



# DANISH FOREIGN POLICY YEARBOOK 2017

EDITED BY KRISTIAN FISCHER AND HANS MOURITZEN

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DIIS · DANISH INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES



# DANISH FOREIGN POLICY YEARBOOK 2017

Edited by Kristian Fischer and Hans Mouritzen



DIIS

Danish Institute for International Studies 2017

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Printed in Denmark by Gullanders Bogtrykkeri a-s

ISBN (print): 978-87-7605-870-8  
ISBN (pdf): 978-87-7605-871-5  
ISSN: 1397-2480

DIIS publications can be downloaded free of charge or ordered from [www.diis.dk](http://www.diis.dk)

The full text of this book can also be found electronically in EBSCO Publishing's databases.

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# Preface

*Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook* addresses Danish foreign policy both regionally and globally. Apart from the articles by Denmark's foreign and defence ministers, this volume includes four academic articles, whose authors represent only themselves and their expertise (for details of each author, see the respective articles).

In his article, dr. phil. Per Stig Møller argues that Europe is going downwards in the current demographic cycle. Trade routes run parallel with demography, and in the future they will be moving to the east and south of Europe. Geostrategically, Europe is experiencing problems with a revanchist Russia, a highly volatile, possibly Islamist Middle East, and an Africa from which there will be significant growth in emigration to Europe. Not to mention that the EU has problems of its own.

The election of Donald Trump and Brexit both constitute radical breaks for the ways in which Denmark's action space is perceived. According to Mikkel Vedby Rasmussen, the result is three conflicting views of foreign policy, held respectively by nationalists, national liberals and cosmopolitans. The national liberal perspective currently dominates debates and policy, but since it is finding it difficult to formulate new policies, it might have problems in sustaining itself in the long run.

The term 'Greenland card' refers to Denmark's use of Greenland to improve its foreign policy position in Washington. Anders Henriksen and Jon Rahbek-Clemmensen discuss the barriers that inhibit Danish Arctic diplomacy, including too narrow a focus on contributing to American-led operations in the Middle East, mistrust between Denmark and Greenland, and the taboo that surrounds the Greenland Card itself.

According to Thomas Gammeltoft-Hansen, the Danish government is aiming to make asylum and protection conditions in Denmark as unattractive as possible, thereby indirectly pushing asylum-seekers towards other countries. Such 'negative nation branding' may be an effective strategy in reducing the numbers of asylum-seekers, but it is likely to create negative externalities by, for instance, making the country vulnerable to similar policy developments in neighbouring states, thus reducing the deterrent effect over time.

These articles are abstracted in both English and Danish at the outset of chapter one. After the articles follows a selection of official documents that are considered to be characteristic of Danish foreign policy during 2016. This is supplemented by essential statistics and by some of the most relevant polls on the attitudes of the Danes to key foreign policy questions. Finally, a bibliography provides a limited selection of scholarly books, articles and chapters published in English in 2016 in the field covered by the yearbook. *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook* has been edited by director Kristian Fischer and dr. scient. pol. Hans Mouritzen.

*The editors,  
DIIS, Copenhagen  
June 2017*

# Chapter I

## Articles

### Abstracts in English and Danish

#### Europe through a Crystal Ball

*Per Stig Møller*

This essay describes the problems facing Europe and the EU by looking back in history, and also by looking ahead. Its argument is that demography and world trade have a vital influence on which civilisations and nations that will succeed and which will fail. Demography has been described as the great cycle of history, and Europe is on the way down in this cycle. Trade routes run parallel with demography and have been to the western hemisphere's advantage for five hundred years. However, there is every indication that trade routes will move east and south of Europe. Geo-strategically, Europe has problems with a revanchist Russia, a highly volatile, possibly Islamist Middle East, and an Africa from which there will be an explosive growth in emigration to Europe. Furthermore, the EU has problems of its own. Can our democracies deal with these challenges that face us all?

