengthened in emerging markets such as China, South Africa and Turkey. Missions in European capitals were closed down, including those in Luxembourg, Switzerland, Milan (a consulate), Cyprus, Slovenia and Slovakia. Efforts were, however, strengthened in the most important EU decision-making centres of Brussels, Berlin, Paris and London.⁴⁶

These changes reflected the assumption that Denmark is largely dependent on EU foreign policy cooperation. Individual European states (and certainly a small state like Denmark) cannot compete with emerging powers in a changing global order. The EU allows Denmark to have a voice on the international scene that it would not otherwise have. Moreover, in view of the increased interaction between national and European policy-making in other areas, it remains essential to strengthen EU cooperation in the area of foreign policy as well.⁴⁷ And while Danish foreign ministry structures and resources were not adjusted to the EEAS, the reform did make explicit reference to the EEAS in relation to possible burden-sharing and co-location with EU delegations in the future.

The establishment of the EEAS has led to increased cooperation between the EU level of foreign policy and national diplomacy in other ways. Den-

mark prioritises its role in the EEAS, where the Danish foreign ministry, as well as those of all the other member states, is an integrated part of the EU foreign policy system, and where the Council and related working groups are now chaired by the EEAS. The Danish MFA spends a significant amount of resources in taking an active role in all aspects of the official institutions in the EU foreign policy system. It has taken some time to get the service in place, and while a genuine *esprit de corps* has yet to be created, the service has now had a few years in operation and is beginning to function as anticipated. As a result, Danish officials have registered their general satisfaction with their relations with EEAS officials.⁴⁸

The Danish foreign ministry also developed good contacts with the new EEAS system when it held the rotating EU presidency in 2012. After the Lisbon Treaty, the rotating presidency no longer has any formal responsibility for foreign policy. Therefore, it was an important priority for Denmark to promote a common European approach and to respect the fact that the EEAS now has the main responsibility in EU foreign affairs. In the process of supporting the EEAS and the High Representative during the presidency, the Danish foreign ministry closely collaborated with the EEAS and used it as an opportunity to get to know the new system and to identify relevant staff in the different departments of the service.⁴⁹ This approach, whereby member states play a supportive role rather than pushing for the promotion of their own interests, reflects the more general role that Denmark envisages the EEAS should take in developing a common foreign policy.

EU Delegations

Overall Denmark perceives the EU delegations as having an important added value, not least as a means to rationalize national activity. The relations and interaction between the EU delegations and the national embassies are seen to be functioning well. Burden-sharing is mostly used in the area of reporting and political analysis and to acquire access to relevant actors in the host country. Danish diplomats at the embassies are increasingly using the reports coming from the EEAS as a supplement to their own national analysis, and they note that their quality has increased and are generally of a very high standard. Relying to a greater extent on EEAS reporting and analysis is especially relevant in countries where there is no or limited Danish representation, as well as in large countries, where it can be difficult for a small state to gain access to information, as well as to the relevant people. In larger countries, where Denmark may not have strong bilateral ties, EU delegations can act as a lever to gain access.

That said, cooperation between EU delegations and national embassies is very decentralised and ad hoc, and it is up to the embassy *sur place* to establish working relations with the EU delegation. That means that the form and extent of cooperation vary greatly depending on the embassy in question. Much is left to personal relations and the personalities of the staff. A Head of EU Delegation (HoM) may not have a sufficient existing network in the host country to bring member states together effectively. Similarly, Danish ambassadors may also not want to be coordinated by the EU. The weight of an EU delegation also depends on the authorities in the host state, as it is up to them to decide which delegation they see as their primary counterpart.

Seconded Diplomats

As other member states, Denmark has placed nationals in positions at EEAS headquarters and with EU delegations. When it comes to utilising Danish officials seconded to the EEAS, the general tendency has been to consider them an important source and contact point whenever relevant. As of now, however, no systematic relationship has developed between the Danish embassies and the ministry in Copenhagen on the one hand and Danish seconded officials in the EEAS on the other. According to Danish foreign-ministry sources, this confirms that the Danish foreign ministry does not strategically use its seconded staff as a means to promote national interests.⁵⁰ Rather, Danish diplomats are expected to serve the EU as a whole, and when staff are seconded, their loyalty should be with the institution to which they are sent. The official has the right to shift her loyalty to her new work place in the period of time that she is at the EEAS, and she should not feel obliged to keep in contact or share information. If Denmark wants to express a national interest, it will do so through the appropriate channels, such as the Foreign Affairs Council, the Permanent Representatives Committee, the Political Security Committee or the related working groups.

However, this relative lack of contact between national institutions and Danish officials serving in the EEAS also comes with a cost. Several Danish diplomats seconded to the EEAS feel that contact could be improved, not least because more regular contact would have some obvious advantages, not just for the member state in pursuing own priorities, but also for the EEAS system as a whole. Most other member states use their seconded staff to a much greater extent than Denmark, and this was also partly the idea of reserving one third of EEAS staff to national services. Since the EU foreign policy system remains strictly intergovernmental, it is the member states that continue to have the final say, and it can be an advantage from the perspec-

tive of the EEAS that information flows between national institutions and the EEAS in an informal manner. With national diplomats serving in the EEAS, it should be possible to incorporate national positions early in the process, so that it is possible to adapt initiatives and policies that member states will not object to, let alone block, at a later stage. Seconded officials are therefore often asked about the national position on a particular issue, and here it would be valuable for them to keep in contact with national institutions. This relation goes two ways, as it pertains to both the reception and provision of information from and to the EEAS. Moreover, seconded officials are likely to have an interest in maintaining contact with their respective foreign ministries, because, while serving the EEAS for a limited period of time, they are interested in returning to their national institution after their contract with the EEAS runs out.

Conclusions

This article has aimed to contextualize Denmark's adaptation in European foreign policy-making in the broader context of a shifting international environment. It has argued that the emergence of the EEAS, as well as the EU as a whole, stems from a need to better pool resources and to divide labour and competences in what has become an increasingly competitive and disorderly global arena. These challenges are especially relevant to small states in Europe, whose own adaptation and foreign policy activism relies heavily on cooperative formats such as those potentially provided by European fora.

The aims of Danish foreign policy, as well as ongoing priorities and practices, are attuned to this desire for closer European coordination in the sphere of foreign policy. The EEAS can help meet many of the key organizational and substantial challenges with which a small state is presented in the international arena. However, the case study presented in this article describing Denmark's role in the EEAS five years after its inception presents a mixed picture of the extent to which the developments mentioned above are actually materializing. While the 2014 review of the foreign ministry is heavily driven by a need to strengthen Denmark's relations with EU, this has yet to be translated into measures that tie the Danish foreign ministry to the EEAS in an operational sense. The current process of restructuring and rationalising the MFA has not taken place as a consequence of the establishment of the EEAS, although references are being made to the opportunities for cost efficiency that the EEAS could provide. Similarly, Copenhagen views

the EEAS more as a secretariat for coordination than as a new supranational diplomacy to shape European and in turn national policy. In this way, foreign policy formation is seen and preferred to remain at the national level and to be driven by national interests. On the other hand, and especially on the occasion of the EU rotating presidency of 2012, Denmark has helped achieve the right balance between national foreign policy and EU external action by effectively supporting the High Representative. Copenhagen deliberately allows seconded Danish staff to exercise their loyalty exclusively to the EEAS while serving this EU institution. While correct from a formal standpoint, other member states have interpreted the role and connections of their seconded staff in a more expansive way. Prospectively that may leave countries like Denmark in a more disadvantaged position with respect to the reception and provision of information from and to the EEAS. At present, relations between Danish embassies and EU delegations take place on an ad hoc basis and remain an untapped resource for burden sharing.

All in all, Danish foreign policy-makers acknowledge the potential of the EEAS to free up national resources and to focus on more targeted foreign-policy priorities. They are aware of the multiplying effect that the EEAS can have on the ground, as well as the potential savings that might be gained by pooling resources at the European level. At the same time, the Danish view is also more modest and realistic about the extent to which the EEAS will actually be able to fulfil these needs. The establishment of the EEAS, and especially the fact that member states' diplomats are seconded to the service on a rotating basis, as well as the fact that the MFA now is beginning to rely on the work of the EEAS, is fostering the emergence of new procedures and norms for EU coordination. While this creates the expectation that there may potentially be new mechanisms within elite socialisation and the development of a European diplomatic culture, these are no more than expectations at this stage.

This perhaps represents the broader overarching conclusion that can be drawn from this case study at this particular stage of European foreign-policy integration. More than twenty years ago, the British scholar Christopher Hill famously wrote about the 'capability-expectations gap' in EU foreign policy: lofty statements about the global reach of European unity never quite matched a reality made up of watered-down compromises and imaginary 'battle groups'.⁵¹ Far from putting forward a theoretical and normative view of the European potential, however, Hill was primarily interested in arriving at 'a more realistic picture of what the Community ... does in the world.'⁵² The emergence of the EEAS represents a step in the direction of narrowing

the gap through stronger capabilities. On the other hand, it is the views of small countries such as Denmark about the real potential of the EEAS to deliver that is helping to narrow the gap in respect of expectations in a more modest yet realistic direction.

Notes

- 1 Ladrech (1994).
- 2 Wong (2011).
- 3 Wong and Hill (2011).
- 4 Haass (2008); Zakaria (2008).
- 5 Kupchan (2012); Rachman (2012).
- 6 The figures are from 'Speak Softly and Carry a Big Cheque', *The Economist*, 17 July 2010.
- 7 *IFs: The International Futures (IFs) modeling system*, the Frederick S. Pardee Center for International Futures, Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver, www.ifs.du.edu. The accumulated data quoted here are presented in National Intelligence Council, *Global Governance 2025: At a Critical Juncture*, p. 11.
- 8 Skak (2014).
- 9 See for example, Truman (2012).
- 10 Naim (2009).
- 11 Bull (1977) p. 4.
- 12 Bull (1977) p. 96-97.
- 13 *Watson (1992) p. 14.*
- 14 Buzan (2004).
- 15 Wæver (1994).
- 16 Wivel and Grøn (2011) p. 523-539.
- 17 Keohane (1969); Hey (2003).
- 18 Keohane (1969) p. 297.
- 19 Kahler (1992).
- 20 Steinmetz and Wivel (2010).
- 21 Neumann and Gstöhl (2006), p. 3-35.
- 22 Neuman and Gstöhl, 2006.
- 23 East, Maurice (1973) p. 556-576.
- 24 Bretherton and Vogler (1999).
- 25 Including Arter, David (2000) p. 677-697; Björkdahl (2008) p. 135-54; Jakobsen (2009) p. 81-102.
- 26 Wivel and Grøn (2011) p. 529.
- 27 Ibid.

- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Council Decision 2010/427/EU, article 4.
- 31 This analysis is largely based on Balfour and Raik (2013), who provide a systematised comparison of fourteen EU member states and their adaptation patterns to the EEAS (see next note).
- 32 Balfour and Raik (2013) p. 8.
- 33 Mouritzen, Nissen and Runge Olesen (2013).
- 34 Benes (2013).
- 35 Balfour and Raik (2013), p. 7.
- 36 Balfour and Raik (2013), p. 12.
- 37 Lawler (2007).
- 38 Holm (2003) p. 19-46.
- 39 Heurlin (1996).
- 40 DIIS (2008).
- 41 Interviews conducted by author with Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark official and national official working in the EEAS, fall 2014.
- 42 Non-paper: 'Strengthening the European External Action Service', 2013.
- 43 Interviews conducted by author with Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark officials in spring 2013 and fall 2014.
- 44 Interviews conducted by author with Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark officials in spring 2013.
- 45 Interview conducted by author with Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark official in fall 2014.
- 46 Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark (2014) Ændringer i Danmarks repræsentationsstruktur 2014 [online], available from <http://um.dk/da/om-os/organisation/repr/aendringer-repr/>, last accessed 16 June 2015.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Interview conducted by author with Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark official in fall 2014.
- 49 Interview conducted by author with Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark official in spring 2013.
- 50 Interviews conducted by author with Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark official and EEAS official in fall 2014.
- 51 Hill (1993) p. 305-328.
- 52 Ibid., p. 306.

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Helle Thorning-Schmidt, Prime Minister

(Check against delivery)

Sehr geehrter Herr Erster Bürgermeister, lieber Olaf
Sehr geehrter Herr Bundesminister, lieber Frank-Walter
Sehr geehrte Frau Präsidentin der Hamburgischen Bürgerschaft
und Mitglieder des Hamburger Senats und der Bürgerschaft
Sehr geehrter Herr Ministerpräsident, lieber Torsten Albig
Sehr geehrte Frau Ministerin Spoorendonk, liebe Anke
Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren

I am truly honored to be here today at the Matthiae Mahl, the oldest ceremonial banquet in the world. The continuity of more than 650 years is indeed impressive. It is much shorter, however, than the relations between Denmark and Hamburg.

At the time of the first Mahl in 1356, Danish Vikings had rampaged through the city's narrow streets 500 years earlier. Christianity had already entered Denmark through Hamburg. And the Danish rule of Hamburg – die Dänenherrschaft – had ended more than a hundred years earlier.

And until the 19th century, Denmark and Hamburg were, of course, immediate neighbors. Altona was ruled by the Danish monarchy and was one of Denmark's most important harbor towns.

Today, Denmark and Germany enjoy close and excellent relations. Danes go to Hamburg to enjoy a shopping spree, rather than burning and pillaging. Germans enjoy their summers along the Danish beaches. Over the coming years, the establishment of the fixed link over the Femern Belt will open

up new possibilities for further strengthening our economic, cultural, and political ties.

Throughout our history, we have, like all neighbors, at times cooperated, at times quarreled and at times fought. We have influenced each other culturally. We have traded with each other. We have competed for markets and resources. These common experiences no longer divide us, but bind us together. The result is a relationship which is better and stronger than ever before in our joint history. The level of trust and confidence between our two countries is unprecedented – and even in today's Europe, quite unique.

Our common policy on minority rights is a tangible expression of this unique relationship. The Copenhagen–Bonn declarations of 1955 regarding the rights of the Danish and German minorities are an immense success story. This policy has been expanded over the years. It not only benefits our two minorities, but also serves as a model for minorities elsewhere in Europe.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

This year 150 years have passed since the war of 1864. Together, Denmark and Germany will mark the commemoration through a series of events. In memory of the victims. And in celebration of the extraordinary progress we have been able to make in the span of just a few lifetimes. We have indeed learned from history.

We also commemorate that one hundred years have passed since the beginning of the First World War. A hundred years ago, in the early months of 1914, contemporaries could not imagine the catastrophe which was about to be unleashed.

Mistrust, secret diplomacy and great-power rivalries formed a recipe for disaster. Confrontation and brinkmanship, rather than compromise, shaped decisions. The political extremes, rather than the political center, were allowed to drive events.

It took a generation of carnage and immense suffering before Europe had drawn its lessons.

Today we can celebrate how far we have come within the time span of just a few lifetimes. The European Union is an incredible achievement. Strong institutions provide the framework for solving conflicts of interest. Compromise is built into the DNA of our cooperation. The values of democracy, human rights and freedom bind us together.

Member states have enjoyed the longest period of peace ever in the history of our tormented continent. European societies are more democratic, more prosperous, and more secure than ever before. European citizens today

enjoy rights and wealth which previous generations could only dream of. We sometimes forget that.

The construction is not faultless. But the problems we face today pale in the light of Europe's troubled past. Today's Europe is by far the best we have ever known.

The achievements of the last half century must be preserved and further developed for the sake of coming generations. I am a European for my children. I know that, ultimately, their liberty, their security, and their opportunities will depend on the Europe that we build.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

This year we will elect a new European Parliament. And we will appoint a new European Commission, a new President of the European Council, and a new High Representative. That only happens every five years. It is a good occasion to look ahead at the challenges facing the European Union. And to discuss which direction to take.

We are on our way out of the most serious economic crisis Europe has seen for many decades. In the darkest hours our financial system was on the brink of collapse. Some member states were on the brink of bankruptcy. The Euro was under threat. Unemployment reached unacceptable levels. Some even suggested that the European Union could fall apart.

All that did not happen. We managed to pull through.

Now, what can we learn from the crisis?

I personally take four observations with me with a view to the next five years:

Firstly, I believe that we have proven that the European Union is capable of dealing with serious crisis.

Skeptics claim that the economic and financial crisis has exposed the weaknesses of the EU. Yes, it might have. But the crisis has also shown its strength.

We have taken responsibility. We have taken the necessary political decisions step by step. It has been very difficult at times – and not always very pretty.

The technical nature of our negotiations, the drama of rescue packages, and the natural focus on conflict rather than compromise often prevent us from seeing the bigger picture.

But the reality is that we have made extraordinary progress. Progress, which very few people thought possible during the darkest days of the crisis. So far the doomsday prophets have been proven wrong. The Euro did not

collapse. The European Union did not disintegrate.

Of course, there have been difficulties along the road. It has not always been easy for 27 – now 28 – member states to agree. The process can be cumbersome and messy. But that is exactly the nature of our decision-making. It is called compromise. It is compromise that has brought Europe forward. And it is through our willingness to take the necessary decisions and to make the necessary compromises that we will continue to make progress.

Germany has often brokered the necessary compromises and helped ensure the strength and soundness of our European construction. My government has appreciated that Germany has not shied away from accepting the burdens of leadership and responsibility in Europe. You have reason to be proud of that.

My second observation is that in times of crisis the centrist parties need to stand together and take joint responsibility.

During the crisis we have seen that the readiness to innovate, the willingness to take responsibility for difficult decisions and to make the necessary compromises is found at the political center. We have found solutions. We have achieved results.

But taking responsibility for difficult decisions comes at a price. The political fringes – both to the right and to the left – are ready to exploit the uncertainty and dissatisfaction that follow from crisis. With populist cries and easy solutions.

It can be tempting to believe in the false promise that our problems can be solved through quick fixes. I expect that the political fringes will do well in the European elections in May. We should not let that weaken our resolve. We must stand by the decisions and compromises we have made. I think we have reason to celebrate the results we have achieved so far.

My third observation is that we have to get through the crisis without compromising our values.

The European Union is a community of values. It is founded on democracy, freedom, human rights, rule-of-law, tolerance and equality.

It is a historic achievement that we have succeeded in consolidating these values in the European social model, the welfare state. These values and our social model are part of our common heritage. We have fought hard through centuries to arrive at where we are today. In our efforts to get through the crisis, we must not jeopardize any of them.

I disagree with those who say we have to give up our social model to become like everyone else. To become like our global competitors. That is not the way forward. The way we have organized our societies is exactly

what makes Europe unique. We have built societies based on equality, where everyone has a fair chance in life regardless of social background. The mix of sustainable economic growth and social cohesion is at the core of the European success.

Our European values are a source of spectacular strength. They make the European Union immensely appealing to neighboring countries. Anyone in doubt should look at Ukraine or the Balkans. Ukrainians are attracted to the EU because of our values – not in spite of them.

It is also those values which guide our foreign policy. I would like to take this occasion to commend you, Frank-Walter, for the great leadership which you have demonstrated regarding the tragic situation in Ukraine. The agreement which you – and your colleagues from France and Poland – facilitated yesterday is a very important breakthrough.

I welcome that Germany is ready to take responsibility and act decisively on the international stage. I know that this is something that you have called for yourself recently, Frank-Walter.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

As I mentioned, our European values and our social model are a source of great strength. But if we want to safeguard our special social model, we will have to modernize it.

This leads me to my fourth observation: if the European Union is to remain economically strong, we need to continue to develop and reform.

Europe's future depends on our ability to drive research and innovation in products, services, and business processes. And on our ability to reform our labor markets, our educational systems, and our public sectors. We must be open to change and strive to increase productivity.

A hundred years ago, Henry Ford revolutionized the production of vehicles with the introduction of the assembly line. Today, the world is witnessing a new industrial revolution. Technology once again paves the way for a more effective production.

Our challenge is to become more competitive by doing things smarter. That means creating a strong foundation for innovation and research. We have to provide our businesses with the right framework conditions to come up with the best ideas. And we must invest in education.

A lot can be done at the EU level. And a lot has been done. But the reality is that the bulk of the work has to be done at the national level. There is no way around serious national reforms to make our economies more competitive.

In Denmark, we have pursued an ambitious reform agenda. We have brought public spending under control. We are underpinning job creation through a wide range of investments. We have taken steps to improve the competitiveness of companies. And we are developing our welfare system in a way which ensures a reasonable social balance.

Responsibility ultimately rests with the governments of each member state. The European Union is much too often made a scapegoat for necessary reforms. Member states must stop blaming Brussels and assume responsibility for their own actions.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Danes have earned an undeserved reputation for being Eurosceptic. Mainly because of our opt-outs.

In reality that is far from the truth. Poll after poll show that the Danish population is among those in Europe who are most satisfied with the European Union. According to the latest opinion polls, more than 70 per cent of young Danes approve of the EU leadership's job performance. This is on par with the German numbers and among the very highest of all member states.

Some member states tend to distance themselves from Europe. That is not the case for my government. We want to remain as close as possible to the core of the European Union. And it is still my personal conviction that it will be better for Denmark to get rid of our opt-out and join the Euro.

The fact that Denmark has not adopted the Euro is an obvious limitation. We do not participate in the meetings of the Euro group. Of course we fully understand that the Euro countries need to discuss certain things among themselves. And Denmark has consistently supported the steps to stabilize the Euro.

A strong Euro is also in our interest. We have engaged actively and pragmatically in the discussions and decisions on the Economic and Monetary Union. We are part of the Fiscal Compact. And we participate constructively in the negotiations on the banking union.

I hope that the German government and other member states which we consider close and like-minded partners in Europe bear that in mind. I see Germany as a strong ally in our efforts to ensure that the further development of the European Union will be based on openness and inclusiveness for non-Euro countries such as Denmark.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

In this year of commemoration, we can look back at our achievements with pride. And we can look ahead with confidence. As I have set out tonight, the European Union has demonstrated its capacity to take the necessary decisions at a time of crisis. And the EU can exit the crisis stronger than before. But to do that we need to take the necessary decisions across the political center. We must continue to reform and develop our European societies. And we have to stick to our common values.

I believe our two countries have much to gain by working closely together – bilaterally, as well as in the European Union. The time when Vikings rampaged the streets of Hamburg are long gone – and so are the wars that we commemorate. Let us not forget this historic perspective when we address the challenges of today.

I would like to propose a toast. To Hamburg and to the relations between Denmark and Germany, which have never been better. And to our continued cooperation, which we have particular reason to celebrate this year.

Speech to the Diplomatic Corps

Meeting with the Diplomatic Corps in Copenhagen on 10 March 2014

Martin Lidegaard, Minister for Foreign Affairs

Dear ambassadors, excellencies,

I have been looking forward to this opportunity to meet all of you. Some of you I am meeting for the first time, others I have already had the pleasure to meet. Speaking to this distinguished group about important issues on our foreign-policy agenda is a great way to start of our working relationship.

All of you follow Denmark closely, and you know that Denmark is a small country with a lot to offer to the world. Our companies count as world leaders in several fields, and our public and private sectors have worked for many years to achieve high standards and find solutions in social welfare, energy, protection of the environment and many other sectors.

While we expand our ambitions to reach out in other regions with commerce and cooperation, we remain deeply dependent on Europe, and the European Union, for ensuring economic development and stability in our immediate neighborhood.

So before I turn to our wider foreign policy agenda, let me first address the grave situation in the Ukraine ...

[Ukraine]

You will all have noticed the strong declarations by NATO and the European Union condemning the unprovoked violation of Ukrainian sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Last Thursday, the EU Heads of State and Government decided to take action, notably to suspend bilateral talks with the Russian Federation on visa matters, as well as talks with the Russian Federation on the New Agreement.

The EU and the Russian Federation have a common objective of a rela-

tionship based on mutual interest and respect of international obligations – this needs to be promptly restored, and it would be a matter of great regret if the Russian Federation failed to work in that direction, in particular through a productive dialogue with the Government of Ukraine.

Negotiation between the Governments of Ukraine and the Russian Federation is the way to a solution. In the absence of results, the EU will decide on additional measures to the political sanctions – such as travel bans, asset freezes and the cancellation of the EU–Russia Summit.

I commend the measured response shown by the new Ukrainian government. Reforms and efforts to reach out to all regions and population groups should continue. Ukraine must ensure the full protection of the rights of people belonging to national minorities.

In addition to the statements of the EU and NATO, Denmark fully supports the setting up of an international observer mission under the OSCE and would be willing to contribute. Similarly, we are participating with two experts in the visit to Crimea under the Vienna Document following an invitation by Ukraine.

Personally, I had the opportunity to visit Ukraine last week together with my Swedish and Norwegian colleagues. Apart from Kiev, we had the opportunity to visit eastern Ukraine (Donets'k). The reasons for our visit were two-fold: to show support, and to gain a better feeling for the situation and the way forward for Ukraine.

Meeting with representatives of the new Government and the Acting President, I was heartened by the understanding and restraint shown by the leadership. The understanding of the need for reforms – also of the energy sector – and the need to be an inclusive force for change for all ethnic and regional groups was clear. I hope it will be followed by results. The restraint shown by Ukraine in the face of the military developments is similarly remarkable and to be applauded.

It is not easy, nor will it be in the days and weeks ahead. It is vital to avoid escalation and seek a negotiated solution that fully respects the independence, integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine. It is up to Russia to take the first step and withdraw its troops. We will continue to support Ukraine and a peaceful, lasting outcome of the current crisis in full respect of the democratic decisions made by Ukrainians themselves.

[European Union]

Now, let me turn to the European Union. The crisis in Ukraine has further underlined how important it is for us to be able to address major foreign-

policy concerns through a common EU approach. Denmark wants a strong European cooperation, and we want to be at the core of it.

In connection with the European elections in May, I hope the campaign will generate a good debate across Europe on the benefits of EU cooperation and to confront the arguments of the Eurosceptics that currently gain ground across Europe.

There is no doubt that the free movement of persons and their access to social benefits will play a big role in the debate in Denmark. Let me make it clear: no matter where you come from, fraud and abuse cannot be tolerated. The concerns of our citizens must be addressed. At the same time, we must not forget that the Single Market is a great success of the EU and is the source of thousands of jobs in Denmark – and millions across Europe.

On the day of the elections to the European Parliament, 25th of May, we will also have a referendum on the ratification of the European patent court. We do not in Parliament have the required 5/6 [five-sixths] majority to avoid a referendum as specified in our Constitution, and we know from experience that a referendum can be difficult to win. But I am confident that we will have sufficient ‘yes votes’. The patent court is clearly in our interest.

After the European elections, we will have to appoint a new Commission, including the Commission President. The most likely outcome is a package deal, which will include the President of the European Council and the new appointments for the High Representative and the Commission President. Denmark aims for a strong team to help build an even stronger union and common foreign policy.

Let me on this topic of the EU also mention the banking union and be very clear: The Danish government fully supports the work on the banking union and takes part in the negotiations. Denmark will decide whether to participate in the union when there is clarity on all elements.

[Arctic]

Let me turn to the Arctic region, which is a top priority for this government [and for me personally]. Danish Arctic policy is conceived in a joint effort between the three parts of the Kingdom: Denmark, Greenland and the Faroe Islands. We share a common vision and work closely together to safeguard the Arctic.

We are all aware of the environmental challenges and their global impact; whether melting ice in Greenland or storms around the Faroe Islands, the Arctic environment influences the global climate and oceanic systems.

At the same time, the Arctic is turning into a region of economic oppor-

tunity with a great potential for resource development, new shipping routes and more to come. We want to develop this potential in a sustainable way while ensuring the highest environmental standards.

The safe and responsible development of the Arctic is a regional and global responsibility. For this reason, we have favored strong international cooperation in the Arctic Council and the inclusion of more observers.

[2014 – possible breakthroughs/opportunities]

Peace and stability is always high on the agenda for a foreign minister. Let me first shine a light on some of the opportunities that I see in 2014.

I want to start at home, in Europe, where peace negotiations in Cyprus have been re-launched thanks to the courage shown by Greek-Cypriot leader President Anastasiades and the Turkish-Cypriot leader Dr Eroglu.