*Essayet beskriver de problemer, Europa og EU står overfor ved at se både bagud og frem. Dets tese er, at demografien og verdenshandelens veje har en afgørende indflydelse på, hvilke civilisationer og nationer der går op, og hvilke der går ned. Demografien beskrives som "historiens store hjul", og i dette hjul er Europa på vej ned. Handelsruterne løber parallelt med demografien og har i 500 år været til den vestlige halvkugles fordel, men alt tyder på, at de i fremtiden bevæger sig øst og syd om Europa. Geostrategisk har Europa problemer med et revanchistisk Rusland, et brandfarligt muligvis islamistisk Mellemøsten og et Afrika, hvorfra en eksplosivt voksende emigration til Europa vil finde sted. Dertil kommer, at EU står i egne problemer. Kan vore demokratier håndtere alle disse udfordringer, der ligger foran os?*

## Nationalists, National Liberals and Cosmopolitans: Danish Foreign Policy Debates After Brexit and Trump

*Mikkel Vedby Rasmussen*

Danish foreign policy is no longer defined by the activism that set the agenda for the post-Cold War years. The election of Donald Trump and Brexit constitute radical breaks for the ways in which Denmark's action space is perceived. The result is three conflicting views of foreign policy held by nationalists, national liberals and cosmopolitans. For the nationalists the main task is to defend the integrity of the Danish people against a perceived onslaught from Islam. The national liberals, by contrast, share a government-to-government perspective, whereas for the cosmopolitans international relations are first and foremost relations between individuals in ways that transcend borders. The article describes the ideas that underpin these views and explains how they approach the notion of "disruption" in foreign policy in different ways. The national liberal perspective currently dominates debates and policy, but since this position has difficulties in formulating new policies, it might have problems in sustaining itself in the long run.

*Dansk udenrigspolitik er ikke længere defineret af aktivismen. Efter valget af Donald Trump og Brexit opfattes Danmarks internationale handlerum anderledes. Aktivisme er således erstattet af tre modstridende synspunkter på udenrigspolitik, fremført af henholdsvis nationalister, nationalliberale og kosmopolitter. Det nationalistiske perspektiv på dansk udenrigspolitik tager udgangspunkt i synspunktet, at den vigtigste opgave er at forsvare det danske folk mod, hvad der opfattes som stormløbet fra islam. De nationalliberale ser derimod udenrigspolitik som en relation mellem regeringer. For kosmopolitter er internationale relationer først og fremmest forholdet mellem individer på tværs af nationale grænser. Artiklen analyserer de ideer, der ligger til grund for disse synspunkter og forklarer, hvordan de opfatter begrebet "disruption" i udenrigspolitikken på forskellige måder. Det nationalliberale perspektiv er i øjeblikket dominerende i debatter og politik, men denne position har vanskeligt ved at formulere nye politikker og dermed ved at opretholde sig selv i det lange løb.*

## The Greenland Card: The Prospects for and Barriers to Danish Arctic Diplomacy in Washington

*Anders Henriksen and Jon Rabbek-Clemmensen*

This article examines how Denmark might use Greenland to influence the policies of the United States, based on interviews with Danish, Greenlandic, and American civil servants, politicians, and experts. Greenland is still important to the United States, but not as important as during the Cold War. Thus, the value of the Greenland Card is fairly limited. However, if the US-Russia relationship deteriorates, its value is likely to increase. Greenland and the Arctic therefore constitute an important policy area, which Denmark could use to diversify its relationship with the United States. However, several barriers inhibit Danish Arctic diplomacy, including a too narrow focus on contributions to American led operations in the Middle East, mistrust between Denmark and Greenland and the taboo that surrounds the Greenland Card. The article finally makes recommendations as to how these barriers might be reduced.