This is a historic opportunity to agree to a sustainable settlement to one of the longest conflicts in our continent. An agreement would immensely benefit the population of Cyprus and all of Europe. The reunification of Cyprus within the EU would close the last remaining conflict within our Union. I therefore urge the Cypriots, and their leaders, to continue to show courage, resolve and leadership.

Let me also highlight the nuclear talks with Iran, where there is another opportunity for a breakthrough in 2014. The Joint Action Plan between E3+3 (Germany, France, UK, USA, China, Russia) and Iran on the nuclear issue is an important first step. The action plan must now be implemented in full, and IAEA must monitor and verify that Iran is living up to the nuclear-related measures as put forward in the agreement.

I am pleased that the parties last month started the negotiations to reach a comprehensive and final agreement on Iran's nuclear program. Further easing of sanctions must depend on continued steps from Iran to prove the peaceful nature of the nuclear program. I do not have to elaborate on the possible benefits of a comprehensive settlement for the Iranian people, for Europe and for the World.

On my list of opportunities not to be missed in 2014 are the US-led efforts towards peace in the Middle East.

I fully support Secretary Kerry's efforts, and I urge both the Israeli and Palestinian governments to seize the moment, engage with full commitment, and prepare for the difficult, but necessary compromises.

Time has come, I believe, for Israelis and Palestinians alike to live peacefully side by side to their mutual benefit. Failure to bring an end to the conflict this time should not be an option.

[Afghanistan]

For Afghanistan, 2014 is the year of transition. By the end of this year, the Afghan National Security Forces assume full responsibility for security nationwide. On April 5, the Afghans will go elect a new President. The goal is an outcome broadly accepted by the Afghan people. And as Afghanistan transitions, our engagement will also change. The importance of our multi-lateral efforts in support of the EU and the UN will increase, as our bilateral footprint is reduced.

Militarily, the NATO Summit in September will be an important platform for defining our engagement into 2015. Denmark is ready to support the ANSF with 100 million DKK annually for the coming three years (2015-17) and to contribute to the NATO Resolute Support Mission, provided there is a sufficient legal basis and a US-Afghan Bilateral Security Agreement.

[Great concerns/challenges]

Now, I want to talk about my great concerns for the months to come:

I have already elaborated upon Ukraine.

So let me continue with Syria, which has turned into a humanitarian disaster of immense proportions. We strongly support the Geneva II process, even though the results so far have been limited. But to be frank – it is the only game in town right now if we want to pursue a political solution to the Syrian crisis. The goal of the negotiations must be a transitional government accepted by both parties, and we must not allow the Syrian regime to use the talks to play for time.

Denmark will continue to work with partners to assist the moderate Syrian opposition in its efforts to reach out to the Syrian population and to stabilise the areas under opposition control. The Syrian people need to see, and experience by first hand, that there is an alternative to the Assad regime.

As you all know, we have taken the lead in the naval operation to remove Syria's chemical weapons for destruction. Unfortunately there are delays, and only a small percentage of the materials have so far left Syria. All must now do their utmost more to ensure that the OPCW (Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons) and Security Council decisions are fully implemented.

I welcome recent humanitarian Security Council resolutions. I now call on all parties – in particular the Assad-regime – to respect international humanitarian law, protect civilians, and allow safe and unhindered access for humanitarian aid to all of Syria.

Let me now turn to Africa.

I am deeply concerned by the situation in the Central African Republic. The need to protect civilians and provide humanitarian assistance is acute, and I appreciate and commend the huge efforts, especially by the African Union and France, in stabilizing the situation in the Central African Republic. I also welcome the UN Secretary General's six-point initiative, which he has presented to the Security Council. Now the World must act to avoid further escalation and stop the massive attacks on civilians.

Let me inform you that Denmark is responding to the UN Secretary General's appeal in the Security Council for rapid support to establish a minimum capacity for the country to function for additional humanitarian assistance. Moreover, we are also ready – contingent upon the approval of Parliament – to support the UN with logistical support of a C-130 airplane.

In Mali, the overall situation has improved since the French-led “operation Serval”, supported by Denmark, was initiated last year. A case in point is the subsequent holding of successful elections, which have led to the return of constitutional conditions.

The United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA), to which Denmark is a contributor, continues to have military as well as police personnel deployed, but there is still instability and violence in northern Mali. Moreover, the peace talks only advance slowly.

We face the risk that the fragile situation will spread to the Sahel and the positive process in Mali will reverse. To stimulate a positive development, we believe there is a need to complement high-level talks with an inclusive national dialogue and reconciliation in Mali. As a long-term development aid donor in Mali, Denmark will remain engaged in the country with a comprehensive package of political, security, development and humanitarian instruments to supplement the peace negotiations.

[MFA structural changes]

Let me politely finish by talking about ourselves. We have recently made some changes in our Foreign Service. Two main factors motivated and influenced this change: the need to respond to a changing political and economic global landscape, and national budgetary constraints.

As a result, Denmark will open embassies in Nigeria, Colombia, the Philippines and Myanmar. We will close seven missions and reduce staff at some other embassies. This has not been an easy decision. I think that is obvious considering that we have even closed missions in Europe.

It is important for me to make absolutely clear that a closure does not equal reduced ambitions or lack of interest in bilateral and multilateral cooperation. Let me assure you that Danish foreign policy will remain ambitious and focused, and that the Danish Foreign Service will continue to be engaged in conflicts around the world, as well as promoting and defending Danish interests.

[Final remarks]

As I said at the outset, Denmark has many strong experiences to offer the world. Our energy model, our flexi-security and other society models, which we are open to offer whoever wishes to get our advice.

For example, I am very pleased with the close energy cooperation with China. In my former capacity, that was the crown jewel of our sector-to-sector cooperation.

To me, foreign policy is also about inspiring each other to do better and to help each other build better societies to the benefit of the people.

With that, Ambassadors, Ladies and Gentlemen, I would like to thank you for your kind attention. Now I will be happy to answer your questions.

Speech to the Diplomatic Corps

Meeting with the Diplomatic Corps in Copenhagen on 10 March 2014

Mogens Jensen, Minister for Trade and Development Cooperation

Distinguished Ambassadors, Representatives of the diplomatic corps, Ladies and Gentlemen

Like our Foreign Minister, I am also very happy to be here today. Only five weeks ago I was placed in charge of the government's new and merged portfolio of trade and development cooperation. It is the first time that a Danish government has combined efforts to boost exports and attract new investments with our long-standing efforts to fight poverty and promote human rights, including managing the 16 billion kroner in Danish official development assistance.

Some, not least the business community, have responded well to this "merger", while others, including some Danish NGOs, have been more skeptical. But let me set the record straight. My portfolios of development cooperation and that of trade each have their own objectives and their own justification. However, there is an obvious intersection where these two areas overlap and where there is demand in developing countries for solutions, services and goods that Danish companies can meet. This is where I want to step up our efforts in order to explore potential for synergies to the mutual benefit of both developing countries and Denmark alike. But I will revert to that.

Firstly, I would like to underscore that what we do in this field will not change the overall aim of *Danish development policy* and our long-standing cooperation with many of your countries. Nor will it entail a change in our commitment to continue to provide a large part of our Gross National Income (GNI) to development assistance – currently about 0.83 per cent.

Denmark will continue to remain one of only five countries in the world which exceeds the UN target of providing 0.7 per cent of GNI in development assistance and has done so since 1978.

We do so out of solidarity with the poor and marginalized – not charity. And we do so because solidarity is part of our core values and the foundation upon which we have built our own society. Denmark's development policy remains focused on fighting poverty and on promoting human rights, democracy and a growth that is sustainable and equitable.

Denmark's development cooperation is internationally recognised for its high quality and its many results. It is a solid foundation upon which I am proud to build. Let me point to three areas to which I aim to give particular priority:

- Using *human rights* as a lever to fight poverty
- Building the bridge between emergency and longer-term development in *fragile and conflict-affected states*
- Promoting a *post-2015 agenda* with ambitious goals for poverty reduction and sustainable development

I will continue Denmark's efforts to promote *human rights* and apply a human rights-based approach to Danish development cooperation. I will do so because I am convinced that human rights can act as a powerful force for change because fundamental rights and democracy are needed in any development. Human rights will therefore be at the core of our policy dialogue, multilateral engagement and our development cooperation with partner countries, which all have made national and international commitments to respect and fulfill human rights.

In this light, it was a great disappointment that Ugandan president Museveni recently signed a law with severe consequences for the rights of lesbians and gays – and incompatible with the country's international human rights obligations. I therefore decided to restructure close to 50 million kroner of assistance otherwise planned as support to the Ugandan government. These funds will instead be directed to civil society and activities within the private sector.

Another area that has my keen attention is *fragile and conflict-affected states* – one of the most serious challenges to international development, as well as to peace and security. The global fight against poverty will require concerted action to assist fragile countries in the transition towards peace and stability. I will give priority to supporting those fleeing war and disaster and assist fragile and conflict-affected states in restoring peace and rebuilding

state institutions and services. During and after conflict, Denmark will be ready to assist, including in the transition to longer term development. In 2014 alone, we have allocated over 3 billion kroner to protection, peace and stability interventions.

In Syria, we will continue our support to the victims of the war – innocent men, women and children. We are assisting the Syrian opposition by supporting peace-building, early recovery and transitional police and justice, and are leading efforts to assist refugees in neighboring countries.

Right now we are witnessing two major humanitarian crises in Africa; South Sudan and the Central African Republic, where there is an imminent need for assistance from the international community. In 2013 and 2014 Denmark has provided around 312 million kroner in humanitarian assistance to the two countries. In addition, Denmark was the first country to provide financial support in the order of 10 million kroner to the UN Secretary General's six-point initiative for the Central African Republic.

The challenges facing fragile states must be dealt with long-term, not least in the work to develop the *post-2015 framework* for poverty reduction and sustainable development. We are engaging actively in these efforts, which should assist us in eradicating extreme poverty by 2030, promote growth and development that is sustainable, and work for peace, stability and security as a precondition for any development. Ensuring gender equality and universal access to sexual and reproductive health and rights will also be high on our agenda.

Let me revert to my ambition to strengthen the *links between trade and development*. The world is changing. Global growth is no longer driven by a few, traditionally well-off economies. A number of our development partners are experiencing impressive economic progress. Some are even acting as growth engines in their regions. Consequently, many developing countries are increasingly demanding trade and investments rather than just aid. They want jobs for their youth, know-how and skills that can help them grow and prosper.

At the same time, Danish companies are interested in exploring business opportunities in your countries and capable of providing solutions, competencies, goods and services that are in demand. In high-growth developing countries where Danida is active, Denmark will not pull out once higher income status is achieved. Instead, we will forge new partnerships and step up our commercial engagement to help sustain growth and development to mutual benefit.

Our cooperation with Vietnam can serve as an illustration. For many years, we have had a close sector-specific collaboration with Vietnam, which has made great strides in fighting poverty and now has a fast-growing economy that is attracting a growing number of investments. Yet, while Vietnam has transitioned to (lower) middle-income status, there are still many development challenges where Danish companies have competencies to offer. Therefore, disengaging Danida's business instruments, which remain in high demand by both Vietnamese and Danish companies, would be pointless.

Another case in point is the Danish-initiated Global Green Growth Forum, 3GF. 3GF operates in the nexus between development, business and diplomacy by promoting public-private partnerships for green growth. Through these partnerships, 3GF convenes private companies with expertise in green solutions, governments that regulate the market framework, and countries looking for innovative solutions for sustainable growth.

Enhanced synergy between Danish development cooperation, export promotion and trade policy, creating sustainable growth and decent jobs in both developing countries and Denmark, is a win-win solution. Based on dialogue with key actors, public as well as private, I will look at how to improve synergy in the trade-development nexus even further. Whether it will be through a more systematic use of trade policy in promoting the needs of developing countries, the launching of new business initiatives or strengthening of existing ones is too early to say. What I can say with certainty, however, is that this is an area where we must and will do more!

Now, allow me to turn towards my second portfolio – trade. As a small open economy with a limited national market, Denmark is heavily reliant on international trade for our growth, jobs and welfare. We have stepped up our efforts in this domain, launching a number of growth market initiatives, a new pro-active trade policy and a thorough reform of the Danish Foreign Service

Later this spring, the government will present an ambitious strategy for exports and economic diplomacy, which aims to boost foreign economic ties even further by (i) prioritizing export as a key issue across the government, exploring the fact that many line ministries are internationally engaged, (ii) increasing foreign trade through a better coordinated whole-of-government approach, and (iii) improving the efficiency of the Trade Council's existing toolbox. We will set ambitious targets.

The same applies to our trade policy, our exports to both well-known and emerging markets and our aim of attracting foreign investors to Denmark. The Bali agreement gives new momentum to the WTO. The first priority

should be implementing the Bali package. We should keep the LDCs central in our efforts, actively facilitating their participation.

As we pursue further progress in the WTO, Denmark will continue to support bilateral free trade negotiations between the EU and relevant partners. Ambitious bilateral free trade agreements are important drivers in the global economy and lead to increased exports and growth for all involved parties. In this regard, I attach particular importance to the negotiations with Japan and the US, as ambitious trade agreements with these two countries can lift Danish exports by more than 30 billion kroner.

Green trade liberalization is a key issue for the Danish government. In January in Davos, a group of WTO countries agreed to launch negotiations on liberalizing trade in green goods. The participating countries are now working to rally a critical mass of WTO countries behind the initiative. I will do whatever I can to promote this agenda.

The global economic shift and rise of emerging economies has fundamentally changed our foreign economic conditions. Consequently we are altering our approach. In the coming years, global growth will predominantly take place outside Europe. A stronger Danish presence in the emerging markets is essential as the new economies grow. We understand that our businesses must grow with the new markets. And in the same vein, we must further our presence in the new markets also with a view to increasing awareness about Danish know-how and commercial strongholds. Denmark has very important commercial competencies to offer these new economies as they continue their economic development.

Therefore, we have launched a number of initiatives vis-à-vis the BRICs and other growth markets such as Indonesia, Mexico, South Africa, South Korea, Turkey and Vietnam. Our growth market strategy identifies ambitious targets about increasing Danish exports to these countries by 50 per cent in 2016. So far, this is going well. Danish companies are improving their performance – even beyond the targets.