*Denne artikel ser nærmere på Grønlands betydning for Danmarks påvirkningsmuligheder i forhold til USA, baseret på interviews med danske, grønlandske og amerikanske embedsmænd, politikere og eksperter. Grønland spiller fortsat en vigtig rolle for USA, men ikke så stor som under den Kolde Krig. Grønlandskortets værdi er derfor i øjeblikket relativt begrænset. Hvis det amerikansk-russiske forhold imidlertid forværres, vil værdien af kortet atter øges. Grønland og Arktis udgør derfor et vigtigt område, der med fordel kan opprioriteres for derved at få flere strenge at spille på i forholdet til USA. En række barrierer vanskeliggør dog dansk Arktisdiplomati, herunder et for snævert fokus på deltagelse i amerikansk-ledede stabiliseringsoperationer i Mellemøsten, en udpræget mistillid mellem Danmark og Grønland internt i Rigsfællesskabet og det tabu, der omgiver Grønlandskortet. Artiklen slutter med anbefalinger til, hvordan disse barrierer kan mindskes.*

## Refugee policy as 'negative nation branding': the case of Denmark and the Nordics

*Thomas Gammeltoft-Hansen*

Once a liberal frontrunner, Denmark today maintains a self-declared hard-line approach to refugees. In contrast to other deterrence measures blocking access to asylum per se, the bulk of Denmark's restrictions on asylum-seeking aim to make asylum and protection conditions in Denmark as unattractive as possible, thereby indirectly pushing asylum-seekers towards other countries. This article conceptualizes such indirect deterrence policies in Europe as a form of "negative nation branding". In order to achieve the deterrent effect of these policies, states are, on the one hand, prompted to advertise new restrictions actively both in public discourse and through targeted campaigns towards migrants and refugees. On the other hand, this kind of branding is likely to prompt critical responses among wider audiences both internationally and domestically. Contrary to the majority of existing scholarship, the Danish case suggests that, at least under some circumstances, indirect deterrence may be an effective strategy in reducing the numbers of asylum-seekers arriving in a country. At the same time, however, indirect deterrence is likely to create a number of negative externalities, and the beggar-thy-neighbour dynamics upon which these policies are premised make individual countries vulnerable to similar policy developments in neighbouring states, thus reducing, or even reversing, the deterrent effect over time.

*Danmark, engang et liberalt foregangsland, har foretaget en gradvis, men markant kovending i flygtninge- og udlændingepolitikken. Modsat de "hårde" kontrolmekanismer, der i dag gennemføres langs EU's ydre grænser, har de mange danske stramninger de seneste år primært fokuseret på at få de danske asyl- og beskyttelsesforhold til at fremstå så uattraktive som muligt i håb om at få potentielle asylansøgere til at styre udenom Danmark. Artiklen begrebsliggør sådanne indirekte afskrækkelsespolitikker i Europa som en form for "negativ nation branding". For at opnå den ønskede effekt forsøger stater som Danmark i stigende grad at promovere den hårde linje i offentligheden og gennem målrettede kampagner rettet til migrant- og flygtningegrupper. Samtidig skaber denne form for branding grobund for stærke reaktioner både internationalt og i den nationale debat. Modsat hovedparten af den eksisterende forskning peger den danske case på, at sådanne tiltag godt kan reducere antallet af asylansøgere, et land modtager. Omvendt har denne form for politik en række indirekte omkostninger, og afskrækkelseffekten risikerer at blive udhulet over tid, hvis omkringliggende lande gennemfører tilsvarende tiltag.*

# The International Situation and Danish Foreign Policy in 2016

*Anders Samuelsen, Minister for Foreign Affairs*

## 2016, the year of disruption

In 2016, the shock came from within. We were disrupted. Anti-globalisation and anti-establishment movements surged. The world saw a very vocal opposition to otherwise widely supported concepts, such as international trade. The contours had been visible for a while, but in 2016 it came together in what sometimes felt like a challenge to international cooperation. At the same time, heinous terrorist attacks made us feel unsafe and insecure. And many felt a profound concern that the large numbers of refugees and migrants seeking a future in our countries would challenge our welfare systems and the cohesion of our societies.

The United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union. The very Union which has been the framework for peaceful European co-existence and growth for 60 years. And in the United States, Donald Trump was elected president on promises of substantial changes, also in the foreign policy of the United States. The message of “America first” resounded around the world as an omen of a new world order where American leadership and engagement might take a different shape. Similar movements were seen elsewhere challenging the classic political parties and questioning whether globalisation would in fact bring peace and prosperity or whether it was something that should be stopped or avoided.

In the middle of all this, crisis continued in Europe’s neighbourhood and beyond. While 2016 saw good progress in the fight against Da’esh on the ground in Syria and Iraq, the humanitarian catastrophe in Syria deepened. Russia’s entry on the battlefield along with long-standing Iranian support strengthened the regime and seemed to cast even longer shadows on the prospects for a long-term political solution. Russia continued to be a difficult

neighbour with little, if any, progress in the efforts to find a political solution in Ukraine and adverse engagement in the wider Middle East region. Conflict also continued in Libya and Yemen where efforts towards finding a sustainable political solution seemed to go nowhere. Also the situation in Afghanistan remained challenged by a fragile security situation and economic and humanitarian difficulties. Combined with general instability, poverty and a lack of possibilities in the region and in Africa, large streams of migrants continued to seek a future in Europe.

Denmark must be ready to face the challenges of this difficult international setting and welcome its opportunities. Change will come. It will bring surprises and it will come fast. In 2016, Ambassador Taksøe-Jensen presented his strategic review of Denmark's foreign and security policy, which pointed towards a more interested-based, integrated and focused approach. The Danish Government also prepared a new strategy for Denmark's policy and humanitarian action based on Agenda 2030 and the 17 Sustainable Development Goals, which was approved by a broad parliamentary majority in early 2017. As a follow-up on the strategic review, the Danish Government will launch a foreign and security policy strategy in 2017. The strategy will be the first ever comprehensive foreign and security policy strategy for Denmark.

## A challenged European Union and a challenged European security order

The result of the referendum in the United Kingdom where the British population voted to leave the European Union came as a surprise – even a shock – to most in Europe and abroad. Cooperation within the European Union has created a huge internal market and unprecedented close cooperation and integration. It has brought peace and prosperity for years or even decades. For the first time, a country wanted to leave the Union. Brexit has not only presented us with a set of difficult questions in relation to the up-coming “divorce” and the future relations between the EU and the UK – which due to history, geography and a common outlook on many issues must continue to be close – but also presented us with a fundamental set of questions about who we are as members of the European Union and what the European Union should be in the future. The 60th Anniversary of the Rome Treaty will be an important opportunity for stock-taking and strategic outlook. And European cooperation is still very much part of the answer to current chal-

lenges. The European countries are not able to solve the migration crisis on their own. Nor are they able to combat terrorism effectively or negotiate free trade agreements with some of the world's biggest economies. In a globalised world in the midst of the fourth industrialisation wave, the European countries will only prosper and succeed if we tackle the cross-border issues in concert.

Meanwhile, the European Union continues to seek solutions to the many issues confronting Europe. We have come a long way since 2015. More than *1 million irregular migrants and asylum seekers* came to Europe. Despite the substantial decrease in 2016, the challenge of irregular migration continues to be a matter of the utmost urgency, since the numbers remain far too high. As a consequence of the EU-Turkey agreement and the closure of the Western Balkan route, we saw a significant decrease in the number of arrivals along the Eastern Mediterranean route. In the same period, however, irregular migrants increasingly arrived along the Central Mediterranean route via primarily Libya. The migration trends in 2016 demonstrated the need for decisive action through a comprehensive approach. We must secure the external borders of the EU and look at ways to destroy the business model of human smugglers. At the same time, we must address the root causes of migration, in particular poverty, lack of opportunities and rights, population growth and conflict, while also helping countries of transit to improve migration management and the protection of migrants.