At the same time, the reality is that – despite the new global growth patterns in Asia, Africa, and Latin America – our traditional markets will continue to play a crucial role in Danish foreign trade. For Denmark, this means we must tread a fine line between prioritizing our global presence in new geographically distant markets and nurturing a vital economic presence in big, traditional markets. We are therefore now launching export action plans focusing on three big markets, namely the US, Japan and Germany – markets of immense importance to Danish exports.

Our international economic interests are not only about exports. It is hard to find a more internationalized economy anywhere. Our welfare, jobs, growth and overall economic well-being are extremely dependent on remaining attractive to foreign investors. So let me make it very clear: Denmark is open for business. That is not just something I claim. A few months ago, the World Bank's "Ease of Doing Business" report ranked Denmark as the best country in Europe in which to do business – for the third year in a row.

That doesn't mean we can't improve. We are constantly improving the conditions for foreign investors in order to make the business climate even better. One of Denmark's key advantages is our strong R&D, and an innovative workforce capable of translating cutting-edge research into concrete products and processes. Innovation is not a result of divine intervention. We need inspiration from abroad. In this regard, we have now opened six innovation centers from Silicon Valley to Shanghai. The centers are acting as match-makers, giving Danish companies and universities access to the newest technologies and the brightest minds worldwide.

Today's world demands an open mind and a global outlook. You, distinguished Ambassadors, know that better than anyone. We need to engage with the world around us. If you take one thing away with you today, let it be that Denmark is more than ready to do so. I look forward to working closely with you and your governments.

“Ukraine and the New European (Clean) Energy Debate”

Speech at the Brookings Institution,
6 May 2014

Martin Lidegaard, Minister for Foreign Affairs

Thank you very much for the kind introduction and for the opportunity to share my thoughts.

My core messages today are:

Ukraine is a reminder of the long-lasting fact that energy policy is foreign and security policy. It must be on top of our common agenda.

The crises in Ukraine of course have reminded us of many things. That we cannot take freedom and peace for granted right at our borders. That the European way of life is attractive to many. That a strong and trustworthy transatlantic relation is more important than ever. But most importantly for the next steps to be taken is the fact that energy security is one of the most significant geopolitical challenges of today.

Energy has huge consequences for our security, our economies and the daily lives of our citizens.

Energy plays a determining role for climate change – the single largest threat against us as human beings.

The solution is threefold:

1. We must deliver on resources and energy efficiency;
2. We must diversify our energy supply with much more focus on renewables;
3. And we must increase interconnectivity and liberalize our energy markets to decrease the price of renewables to ensure that no country is unduly vulnerable to disruptions from a single energy supplier.

The good news is that it is doable and it is payable. The Danish case shows that. Boiled down to one sentence, our economy has nearly doubled

over the last 30 years – but our energy consumption has almost remained at the same level. At the same time we have strengthened our markets for gas and electricity and made a remarkable increase of renewables.

This has benefitted our society, our environment and not least our economy.

Before I return to that, let me begin with the situation in Ukraine.

Once more we are confronted with a scenario many of us had left behind and ascribed to the historical legacy of the 20th century. Once more we are confronted with crude power politics, taking advantage of all the levers available.

The Russian illegal annexation of Crimea and the current dangerous and troublesome developments in eastern Ukraine have questioned our dream of a ‘Europe whole and free’.

I believe in the free choice of independent nations. I believe in a democratic and united Europe based on the dream of everlasting peace and the vision of a single market. And I know from history what the costs are if we do not maintain these perspectives.

Therefore Denmark has been supporting Ukraine in this critical situation. We have contributed to NATO’s reassurance policy. We have supported sanctions and continue to push for more if the situation escalates.

We do not believe in Russia’s path of coercion and intimidation. European partners and the US stand firmly against it.

I visited Ukraine with my Swedish colleague recently. Together we stood at the Maidan a few days after the huge demonstrations that changed Ukraine.

It made a deep impression to feel the energy at the Maidan. And to feel the ambition of the Ukrainian people to move ahead, create a better future politically and economically and a more transparent society.

But I also saw all the grave obstacles Ukraine is facing. In the south-eastern Ukraine we are faced with the spectrum of Russian challenges to the territorial integrity of a European country. Ukraine is in the middle of a difficult political process, and major reforms lie ahead. Ukraine must be for all Ukrainians. Both in the West and in the East. Both Ukrainian-speaking and Russian-speaking.

And we were reminded of Ukraine’s economic and financial vulnerability, not least when it comes to energy and the Russian energy supply. This issue might be decisive for the future of Ukraine.

The long-term answer to the Russian challenge to Ukraine is to see the country develop into a blooming free and inclusive society that chooses its own path. We therefore strongly support the elections coming up on May 25. In the present situation, we need to provide as much assistance as possible for Ukraine to truly prosper as an accountable and democratic country.

However, the Ukraine crisis is not only about foreign and security policy. It is also the story about how energy and foreign policy intersect. Ukraine needs to make the right long-term choices about securing a free society – and energy independence plays a key role.

The way to change this is to start investments in energy efficiency, in diversifying the energy supply and in the energy infrastructure and grid.

The Danish government is already in close contact with the interim government of Ukraine to identify projects where Danish experience from the energy sector can be of use in Ukraine.

There are many low-hanging fruits – in particular on energy efficiency.

You have already launched an energy support package for Ukraine.

Denmark is working to launch an initiative on Ukraine–Danish energy cooperation which will help Ukraine increase its energy efficiency and diversify its energy supply by using Danish experiences with simulation of energy scenarios and integration of renewable energy sources in grid management.

To do it right, we have to see the Ukrainian energy system in a wider European perspective.

In Europe we have to replace 80 percent of power production capacity the next 20 years – no matter what – because the energy sector is old. So we are facing a defining moment in the European energy history.

The current crisis in Ukraine has been a wake-up call on energy security and dependence. Europe – for all its diversity – shares a common challenge: we are over-dependent on fossil fuels.

For the last three years fossil energy has accounted for 25 percent of the total EU import. 25 percent!

Fossil energy import is thereby contributing heavily to EU's massive trade balance deficit amounting to three-digit billions of Euros.

This challenge leaves our consumers and businesses vulnerable to harmful price shocks; threatens our economic security; and contributes to climate change. Continuing our current pattern of resource use is simply not an option.

We in Europe need to be ambitious. This is not easy in a time of economic crisis and troubles – where people suffer from high unemployment

and difficult circumstances. But based on the Danish case, I would argue that our current circumstances are exactly why we need to invest more in the green transition. It benefits our economies and our competitiveness if we look just a few years ahead.

The European Union is working on stepping up to our responsibility as world leader in this area. We are currently negotiating new EU targets on climate and energy for 2030. There is considerable overlap between the suggested policy instruments and those needed to increase EU energy security.

The two agendas are mutually reinforcing, rather than contrary priorities.

A strong EU energy policy is promoted by reducing energy demand, increasing the use of clean and renewable energy, and by improving the internal market and infrastructure.

An ambitious climate and energy policy for 2030 can both ensure the EU's relative competitiveness and reduce the growing dependence on energy imports by providing certainty and incentives for our businesses to invest in green technology.

Recent events in Ukraine also highlight the urgency of helping all member states and vulnerable neighboring countries to integrate their energy markets, enable them to diversify their energy sources, and help bring an end to the energy isolation. An ambitious policy framework will drive forward the integration and interconnection of Europe's internal energy market.

The primary responsibility for alleviating the urgent energy security challenges in Europe – East and West – lies with the EU. But the US is already making a very important contribution through the regional and global dynamics that US energy and climate policies create.

Denmark, the EU and the US share common challenges and potentials when it comes to green transition. And we need to show common leadership on a number of issues.

First, there is climate change. When Secretary of State John Kerry recently compared climate change to a fearsome weapon of mass destruction, I very much agreed. As documented recently by the UN's intergovernmental panel on climate change, climate change is a threat not only to the environment but also to global economic prosperity, development and, more broadly, human security. Global competition for natural resources will only intensify in the years to come and put pressure on the world's ability to adapt and mitigate.

Climate change is security policy and needs to be confronted like any other global threat. In our further work we should aim to:

- 1) Show leadership and take on ambitious mitigation commitments;
- 2) Ensure binding commitments from all Parties, including the emerging economies;
- 3) Increase mobilization of public and private investments in climate-relevant activities.

A second common challenge is energy supply. Year after year, Europeans face the risk of new crisis and supply shortages. This is testing European solidarity, but also creates opportunities to build new partnerships between people, countries, regions and operators in order to increase integration of national networks, diversify energy sources and increase focus on energy efficiency.

I would like to see Denmark and the US working together on energy supply. We are already cooperating on expanding off-shore wind production where Danish expertise in renewable energy comes to use in the state of Maryland. But we should do more on energy efficiency, reducing the use of coal in our power systems, and expanding renewable energy production domestically.

Thirdly, we need to create a closer transatlantic energy market. The effects of the US shale revolution are felt on the global energy markets. And a clear, medium and long-term perspective for a transatlantic energy market sends a strong political signal to policy-makers as well as private investors. We need to have clear internal energy strategies on both sides of the Atlantic and intensify our discussions on common interests based on this.

In this respect, a timely agreement on an ambitious Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership is highly important to sustain the strong relationship, unlock the economic potential of opening the energy markets, set global standards and win the geopolitical benefits that will come from that.

When I read this year's edition of World Energy Outlook, I was struck by what has NOT changed.

CO₂ emissions continue to rise. Oil prices will continue to rise despite new oil discoveries. Electricity prices will remain high in the European Union. And today's share of fossil fuels in the world energy mix is the same as it was 25 years ago. 82 percent!

The message is clear: we will not be saved by market developments alone. We have to save ourselves. And we have to start now, work where we can, and do it smart.

Denmark has shown that we can limit CO₂ emissions and secure solid economic development.

Since 1980, the Danish economy has grown by almost 80 percent, while our energy consumption has remained more or less constant. And CO₂ emissions have been reduced.

We have also laid our course for the future: we will move towards a fossil fuel-free society with 100 percent renewable energy by 2050.

- We aim for 100 percent renewable energy in electricity and heat supply in 2035.

- Coal is set to be phased out from Danish power plants by 2030.

- And already by 2020, 50% of our power will emerge from wind, and we have set a target to cut our emissions of CO₂ by 40 percent.

At the same time, Danish market prices for power have remained among the lowest in the EU! Because the introduction of renewables was done at the same time as we were liberalizing our market.

This could and should be an inspiration all over the world where the course is yet unclear, and important decisions have to be made the coming years:

- In the emerging economies, demand for electricity means that new power plants have to be constructed.

- In Japan, the Fukushima catastrophe has had the consequence that the Japanese are searching for a viable alternative to nuclear power.

- In the US and Europe, our present plants are aging, and many plants are facing replacement.

Investments in energy are needed everywhere. But when we construct new power plants, we must keep in mind that these plants will last 40–50 years. So it is crucial that we make the right decisions now. We will get no second chance.

Denmark has chosen a strict focus on renewable energy and energy efficiency. In Denmark more than 40 percent of our electricity is produced from renewable energy sources. 30 percent of our electricity in 2012 came from wind. And we continuously expand our capacity. Thermal capacity based, for example, on sustainable biomass will supplement wind power, and we will strengthen interconnection with neighboring countries.

I often hear that renewables are too expensive. That it cannot compete with coal at the current price level. To this I have three clear messages:

Firstly, this argument does not have the necessary nuances. Land-based wind power has come a long way during the last ten years and is now almost able to compete on market terms with conventional fuels.

Secondly, take a look at the World Energy Outlook. Oil prices will rise despite new oil discoveries. Gas prices will remain higher in Europe than in

the US. And coal – well, many coal plants are old, inefficient and are facing replacement.

Thirdly, the price of renewables very much depends on the market where it is introduced and the framework created. In short: the more the market is liberalized, the less support you need.

Add to that the enormous costs burning coal incurs on the climate and on the general health from air pollution.

In my view, World Energy Outlook confirms that we have chosen a wise energy policy pathway by emphasizing viable long-term solutions. By remaining world leaders on green transition, we can also enhance the competitiveness of our green tech companies. This has been the case in Denmark, and it has benefitted our economy.

One of the primary things that this year's World Energy Outlook emphasizes is the importance of energy efficiency. This is good news. Denmark has focused on energy efficiency for decades.

And what I was really stunned by was the still unrealized global potential: two thirds of the global cost-effective potential has not yet been realized. Two thirds of the cost-effective potential!

In other words, investments here are profitable within a relatively brief time-span. Few other types of investments are that profitable. It's good business.

The cheapest energy is the energy you do not use.

And as the Ukraine situations reminds us. The return of our investments will pay back in more than just cash. With the investment in energy independence comes more stability, freedom and security.

There are some tough decisions to be made. And it is important that the decisions we make these years are the right decisions. We get no second chance.

I encourage anyone facing these decisions to take note of the mix of issues: climate change, security and the resource crises – and the possibility to find combined solutions.

Let me end by highlighting some fascinating facts and figures:

The world is growing. As you'll know, in 2050 we will reach nine billion people on this planet and it will be 11 billion in 2100.

11 billion people: Using resources, emitting CO₂ and increasing global warming.

And the global economy will double over the next 20 years.

This development will pose huge challenges. But it will also give us, our

societies and economies huge possibilities. We have to deal with both issues at the same time: energy security and climate change.

And I encourage anyone to look beyond short-term damage control and find a balance so that we can lay the foundation for the most viable solutions for ourselves and for the generations that follow.

Let's help each other to move forward together.

How Can a Regional Accord Help End War in Syria?

Speech at the DIIS Conference on Syria, Eigtveds Pakhus, 27 May 2014

Martin Lidegaard, Minister for Foreign Affairs

(Check against delivery)

Good morning everyone,

Let me begin by thanking the Danish Institute for International Studies and the European Council on Foreign Relations for their hard work and concerted efforts to organize this conference. I would also like to welcome the many experts and policy-makers from the region who have made the journey to Copenhagen. Today, we will benefit from your expertise and ideas as to how regional actors can contribute more constructively to a political process in Syria.

Much attention has been devoted to the way the conflict and its spillover effects have deepened antagonisms and exacerbated regional tensions. There has also been focus on how regional tensions continue to fuel the Syrian conflict. Most observers agree that there simply can be no solution for Syria without regional consensus and a common buy-in.

The question is therefore straightforward: how do we go about bringing the regional powers into a more constructive political process? This is today's topic. This is where this seminar should focus: the constructive role of the regional powers.

I am also glad to see such an impressive turnout, which I think reflects the importance of addressing the proxy dimension of Syria's deepening conflict.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

During my recent talks with President Ahmad Al Jarba of the Opposition Coalition and during my visit to Turkey, I had the opportunity to discuss the

conflict first-hand with a variety of Turkish and Syrian actors, government officials, Syrian civil-society organisations and opposition groups, all directly involved with or affected by the Syrian conflict. The message was clear: we need to do our utmost to stop the suffering of the Syrian people. And I saw with my own eyes the huge practical and economic burden the conflict is placing on Turkey. And yet Turkey has not reneged on its open-door policy. It continues to receive and assist refugees from Syria. I commend their tremendous effort, support and generosity towards the people fleeing across their border.

The situation in Syria is the most dramatic humanitarian and security crisis facing the world today. The numbers speak for themselves: More than 160,000 Syrians have been killed and around 5000 women, children and men are added to this number every month. 2.8 million have fled to neighboring countries, placing an untenable burden on not only Turkey, but also Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq.

With no prospect of an end in sight, the conflict represents an unprecedented threat to regional stability – and increasingly also to global stability.

For those still residing inside this tortured country, the suffering is unspeakable. 9.3 million Syrians are in need of humanitarian assistance and a staggering 6.5 million people have been internally displaced. Those not yet driven from their homes or across international borders cannot escape the increasing brutality of the conflict – not least the regime's indiscriminate use of barrel bombs and starvation as a tactic of war. These tactics are testimony to a blatant disregard for civilian life. Denmark has consistently condemned the gross human rights abuses, war crimes and crimes against humanity taking place in Syria, including not least the use of chemical weapons.

To add insult to injury, we have recently seen new reports that chemical weapons (chlorine) have again been used, furthering the misery of the people of Syria. I am utterly sickened by these reports. As all of you know, Denmark is playing a key role in the operation to remove the regime's declared stockpile of chemical weapons, and we are nearing the end of our mission. However, these new reports show that the operation is no silver bullet. I urge that the OPCW be given full access to investigate these new reports. If confirmed, the international community must be ready to hold those responsible fully accountable for their crimes.

In this regard I would like to stress that Denmark since the beginning of the conflict has been a constant supporter of a referral of the situation in Syria to the International Criminal Court (ICC). Those responsible for the horrific violations and abuse in Syria must be held accountable. Such acts

must be prevented. That is why Denmark co-sponsored the French draft Security Council Resolution that would have referred those responsible for crimes against humanity to the ICC. I strongly regret Russia and China's decision to veto a resolution with an otherwise overwhelming level of international backing. This was an opportunity for the international community to stand up for justice for the Syrian people. In light of the horrific atrocities committed every day in Syria, preventing those responsible for horrific atrocities from justice seems to me indefensible.

Denmark will continue to work for accountability in Syria. Together with our close partners in the EU, we will look at possibly expanding the EU sanctions regime to list known perpetrators. We want to send a clear signal that the world is still watching. And we will increase our support for the moderate opposition who have been clear in their support for a referral to the ICC.

In Turkey, my concern about the spread of extremism and extremist groups was widely shared. Their increased involvement in the conflict poses a threat not only to Syria, but also to regional and international security. I am particularly concerned about the increasing number of European nationals that travel to Syria to fight in the ranks of these extremist groups. It is a problem with serious security implications, including here in Denmark. That is why Denmark supports a number of initiatives aimed at preventing radicalisation and discouraging people from leaving the EU to go to Syria as foreign fighters by increasing counter-narrative initiatives. It is very important that we continue to increase our cooperation in terms of knowledge-sharing and preventive measures, including with neighboring countries like Turkey.

Denmark continues to engage in civilian stabilization efforts to support the moderate opposition and the general Syrian population. In this regard, I am very pleased to have recently announced – together with the Minister for Development Assistance – a new Danish stabilization program for Syria. We have already allocated more than 18 million USD for these purposes. With the new program, the Danish aid amounts to more than 36 million USD for 2012 to 2014. This contribution comes on top of our significant humanitarian contribution of more than DKK 725 Million or USD 127 Million.

An important objective of the stabilization program is to increase the delivery of basic services to the people in the opposition-held areas of Syria. A key priority in the Danish stabilization efforts is also to improve the security for civilians in the areas we work in. Establishing a police and justice sector is an integral part of our efforts, and the close cooperation with the moderate Syrian opposition is vital in this regard. Denmark is fully behind the Syrian

Opposition Coalition, and through our Special Envoy we continue the close dialogue and partnership, which is a cornerstone in the Danish support. I was therefore pleased to meet with interim Prime Minister Tomeh and other opposition leaders in Turkey earlier this month, where we also discussed our future cooperation.

I made it clear to the interim Prime Minister and others that the reality on the ground – this status quo – is completely unacceptable. We cannot remain idle. We owe it to the people of Syria to do all we can to make progress towards a peaceful solution. And that is still our main objective. As I have said recently, the international community must continue to strive to find new ways of supporting the Syrian people and to help them reach a peaceful end to this ongoing human tragedy.

On the ground, the battle is mainly fought by Syrians. But regional actors have a growing stake in the conflict, providing patronage to the warring parties. At the same time, they also serve as critical levers and can use their influence to encourage movement on key issues. In my view, there are unexploited opportunities for greater regional cooperation to address the deteriorating situation in Syria and beyond. With the risk of regional conflagration growing, regional actors share many issues of concern such as:

- regional destabilization brought on by refugee movements,
- a growing threat from extremist groups,
- weapons being more readily available
- and not least a deepening sectarianism.

In this, all parties would share the benefits of de-escalation. As a first step, a concerted and regionally driven response could be developed that not only would address the humanitarian disaster, but also could lead to consensus and cooperation in tackling other issues. In light of the faltering state of Geneva II and the increased militarization on the ground, I strongly encourage all regional actors, especially Iran, to come to the table – and to choose dialogue over violence.

Tremendous effort has already been invested in getting the regime and the opposition to sit down at the same table in Geneva. Thus far, diplomacy has sadly failed, but what has not failed is our strong determination to turn every stone in an attempt to alleviate the suffering of the millions of men, women and children whose lives are at risk and to reach a peaceful solution to the conflict. I strongly urge those regional actors with the power and the influence over the warring parties to find the same determination to stop this human tragedy.

Statement by Denmark at the General Debate of the 69th Session of the UN General Assembly, 24 September 2014

Helle Thorning-Schmidt, Prime Minister

(Check against delivery)

Mr President, Mr Secretary-General, Ladies and Gentlemen, despite our aspirations to create a more just and peaceful world, atrocities continue to take place.

Every day, we witness expressions of the darker side of human nature: Thousands of innocent civilians besieged on a mountain in northern Iraq by heavily armed extremists.

A Syrian dictator who bombs and starves his own people, leaving more than 10 million in need of urgent humanitarian assistance.

Persecution of people because of their religious or political beliefs, their gender or sexual orientation.

Disrespect for national borders, challenging the basic principles on which our rules-based international order is built.

Climate change causing great risks to human health, global food security, and economic development and to the natural resources on which much of our prosperity depends.

A world of more than 7 billion people with increasing demand for key resources and an unsustainable pattern of consumption and production.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The challenges we face are complex. There are no simple solutions. What is required of us is strong, collective international action. Not only to manage the crises and conflicts of today. But to prevent the crises of tomorrow.

I am a true believer in international cooperation, and in the virtues of the United Nations. But as the world changes and we are faced with new challenges, we must find new ways to adapt.

I am confident that we will. But only if we have a strong United Nations. And only if we act together.

As member states, each one of us must fulfill our obligations under the Charter. This is our common commitment and our shared responsibility.

I see three challenges where we, the United Nations, should act – and act now. Urgency is key.

First, we need stronger international cooperation and action on peace and security.

Second, we have to reach an ambitious international agreement on climate change next year in Paris.

Third, we have to agree on the post-2015 Agenda for sustainable development.

First, international peace and security. This past year, we have seen the rise of violent and intensifying conflict fuelled by extremism, in particular the horrific and brutal terrorist actions of ISIL.

ISIL represents a distorted political ideology that must be confronted, degraded and defeated by the entire international community, including countries in the region.

As we are gathered this week, the member states of the United Nations are sending a clear message that we utterly condemn ISIL's cowardly acts of terror. That we are unified in our firm resolve to oppose and confront its violent and extremist ideology. And let it be clear that we are determined to support the Iraqi government in protecting its people.

Denmark will stand up for our common values as enshrined in the UN charter. And Denmark will support the victims of ISIL's atrocities.

We take part in the humanitarian relief efforts in northern Iraq. And we will continue our active contribution to the international efforts to support Iraq in the fight against ISIL.

To stop the advance of ISIL, it is adamant to end the flow of foreign fighters and financing from the outside. This is indeed a common obligation.

It is also critical that we address the root causes of violent extremism and improve the conditions in Syria that ISIL has been able to exploit.

The humanitarian situation in Syria continues to be a great concern. Though progress is difficult, we must spare no effort to seek a political solution leading to a transition from the current regime.

There is always a risk that political transition is exploited by violent extremists.

Still, history shows that democratic and inclusive governments, open societies and the fundamental respect for human rights remains the only viable path towards stability, security and prosperity for our citizens.

Bringing an end to the violence in the region will require a sustained and comprehensive contribution from every one of us. The successful removal of Assad's chemical weapons clearly demonstrated what can be achieved when we join forces in decisive international action. A coalition of Denmark, Norway, Russia, China, Finland, United Kingdom, and the US effectively secured and destroyed these horrendous weapons of war.

Our unified response is also required against another increasing threat.

The ebola epidemic has become a severe humanitarian, social and economic crisis for countries in West Africa.

If we fail to act now, it may develop into a global health crisis, impacting millions of people.

If so, we will not only be confronted with a health crisis, but also a threat to international peace, prosperity and security.

Clearly, this challenge cannot be tackled by any one nation alone. We must all lend our support. The United Nations and its member states have a common responsibility to bring ebola under control.

Ebola is not just at regional challenge. It has become a global crisis.

Denmark is committed to this cause. We have already contributed to the international response, including the UN humanitarian air service. And we will increase our support. Today I can announce that Denmark will provide a maritime transport capacity to the UN. We will support the construction of needed housing facilities for international health personnel in the affected countries. And we will provide additional funding to the WHO.

As the situation evolves, we will be ready to consider additional steps.

The global community is based on international law. This law must be respected and not blatantly violated as we have seen in the past year.

We have witnessed an unacceptable foreign intervention in Ukraine. Fundamental principles of national sovereignty and non-interference have been disrespected.

The recent ceasefire is an important step on the only viable way forward – a political solution. Yet we have to see Russia's commitment demonstrated in action – and not only in words. Throughout this conflict, Russia's self-proclaimed support to the peace process has been in stark contrast to realities on the ground.

We remain fully committed to a political solution that respects Ukraine's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

Respect for international law and human rights should always be at the very core of peace and development – as should the rule of law and good governance.

That is why Denmark strongly supports bold and significant new steps in the UN such as the Secretary General's recent Rights Up Front initiative.

This year also marks the 30th anniversary of the adoption of the UN Convention against Torture.

Together with Chile, Ghana, Indonesia, and Morocco, Denmark has launched a global, long-term initiative for the universal ratification and implementation of the Convention. We have made significant progress. But we also need to do more to protect men and women from torture and ill-treatment in all parts of the world.

My second point is about the need to advance our collective answer to the challenges of climate change.

Earlier this year, I had the privilege, together with the Premier of Greenland, of hosting a visit by the Secretary-General to Greenland. We travelled by dog sleighs on the receding ice. And we heard the stories told by the local population about how these changes are affecting local livelihoods.

Climate change is painfully visible in the Arctic. This is beyond discussion. And let there be no illusion that climate change will only have regional impact. The changes will affect each and everyone on the Planet.

Ambitious action is required of us now. One crucial step would be a global binding agreement to reduce CO₂ emissions in Paris next year.

Since 2010, Denmark has dedicated 350 million US Dollars to climate action. This year alone, we will commit more than 100 million.

But Governments cannot do this alone. We need to engage the private sector and other partners to ensure adequate climate finance and to foster innovation and green solutions.

Some fear that the green transition will limit economic growth. But this is not necessarily so.

The Danish economy has grown by 40 per cent since 1990, while total emissions have decreased by 20 per cent in that same period. In other words: it is possible to de-link economic growth from increased emissions.

At the Secretary-General's Climate Summit yesterday, world leaders expressed their commitment to address these issues.

Now is the time to deliver on that commitment.

The third and final area where Denmark sees an urgent need for action is on the Post-2015 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

As stated by the Secretary-General: “Ours is the first generation that can wipe poverty from the face of the earth”.

This is not a message based on wishful thinking. This is based on the facts. It is within reach. And it has to be done.

Over a twenty-year period from 1990-2010, 700 million people have been lifted out of extreme poverty. Child mortality has been reduced by almost 50 per cent.

Ninety per cent of children in developing regions are now attending primary school.

This represents truly historic progress. But much still needs to be achieved.

The Millennium Development Goals were formulated almost 15 years ago. The world has developed rapidly since.

Clearly, the new set of sustainable development goals must address and integrate the economic, social, and environmental dimensions of development.

Another important factor is to ensure women’s empowerment, gender equality, and the rights of women and girls. This includes sexual and reproductive health and rights.

In too many places, these fundamental rights are not observed.

Women and young girls must have the right to decide freely whether they want to have children, when, how many, and with whom.

And all young people must have access to proper education.

Two hundred years ago, compulsory education was introduced in my country. Education for the many and not just for the few has been a primary driver to transform Denmark into a democratic and prosperous nation. And education has also been a driver of gender equality – and still is.

This is one aspect of the post-2015 agenda that is particularly close to my heart.

I have been proud to be one of the Secretary-General’s Champions for his Global Education First Initiative. One of our key priorities must be to ensure quality education also for the most disadvantaged groups and in the most vulnerable countries.

Ladies and gentlemen,

As we look at the global landscape today, insecurity is sadly on the rise. And we all know who is paying the price.

Today, for the first time since the end of World War II, more than 50 million people around the world are displaced due to conflict and violence. Far too many of these are children.