In 2016, Europe saw and adapted to a *challenging European security order* where external and internal threats were closely interlinked and where threats to our security played out in different arenas and with a somewhat different set of actors than before. 2016 saw heinous *terrorist attacks* in several European cities. Many of the attacks were executed by so-called lone wolves and conducted with low-technological means, such as trucks. And many were fuelled by the extremist ideology and brand of Da'esh, which has brought renewed energy to an ideology that inspires extremists from Afghanistan in the East to the Sahel region in the West, as well as in Europe. In the previous years, a significant number of Danes and Europeans had left to join the so-called caliphate in Iraq and Syria, thus joining a fight against everything that Europe stands for. With social media as an arena for propaganda and radicalisation, the ideology can spread the idea of the caliphate even when Da'esh is defeated physically on the ground. Military efforts cannot stand alone against today's terrorists and are not sufficient to destroy the ideology or address the broader factors behind the rise of terrorism. In light of this, a comprehensive approach with broad support is needed in order to prevent the next Da'esh from emerging.

Likewise, the assertive behaviour of Russia prompted a renewed focus on defence and security cooperation. Within *NATO*, there was an agreement to further enhance the Alliance's deterrence, including a decision to deploy an enhanced forward presence consisting of four battalions in Poland and the three Baltic States. In an effort to jointly address the tense security situation, NATO and the EU agreed to enhance their cooperation with a particular focus on countering hybrid and cyber threats. NATO member countries also agreed to enhance its focus on its southern borders to support global efforts to curb terrorism and illegal migration. Denmark supported these efforts and plans to contribute to NATO's enhanced forward presence in Estonia in the British framework with up to 200 soldiers. To further bolster NATO's deterrence profile, Denmark will be contributing substantially to NATO's Very High Readiness Joint Task Force and its Standing Maritime Force in 2017 and 2018.

The increased focus on security was also reflected in the *EU's Global Strategy*, which was launched in June 2016 and focused on the EU's possibilities for contributing to the security of European citizens. In a sense, it is natural that the changing security environment has led to an increased ambition to refine and make better use of the EU's security and defense tool box. The European Commission has also suggested a new European Defence Action Plan which seeks to establish better conditions for European defence industry. Among the initiatives suggested are mechanisms for Member States to join forces in the development of defence capabilities which the Member States do not have the resources to develop on their own. Since the majority of the EU Member States are also NATO members, such developments will benefit NATO, since Member States will be able to acquire military equipment at lower cost. Operationally, the EU and NATO have also intensified their cooperation during 2016. Based on the joint declaration between the EU and NATO from the NATO Warsaw summit in the summer of 2016, the EU and NATO have agreed to take forward practical cooperation in 42 different areas. Both NATO and the EU play important roles when it comes to ensuring the security, safety and defence of Europe against an increasingly complex landscape of threats, including hybrid warfare, cyber threats, irregular migration, terrorism and radicalisation. In line with the defence opt-out, Denmark will not participate in the EU initiatives which serve a military purpose, but we support an increased defence capacity in Europe, increased EU-NATO cooperation and a continued strong EU engagement in civilian crisis management.

The new security environment emerged against very strong signals from

the *United States*, declaring that Europe will have to take more responsibility for European security. It was therefore no surprise that security once again made it to the front pages in Europe and prompted many countries to consider their response to the security issue. Reactions led to increased focus on defence spending, efforts to better combine soft and hard power as well as internal and external actors and instruments. In Denmark, the Danish Government will among other things deal with the new security environment by pushing for a substantial increase in Denmark's defence spending in the upcoming negotiations on a new Danish Defence Agreement.

## Our neighbourhood – deep crisis and serious consequences for Europe

The conflict in *Syria* is the most serious and complex challenge in recent times with a simultaneous fight against an oppressive regime and a violent group of extremists, Da'esh. Denmark has been a significant member of the Global Coalition against Da'esh since its very outset, contributing to all five lines of effort. In terms of military deployment, Denmark has deployed a number of capacities ranging from fighter jets, special operation forces, a mobile surveillance radar as well as capacity building personnel. Based on population size, Denmark is one of the largest troop contributors to the Global Coalition.

Russia's military intervention in *Syria* strengthened the regime and changed the dynamic of the conflict. Many state and non-state regional actors were also engaged in the conflict, testifying to a complicated web of alliances, interests and governmental and non-governmental actors in the region, which has brought the conflict to an unprecedented level of complexity with international efforts under the auspices of the UN struggling to keep up. The conflict has caused vast streams of *refugees*. Many refugees headed towards Europe, but most stayed in the neighbouring countries placing an already fragile region under immense pressure with the risks of increasing social, cultural, political and economic tensions between refugees and local communities. The countries in the region, e.g. Lebanon, Turkey and Jordan, shouldered a great responsibility for the many refugees as did Iraq while also itself affected by internal conflict and displacement. On this background, Denmark continued to support the humanitarian efforts in the region with the highest contribution up to now.

With the political and institutional crisis in *Libya* and the very difficult security environment, Libya has become the main gateway for growing numbers of irregular migrants and refugees making their way to Europe across the Central Mediterranean. Simultaneously, the EU will have to address the on-going migration challenge, while actively supporting efforts to find a long-term political solution under the auspices of the UN, which can pave the way for the development of a stable and prosperous Libya. Crisis continued in Yemen with a severe deterioration of the humanitarian situation and no tangible progress in the UN-led negotiations. On the *Middle East Peace Process*, the international community sought to reaffirm the basic principles of the two-state solution in the UN Security Council resolution 2234 adopted in the very last days of 2016.

*Turkey*, a country of high strategic importance to Europe on a number of issues, including the fight against Da'esh, also became an essential partner in the handling of the migration crisis. Internally, a coup d'état was averted in July 2016. Surprise and shock reverberated in Turkey and beyond over an attempted military coup in an aspiring EU Member State. There is no question that perpetrators should be brought to justice, but the aftermath also caused great concern. The widespread view that the authorities' reactions had become disproportionate and in disregard for legal principles of fair trial and rule of law led to concerns about whether the circumstances were being used as a pretext to further tighten the space for political freedom, freedom of the press, civil society, and the voices of the opposition. The many terrorist attacks aggravated the tense and strained situation.

The *illegal annexation of Crimea* by Russia as well as Russian aggression and backing of separatists in Eastern Ukraine continued to challenge the fundamental principles of self-determination and international law. Despite continued efforts of mediation made by France and Germany within the Normandy-format and by the OSCE in the Trilateral Contact Group, hardly any progress could be registered in the Minsk process for a solution to the conflict in Ukraine. As a consequence, EU sanctions against Russia remained in place. Meanwhile, the international community – in particular the EU and its Member States – continued both to push for and to support reforms in *Ukraine*. Denmark continued its strong support for Ukrainian reform efforts both bilaterally and through the EU focusing on areas such as anti-corruption, decentralisation, good governance, energy efficiency, civil society and media. Good progress was achieved on two important issues in relations between the EU and Ukraine – visa liberalisation and ratification of the EU/Ukraine association agreement – increasing the likelihood of both

issues being finally settled. A stable, prosperous and democratic Ukraine is in the interest of the Ukrainian people and the wider Europe and is also the best response to Russian aggression.

## Opportunities, challenges and international cooperation

Climate change creates new economic opportunities in the *Arctic*, including possibilities for more efficient maritime transport routes and the extraction of raw materials. But these new opportunities come with new challenges: A need for strengthening our cooperation around Search and Rescue, stepping up environmental monitoring and sustainable regulation of fisheries as fish species move to the north and the Arctic Ocean opens for commercial exploitation. A changing Arctic also implies new security challenges. The five Arctic coastal states strongly support the Ilulissat Declaration of 2008, which remains an important tool for maintaining the Arctic as a low-tension region. At the same time, we have to monitor the developments in the region closely, not least in relation to Russia, which – like the other Arctic states – has increased its military presence in the Arctic in recent years, e.g. to resolve a number of civil-related tasks related to increased economic activity. The Arctic Council is and should remain the primary international forum for Arctic issues. Since its establishment in 1996, the Arctic Council has contributed significantly to maintaining the Arctic as a zone of cooperation.