We need a United Nations that can help mediate, prevent, and resolve armed conflicts and that promotes universal respect for human rights.

We need a United Nations that is committed to act against climate change.

And we need a United Nations that can help deliver sustainable development for all and that provides effective assistance to countries suffering from the ebola virus.

But the UN can do nothing without the collective political will of us – its member states.

The world needs a UN that adapts to new challenges and reflects the changing global political realities. Denmark supports a reformed Security Council that fulfils its primary purpose and responsibility when peace and security is threatened.

We need a United Nations based on the strong values and the obligations enshrined in the UN Charter.

And more than ever, we need a United Nations that acts.

Thank you.

Opening Statement at Global Green Growth Forum, 20-21 October 2014, Copenhagen

Helle Thorning-Schmidt, Prime Minister

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a genuine pleasure to warmly welcome you to this year's Global Green Growth Forum. On behalf of the Danish government, I am very pleased to host this Forum, now for the fourth time.

Let me begin by thanking the 3GF partner countries. In particular, I would like to welcome you, Prime Minister Hailemariam, and Ethiopia as our new official partner. I am pleased that we are now on this journey together. 3GF has come a long way since we first convened in 2011. But the basic vision is the same – to accelerate the transition to a green economy for all.

Since the beginning in 2011, we have delivered several important alliances and partnerships. Partnerships that will make a difference – for instance, by reducing food loss and waste, improving trade in environmental goods, or avoiding deforestation.

We have expanded the group of partner countries, and we have increased global interest for 3GF. Some three billion people are expected to join the global middle class by 2030.

Meeting their needs and aspirations in a sustainable way will be critical to the future of all of us. Our common goal should be to have sustainable lifestyles become the norm.

Achieving this is one of the greatest challenges of our time. It is a challenge that forces us to rethink our entire way of life. A challenge that calls for new models of sustainable living and for new ways of producing and consuming. In short: we need to change our direction to secure a sustainable future.

With 3GF we have made important contributions. Here, we accelerate and enlarge solutions and partnerships that promote sustainable lifestyles.

We provide a platform for policy-makers, business leaders, investors and civil society to join forces. We try to release powerful synergies to turn our ambitions into action and tangible results.

This year, here at 3GF, we will discuss production and consumption. Over the coming days we will explore how to ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns.

This theme is particularly important this year, as it complements several international initiatives and processes. The recent Climate Summit in New York, the ongoing COP process and not least the formulation of the new Sustainable Development Goals. We hope that 3GF can contribute to create the foundation for a successful outcome of these processes.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

One year ago – at the 3GF2013 – three young students gave us a memorable lesson. On the need for leadership and political will. Allow me to quote from their speech: “Science is useless if it is not followed by political will. We want you to live up to your responsibility, as a real leader must do”.

The young students are right. We, as leaders, need to make the right decisions now to ensure a sustainable future for the generations to come. And we need to act based on science and convincing evidence. 3GF works closely with leading universities, think tanks and innovators, seeking to link science to business, policy and finance.

We do this because we need more evidence of the economic benefits of going green. And because we need innovations. We need to develop the right incentives for investors, companies and consumers. And we need best-practice solutions that can be implemented broadly across nations, cities and communities.

Again this year, we seek to engage the young generation at 3GF. As we speak, the green trade negotiators of tomorrow – students from all over the world – are here in Copenhagen for an international simulation game on a future green trade agreement.

Tomorrow they will join us at 3GF, and the winners will receive a special award. Drawing on new technology and innovation, 3D printers will create the prize.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I thank you all for joining us here in Copenhagen. And not least for joining our search for a greener and more sustainable future.

Thank you.

International Policy Conference: “Engaging with an Arab World in Crisis”, Copenhagen, 1 December 2014

Martin Lidegaard, Minister for Foreign Affairs

(Opening remarks/speaking points. Check against delivery)

Pleasure to open this international conference titled “Engaging with the Arab World in crisis”. Thanks to the Danish Institute for International Studies for excellent collaboration.

The title of the conference captures important points. Yes, the situation in the MENA region is to a large degree marked by crisis. But as the title also indicates, it is highly important to stay engaged. My main point today is this: our engagement must remain broad and comprehensive. And there is a need for both a top-down and a bottom-up approach.

By the end of 2010, we witnessed the start of the so-called “Arab Spring” or “Arab Uprising”. Throughout the Middle East people took to the streets demanding dignity, socio-economic justice and freedom.

The Uprising gave rise to optimism among the public, politicians and scholars. However, gradually optimism was replaced by concern.

Almost four years later, the region is marked by conflict and instability. The recent advance of the barbaric terror organisation ISIL across the territory of Syria and Iraq impacts immensely on the situation in the entire MENA region. It generates more instability, refugee flows and has fed into the security-driven agenda in several countries.

The situation in the region is highly complex. No formula can cover all trends and developments. Great variation from country to country. Having said that, a key word could be polarization.

We see intensified sectarian polarization both within states and between states. In Syria, the population is deeply divided along sectarian and Sunni moderate–extremist lines. The conflict has also strengthened regional polarization and competition between Shia and Sunni states.

The battlefield has moved into an already fragile Iraq. Exclusion of the Sunni minority from the political processes and the advance of ISIL have enhanced instability.

Deep ideological polarization has also characterized some of the main developments in the past years. In Egypt, space for dissenting voices has been shrinking.

Polarization is also played out along tribal and ethnic lines. This is very much the case in both Libya and Yemen. Finally, polarization of course has territorial aspects across the region, as illustrated by the conflict between Israel and Palestine.

The aggravated regional tensions have hit the economies hard. Growth is slowing and unemployment rising. Especially the massive unemployment of the growing youth population is a serious challenge.

Changing demographics could have been an opportunity to boost the economies in the region. Instead, it has generated a cycle of frustration, social unrest, and political instability. Add a little agitation and throw in some arms and you have potential disaster in your hands.

Despite many worrying developments, still some positive dynamics in the region. The Arab Uprising mobilized young people and created hope for justice, freedom and dignity. New civil-society organizations mushroomed and have called for more pluralist societies where the gap between governments and their populations is narrowing. They will hopefully be drivers of change in the years to come.

Tunisia, in particular, should serve as inspiration for the region. Tunisians have prepared a new democratic constitution helped by a strong civil society and the will to political compromise. Just concluded a successful parliamentary election and in the process of electing a new president. Major challenges await Tunisia, but key steps taken towards a more free and just society.

A democratic and prosperous MENA region will improve stability on Europe's southern borders. It will contribute to preventing cross-border crime and refugee flows into Europe, increase business opportunities, and strengthen the mutually beneficial exchange of culture and ideas. History shows that

democracies are less vulnerable to conflict and more likely to develop sustainable economies.

Therefore, also in our own interest to promote stability and support demands for dignity, freedom and improvements in living standards. This will serve as a bulwark against radicalisation and violent extremism, which constitutes a security risk beyond the borders of the MENA countries. The fight against ISIL illustrates it is not just a distant fight. Foreign Fighters pose serious and acute security concern in Denmark and other countries. Denmark cannot turn its back on these challenges.

Overall Denmark's engagement is defined by how we best support our security, welfare and values. This may sound self-centered. But it is not.

Solidarity with the Arab populations is an important value. So is the promotion of values such as human rights, democracy, equality and compliance with the international legal order. For a small country these objectives are usually promoted effectively through multilateral action within organizations such as the UN, the EU and NATO, as well as with alliances flowing from these organizations.

The complex challenges in the MENA region require an innovative and multifaceted approach. All tools must be brought into play in a comprehensive and concerted manner. This includes "classic" diplomacy, military action, humanitarian aid, stabilisation efforts, commercial diplomacy and development assistance.

At times we use "hard power" in response to a given crisis. This approach is top-down, addressing immediate threats to peace and stability [Example: Danish engagement in fight against ISIL].

At the same time we need to sow and nurture the seeds of reforms. Here the approach is more bottom-up. For example, supporting civil society, creating jobs, promoting gender equality or democratic processes at local level. Aware that democratic reforms take time. Elections are necessary elements of democracy, but not enough. Much more is needed to develop a civil society based on a true democratic culture

ISIL and violent extremism cannot be defeated by top-down military means alone. The international community must combine all instruments from "hard power" to the soft diplomatic and humanitarian responses. Indeed, a broad comprehensive approach is needed to defeat ISIL.

Since 2003 the Danish Arab Partnership Program [DAPP] has been a cornerstone in Denmark's bilateral engagement with the Arab World. DAPP supports political reform and democratization, while also enhancing dialogue between civil society in Denmark and the Arab World. Regional devel-

opments since 2011 have required a flexible approach in order to be relevant and effective in our support for potential drivers of change.

There are many examples of successful DAPP activities. I recommend that you take a look at the new DAPP results report that we publish later this week. Here you can read about activities such as dialogue between religious groups, support to the first democratic constitution in Tunisia, improved social dialogue in Morocco and support to victims of torture.

As hinted in my introduction: Despite the bleak outlook almost four years after the Arab Uprising, Denmark's only option is to remain engaged. We have to show solidarity with the courageous people in the region fighting for justice, dignity and freedom. This is also how we best protect our security, welfare and values.

Our engagement must remain broad and comprehensive, using appropriate multilateral and bilateral tools to meet the challenges. Need for both top-down and bottom-up approach.

To build sustainable democracies takes time. We know that from our own history. In Europe it took centuries to realize the wish for freedom, dignity and jobs, with many bloody wars, repression and lives lost. Therefore important to remember the long-term perspective. Both when we try to make sense of the situation in the region and when we look at our engagements. Thank you for your attention.

Chapter 3

Danish Foreign Policy in Figures

Danish Official Development Assistance · 172

Danish Official Development Assistance (ODA) 2011-2014

Danish Bilateral ODA (by country category)

Danish ODA by category (gross)

Assistance under the Neighbourhood Programme · 173

Danish Official Development Assistance under the
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Financing the EU budget

Danish Official Development Assistance

Danish Official Development Assistance (ODA) 2011-2014

(Current Prices – million DKK)	2011	2012	2013	2014
ODA net disbursement	15,712.03	15,589.83	16,443.25	16,833.46

Source: <http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=TABLE1#>

Danish Bilateral ODA (by country category)

		2011	2012	2013	2014
Least developed countries	Million DKK	4,415.84	4,248.22	3,593.30	3,448.09
	Per cent	38%	38%	30%	28%
Low-income countries	Million DKK	554.96	452.36	411.33	468.09
	Per cent	5%	4%	3%	4%
Other developing countries	Million DKK	2,084.18	1,687.58	1,410.46	1,582.43
	Per cent	18%	15%	12%	13%
Other	Million DKK	4,439.43	4,737.18	6,624.29	6,806.82
	Per cent	39%	43%	55%	55%
Total	Million DKK	11,495	11,125	12,039	12,306
	Per cent	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: <http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=TABLE2A> (2011-2013) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark (2014)

Danish ODA by category (gross):

		2011	2012	2013	2014
Bilateral Assistance	Million DKK	11,495	11,125	12,039	12,306
	Per cent	73%	71%	73%	73%
Multilateral Assistance	Million DKK	4,217	4,464	4,404	4,527
	Per cent	27%	29%	27%	27%
Total	Million DKK	15,712	15,590	16,443	16,833
	Per cent	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark (figures from the OECD): <http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=TABLE1#>

Danish Official Development Assistance under the Neighbourhood Programme (by country)¹

Disbursements 2014²

Recipient country	DKK
Albania	16,500,000
Belarus	4,800,000
Bosnia-Herzegovina	-5,500,000 ³
Caucasus, the (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia)	21,500,000
Central Asia	16,500,000
Croatia	0
Kosovo	31,900,000
Kyrgystan	1,000,000
Moldova	36,200,000
Montenegro	0
Neighbourhood countries, regional contributions	12,000,000
Russia	500,000
Serbia	11,600,000
Tadjikistan	1,600,000
Turkey	0
Ukraine	54,500,000

Notes

- 1 The Department for European Neighbourhood also manages limited resources from other sources than the neighbourhood programme to the listed countries. These payments are included in the list.
- 2 All numbers are round figures.
- 3 Money that was returned.

Source: *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark*

Defence

Defence Expenditures to International Missions

(million DKK)	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Participation in UN, OSCE, NATO and other multilateral missions ¹	1,393.0	1,265.0	1,766.0	1,231.0	1,014.0
The Peace and Stabilisation Fund ²	68.7	42.1	51.7	65.3	80.1
NATO ³	674.5	564.3	581.6	573.7	575.3

Source: *Danish Ministry of Defence*

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 the Defence Command Denmark budget. From 2012 the expenditures include total added costs and are therefore not comparable to the previous years.
- 2 An additional annual amount of DKK 10 million is earmarked for the Peace and Stabilisation Fund under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Peace and Stabilisation Fund was established in 2012. Before this, in earlier volumes of the Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook, this is referred to as "international security cooperation/global stabilization efforts".
- 3 Includes contributions to NATO plus expenditures for NATO staff (net). For 2010-2013, account numbers have been used.

Financing of the EU budget¹

	Million Euro	Percentage
Austria	3,179.3	2.28
Belgium	5,326.7	3.81
Bulgaria	461.7	0.33
Croatien	453.0	0.32
Cyprus	167.8	0.12
Czech Republic	1,509.7	1.08
Denmark	2,876.0	2.06
Estonia	214.1	0.15
Finland	2,068.6	1.48
France	22,459.7	16.08
Germany	30,243.2	21.66
Greece	1,831.7	1.31
Hungary	1,022.1	0.73
Ireland	1,650.1	1.18
Italy	16,499.4	11.82
Latvia	266.1	0.19
Lithuania	405.5	0.29
Luxembourg	333.8	0.24
Malta	80.5	0.06
Netherlands	7,764.5	5.56
Poland	4,294.2	3.08
Portugal	1,741.8	1.25
Romania	1,533.8	1.10
Slovakia	786.2	0.56
Slovenia	407.2	0.29
Spain	11,148.1	7.98
Sweden	4,487.8	3.21
UK	16,426.2	11.76
Total	139,638.7	100.00

Note

1. The member states' budgeted contributions to the EU budget and the UK discount for 2015

Source: *EU-Oplysningen*

Chapter 4

Opinion Polls

Ukraine · 178

Islamic State and the Terror Threat · 179

Refugees · 182

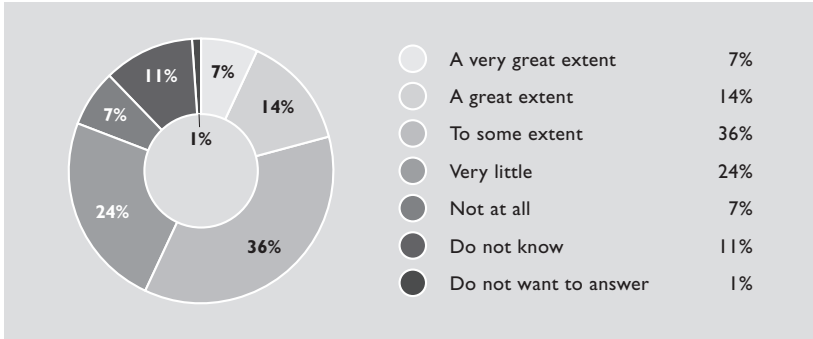
The EU · 185

Development Aid · 187

Global Warming · 189

Ukraine

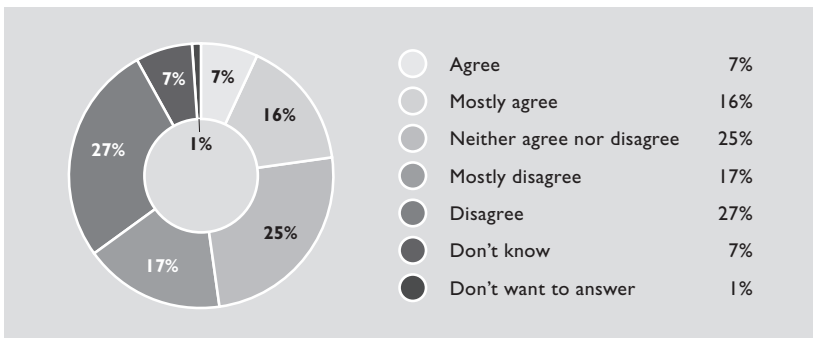
Question: To what degree do you think that the current conflict between Russia and the West is a new cold war?



Description: 1,030 answers from a representative selection of Danes above the age of 18. The poll was carried out online, addressing Epinion's "Danmarkspanel", from 28 November to 7 December 2014.

Source: *Epinion for DR, the Danish Broadcasting Corporation*

Question: How much do you agree with the following statement: "Denmark should raise its expenditures for defence as a consequence of the fighting in Ukraine and Russia's violations of other countries' airspace"

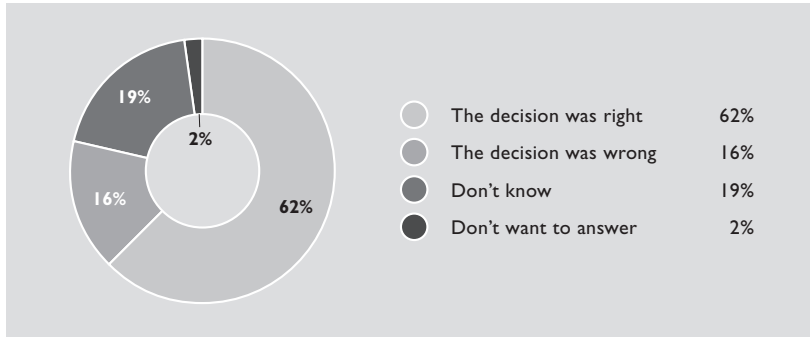


Description: 1,030 answers from a representative selection of Danes above the age of 18. The poll was carried out online, addressing Epinion's "Danmarkspanel", from 28 November to 7 December 2014.

Source: *Epinion for DR, the Danish Broadcasting Corporation*

Islamic State and the Terror Threat

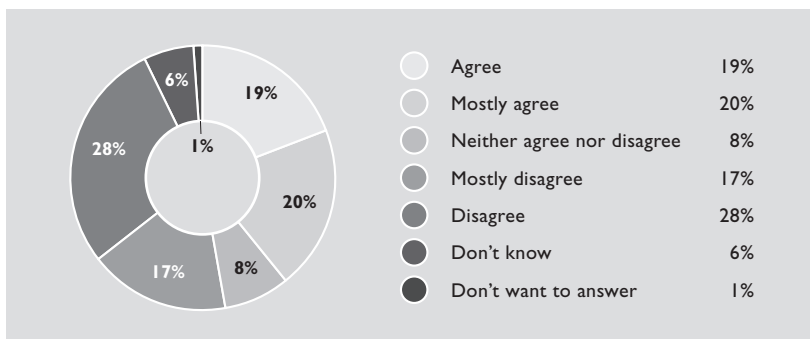
Question: Was the decision to send F 16 aircrafts to Iraq to join the fight against Islamic State right or wrong?



Description: 1,021 answers from a representative selection of Danes above the age of 18. The poll was carried out online, addressing Epinion's "Danmarkspanel", from 10 to 13 November 2014.

Source: *Epinion for DR, the Danish Broadcasting Corporation*

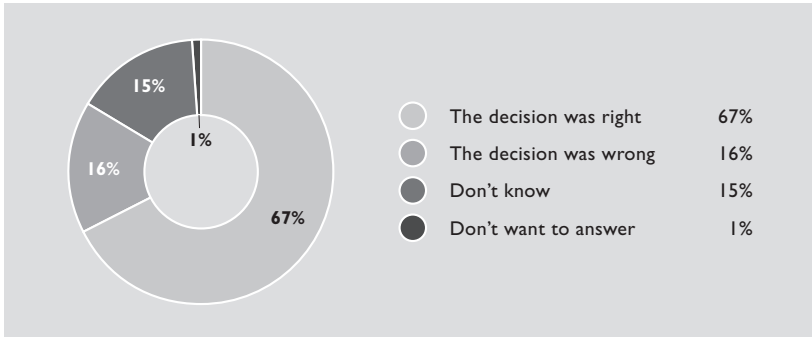
Question: How much do you agree with the following statement: Denmark should be prepared to send ground troops to join the fight against Islamic State if we are asked to do so?



Description: 1,284 answers from a representative selection of Danes above the age of 18. The poll was carried out online, addressing Epinion's "Danmarkspanel", from 23 and 29 September 2014.

Source: *Epinion for DR, the Danish Broadcasting Corporation*

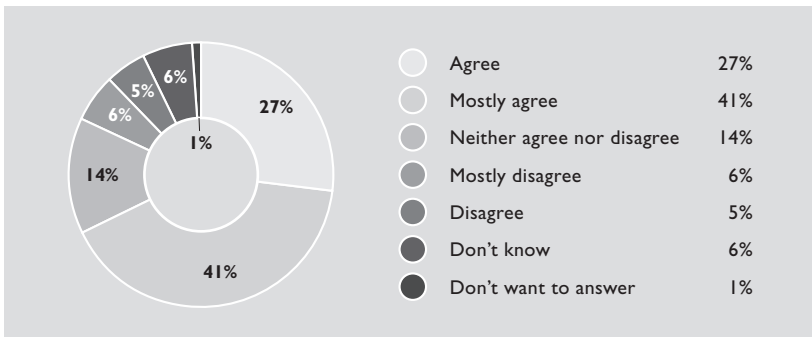
Question: Was the decision to send soldiers to Iraq to advise the Iraqis in the fight against Islamic state right or wrong?



Description: 1,284 answers from a representative selection of Danes above the age of 18. The poll was carried out online, addressing Epinion's "Danmarkspanel", from 23 and 29 September 2014.

Source: Epinion for DR, the Danish Broadcasting Corporation

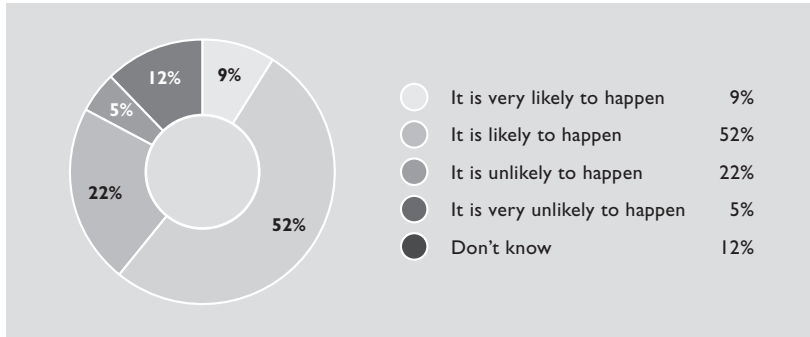
Question: How much do you agree with the following statement: Denmark's military action against Islamic State increases the risk of terror attacks in Denmark?



Description: 1,021 answers from a representative selection of Danes above the age of 18. The poll was carried out online, addressing Epinion's "Danmarkspanel", from 10 to 13 November 2014.

Source: Epinion for DR, the Danish Broadcasting Corporation

Question: How likely do you think it is that a terror attack will take place in Denmark within the next few years?

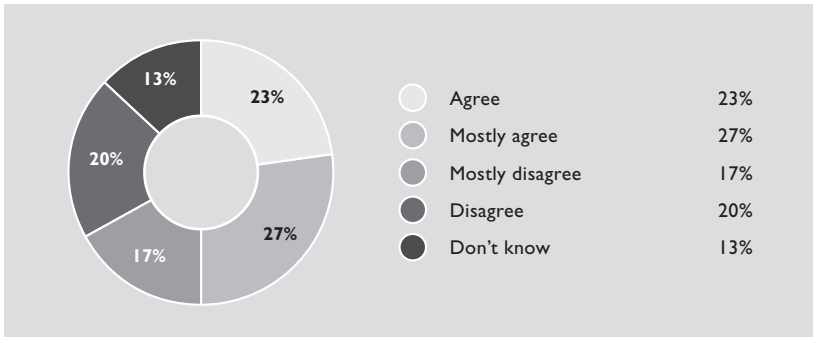


Description: Gallup's opinion poll was carried out between 25 and 29 September 2014, based on GallupForum online interviews with a representative selection of voters throughout Denmark (1,214 persons, 18 years old or above).

Source: © TNS Gallup for Berlingske

Refugees

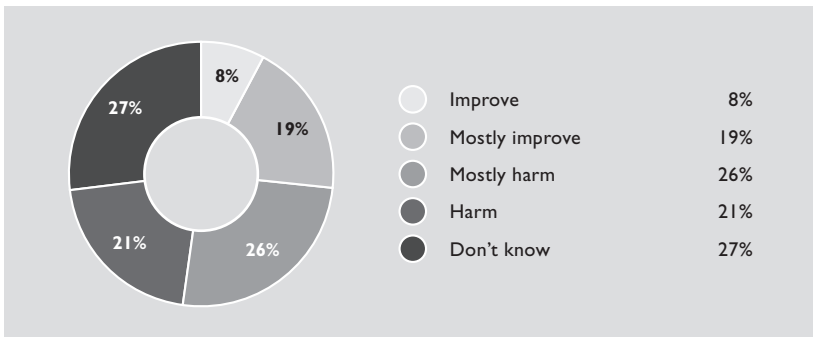
Question: Some political parties in Denmark suggest that refugees who have been given asylum in Denmark should be sent to camps financed by Denmark, for instance, in Africa. To what extent do you agree that this is a good idea?



Description: Gallup's opinion poll was carried out between on 9 October 2014, based on GallupForum online interviews with a representative selection of voters throughout Denmark (948 persons, 18 years old or above).

Source: © TNS Gallup for Berlingske

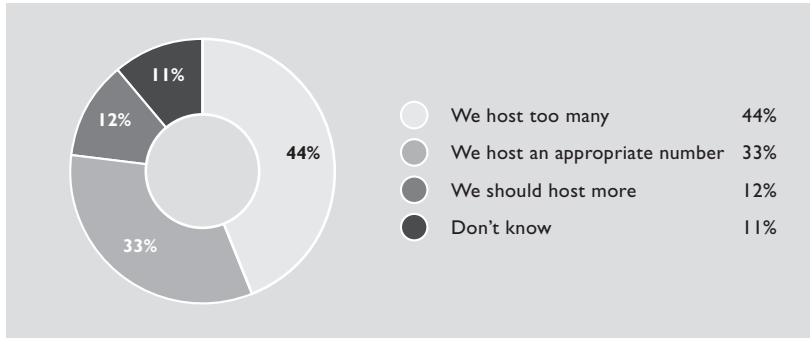
Question: Do you think it would harm or improve Denmark's reputation abroad if Danish asylum camps were to be established, for instance, in Africa?



Description: Gallup's opinion poll was carried out between on 9 October 2014, based on GallupForum online interviews with a representative selection of voters throughout Denmark (948 persons, 18 years old or above).

Source: © TNS Gallup for Berlingske

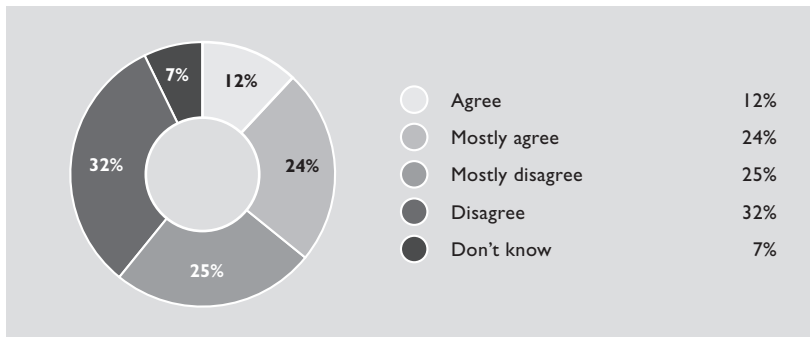
Question: Denmark had taken in approximately 13,000 asylum seekers by October 2014. Do you think that Denmark is hosting an appropriate number of refugees?



Description: Gallup's opinion poll was carried out between 2 and 4 December 2014, based on GallupForum online interviews with a representative selection of voters throughout Denmark (1,091 persons, 18 years old or above).