The significant shift towards *Asia* in relative power distribution has been a defining feature of international politics in recent decades. China is increasingly involved in international affairs and during the past year increasingly appeared as a great power that sets strong regional and global agendas. Being a key beneficiary itself for four decades, China is positioning itself as a leading proponent of the merits of globalisation and free trade to sustain economic stability and growth, and a key actor to implement the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the Paris Agreement on climate change. Regionally, China is key to finding a way forward towards a denuclearised *Korean Peninsula*. This issue seems more pressing than ever after a year in which the North Korean regime repeatedly violated the country's international obligations not to produce or test nuclear weapons. Regional disputes related to both the *South and East China Seas* also call for peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with international law. *India* has re-

mained the fastest growing G20 economy and demonstrated its increasingly important role in international politics and economy. It is widely believed that China will be the world's largest economy in 2025. In 2030, India is expected to come in third after China and the United States.

Emerging economies in Asia, Latin America and Africa have achieved greater economic and political weight and naturally seek increased influence on international cooperation and international values. Both political and economic cooperation with these countries will become more important, as will building alliances and engaging on joint values such as women's equality and free trade. It will provide challenges but also great opportunities for those who know how to establish partnerships and make use of new openings for cooperation. During the past year, Denmark's active engagement in Asia, Latin America, the Middle East and Africa increasingly combined traditional diplomacy with innovative and dynamic concepts of broad government to government cooperation, including strategic sector cooperation between government agencies, thereby creating "win-win-win scenarios" and new synergies for Denmark in political, commercial and intercultural fields.

The development in *Africa* will continue to affect Europe. Substantial population growth means that very large generations of young people are now looking for jobs and empowerment. This means great opportunities for expanding the African economy, but also entails challenges if they do not have positive perspectives for the future. If the young are deprived of political and economic inclusion, they risk putting already poor and challenged countries under further stress and may choose to migrate towards Europe in search of better opportunities. The African countries span prosperity and progress as well as poverty and conflict. Parts of the continent are ridden by poverty and challenged by poor governance, conflict and climate change. The conflicts in Africa are increasingly regional and compounded by external influences. Efforts to help bring a more positive development to Africa must continue. Denmark has focused its engagement in both the Horn of Africa and the Sahel region focusing on democracy, human rights, good governance, development of the private sector as well as gender equality and stabilisation. In addition, Denmark supports the development of regional security structures and cooperation. Leaving the challenges aside, it should also be remembered that Africa represents an enormous untapped potential with a growing middle class and high economic growth in a number of countries. Returns are high for those who take on the risk of investing in the continent, but Danish companies are lagging behind our neighbouring countries in exploiting the African markets. Furthermore, many of the solutions – such

as Mobilepay – which we now benefit from in Europe, are based on African inventions. A former war-torn country like Rwanda is today taking the lead on the continent in using drone technology to support health care delivery. The imagination and entrepreneurship of the young in Africa should be unleashed, to enable them to create a better future for themselves, their families and their countries.

Isolationist tendencies and anti-globalisation had an influence on international cooperation, which nevertheless continued under the auspices of the *UN* and other international and regional organisations. Where 2015 saw important international agreements such as the *Paris Agreement on Climate Change*, the new consensus on the *UN's Sustainable Development Goals*, and the *Addis Ababa agreement* on financing for development, 2016 oversaw the first important steps of implementation. These agreements are strong testaments to the continued relevance of multilateralism and international cooperation and give cause for optimism. But we cannot take the commitment to multilateralism for granted. Through determined collective efforts we must strengthen and make the multilateral system more effective, including the *UN*, by promoting and undertaking much needed reforms. We need a *UN* system that is fit to support countries in the realisation of the Sustainable Development Goals through flexible, effective and efficient solutions.

The new Danish strategy for development policy and humanitarian action is an important step, which will guide Denmark's development engagements the next five years. With the Sustainable Development Goals as the platform, Denmark will foster multi-stakeholder partnerships and use development cooperation in new ways to catalyse financing and expertise for sustainable development. In 2017, we will furthermore launch an action plan for Denmark's follow-up to the 17 Sustainable Development Goals – effectively placing Denmark in the forefront of the international efforts to turn the 2030 vision into reality.