Source: © TNS Gallup for Berlingske

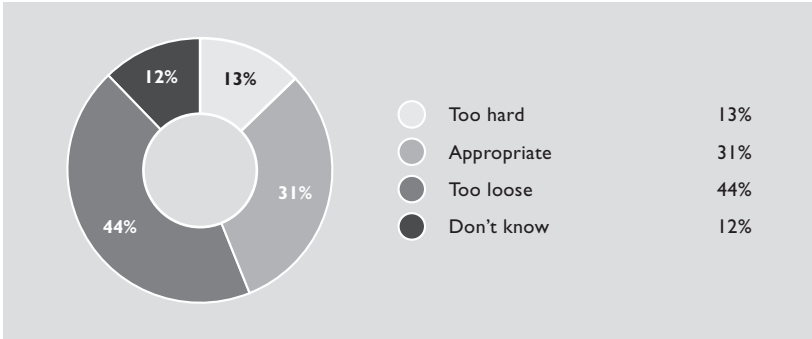
Question: The number of refugees in the world is increasing, partly because of the conflicts in Syria and Iraq. To what extent to you agree that Denmark should give residence to more refugees due to these conflicts?



Description: Gallup's opinion poll was carried out between on 9 October 2014, based on GallupForum online interviews with a representative selection of voters throughout Denmark (948 persons, 18 years old or above).

Source: © TNS Gallup for Berlingske

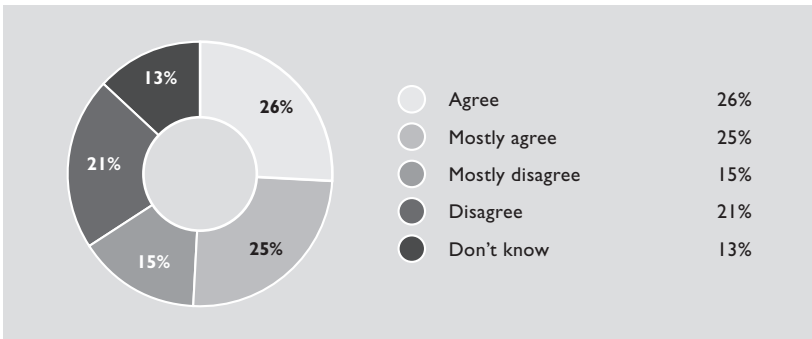
Question: Is the government's immigration policy too hard or too loose?



Description: Gallup's opinion poll was carried out between on 9 October 2014, based on GallupForum online interviews with a representative selection of voters throughout Denmark (948 persons, 18 years old or above).

Source: © TNS Gallup for Berlingske

Question: To what extent do you agree that the debate on refugees has become too hard in Denmark?

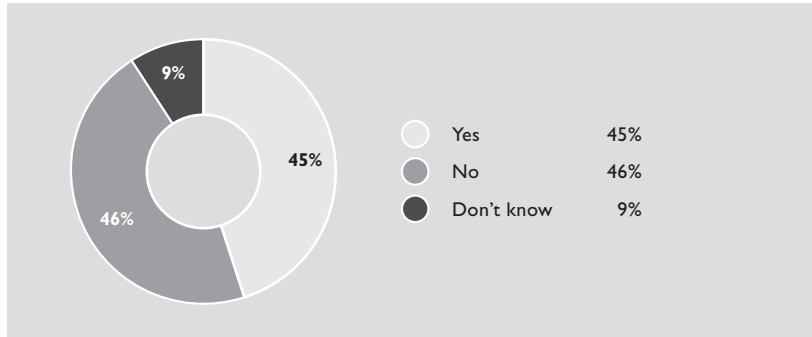


Description: Gallup's opinion poll was carried out between 2 and 4 December 2014, based on GallupForum online interviews with a representative selection of voters throughout Denmark (1,091 persons, 18 years old or above).

Source: © TNS Gallup for Berlingske

The EU

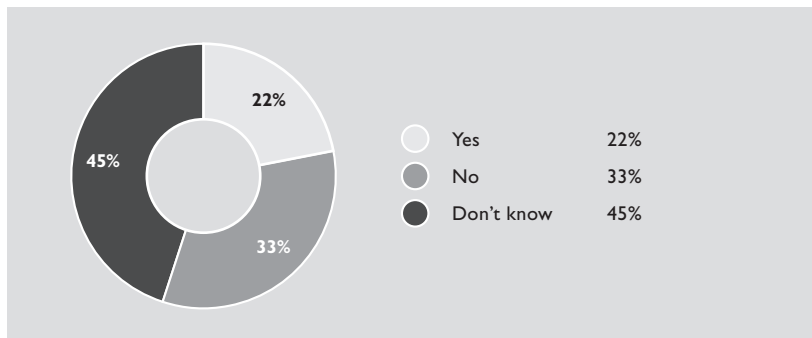
Question: Have you heard of the EU Banking Union?



Description: Gallup's opinion poll was carried out between 9 and 15 October, based on GallupForum online interviews with a representative selection of voters throughout Denmark (1,069 persons, 18 years old or above).

Source: © TNS Gallup for Berlingske

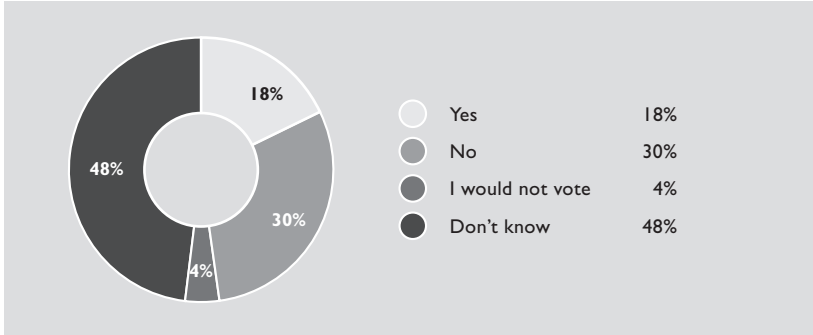
Question: From an overall perspective, do you think it would be an advantage for Denmark to join the EU Banking Union?



Description: Gallup's opinion poll was carried out between 9 and 15 October, based on GallupForum online interviews with a representative selection of voters throughout Denmark (1,069 persons, 18 years old or above).

Source: © TNS Gallup for Berlingske

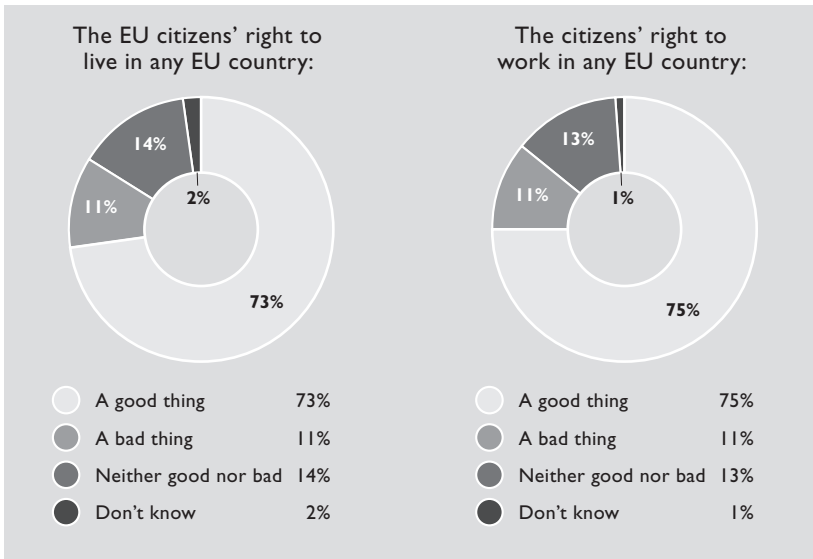
Question: Would you vote “yes” or “no” to Danish participation in the EU Banking Union if it came up for referendum tomorrow?



Description: Gallup's opinion poll was carried out between 9 and 15 October, based on GallupForum online interviews with a representative selection of voters throughout Denmark (1,069 persons, 18 years old or above).

Source: *TNS Gallup for Berlingske*

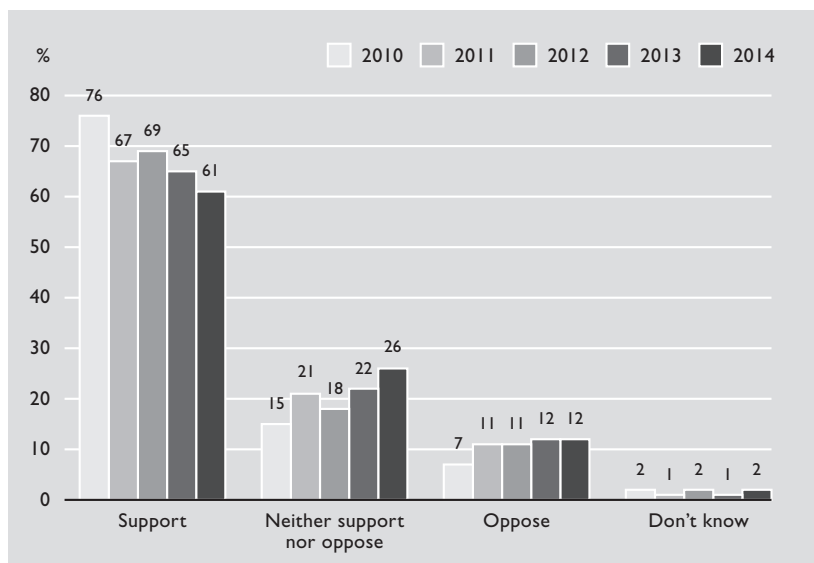
Free movement and immigration in the EU



Source: *Standard Eurobarometer 82/Efterår 2014 – TNS Opinion & Social*

Development Aid

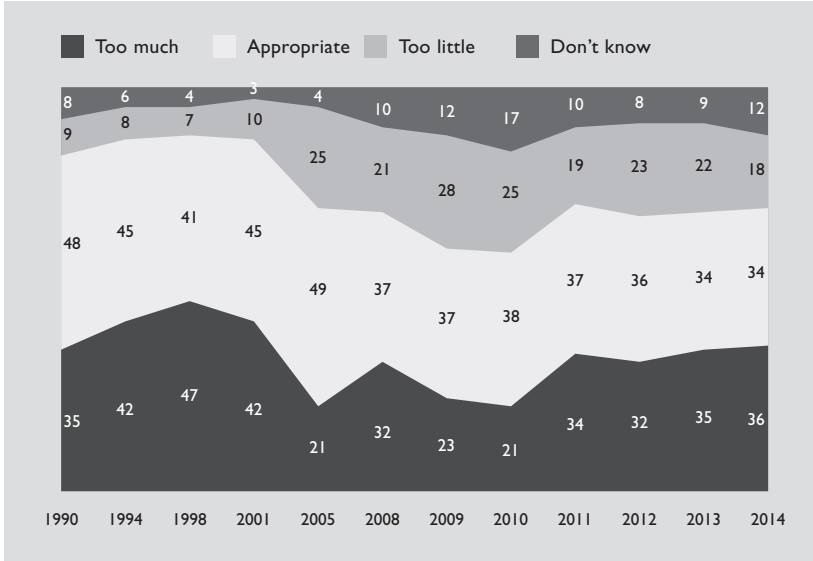
Question: Do you support or oppose Denmark giving development aid?



All figures are percentages

Source: *Wilke A/S for Danida: Danskernes holdning til forhold, der vedrører udviklingsbistanden.*

Question: Do you believe that the government spends too much, an appropriate amount or too little on development aid?

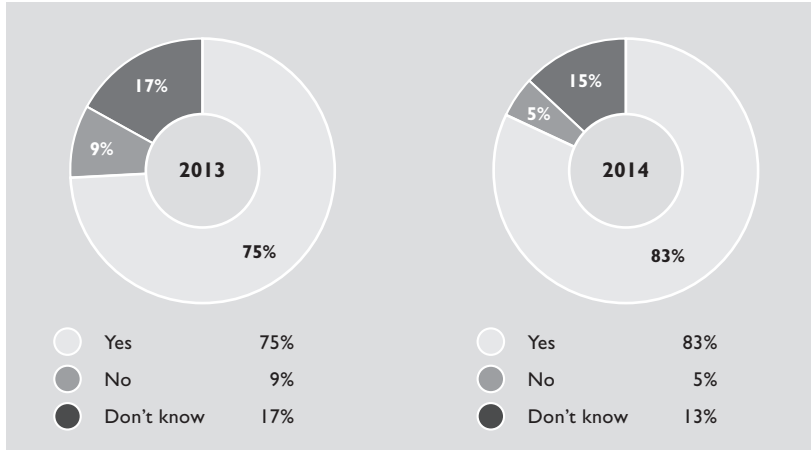


All figures are percentages

Source: *Wilke A/S for Danida: Danskernes holdning til forhold, der vedrører udviklingsbistanden*

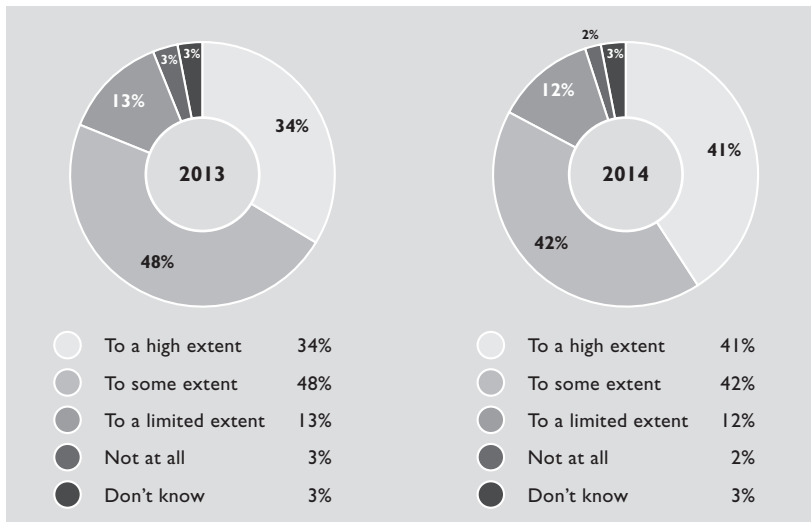
Global Warming

Question: Do you agree with the statement that the average temperature on Earth is rising?



Source: *Klimabarometret 2014, CONCITO*

Question: To what extent do you believe they are man-made?



Source: *Klimabarometret 2014, CONCITO*

Chapter 5

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