Recently, *free trade* and the broader question of economic globalisation have become the target of much public attention. In 2016, otherwise hardly noticed and complicated trade negotiations and their enigmatic abbreviations – CETA, TTIP and TPP – became household conversation topics. Demonstrations and petitions against trade agreements with Canada and the US were frequent sight in some EU cities. And in the US, the presidential election campaign and President Trump's subsequent decision to withdraw the US from the Trans-Pacific trade agreement, TPP, has sparked fear that we could be entering an era of increased protectionism and economic nationalism.

Let us go back a moment and consider how free trade has changed the world we live in today. Free trade has been a tireless engine of growth for the economies which dared to open themselves to its opportunities. It has pulled millions and millions of people across the globe out of poverty, brought better jobs, and propelled technological advances throughout the world to the benefit of ordinary people. We reap the benefits of free trade every single day – whether we realise it or not. The EU's single market is a great example of how successfully free trade can unleash economic potential, spark innovation, lower prices and add consumer choice. Free trade agreements provide the same benefits. The EU has an ambitious trade agenda. If we are successful, we will be able to shape the rules of tomorrow's trade. If, on the other hand, we choose to step back, others will write the rule book instead. Others who may not hold the same vision for free and fair trade, workers' rights, food safety or environmental protection as we do. The EU's free trade agreement with Canada, CETA, signed in October 2016, is a case in point. Despite a very complicated approval process, this state-of-the-art agreement will now benefit companies, consumers and workers alike.

It would have devastating consequences if the early signs of protectionism we saw in 2016 were to get a true foothold in Europe, the US or elsewhere. If citizens were to be convinced – against all available evidence – that building protectionist walls is more effective than tearing them down, we all stand to lose. Protectionist policies may provide some fleeting sense of relief for those who may feel strained by globalisation, but in the longer term such policies will only serve to hurt that very spirit of innovation and competitiveness that has created jobs, generated wealth and driven forward our societies for decades. Let us not allow that to happen.

## Closing remarks – globalisation for all

So where does all this put us? On the one hand, we must listen to our citizens and take their concerns seriously. Nothing is hardly ever black or white, nor is globalisation. In my view, the benefits of globalisation outweigh the negative consequences, but it is important to acknowledge that some have experienced negative consequences. We, as politicians, must take this seriously and help find solutions for those who struggle – regardless of the cause.

As a small, open and advanced economy, the advancement of Danish society, democracy and not least our economy has been closely linked with the process of globalisation. And if we are ready to seize the opportunities, while countering the challenges, globalisation will continue to present us with enormous opportunities. Conversely, when the pillars of international cooperation are questioned, we stand to lose.

Nationally as well as internationally, we must make use of the opportunities for economic growth, education and spread of the ideas that globalisation represents, such as democracy and human rights. The perspectives are stunning – from nice and practical things such as driverless cars to the mind-boggling thoughts of where artificial intelligence – much higher than that of any single person – can bring us. To keep ahead of the curve, Denmark is appointing a technology Ambassador. Because one thing is for sure: The future will come fast and we need to be ready. There are people seeking to exploit the new opportunities for harmful purposes. We have already seen how Da'esh has recruited and grown via social media and how democratic elections have been challenged from afar. Much of the future will not be in our hands, but we must get on board and ensure that globalisation will bring a positive development to as many people as possible. For this to happen, we need to get out of our comfort zone and disrupt in our thinking and habits.

It is in times of crisis and change that we find out who we are. Denmark is founded on liberal democratic values, human rights and a history of engaging and trading with the world. We believe in a rule-based international order where decisions are made around a negotiating table. We believe in peace, freedom and free trade and we will continue to engage accordingly.



# Denmark in a rapidly changing security environment

*Claus Hjort Frederiksen, Minister of Defence*

2016 was yet another year marked by complex threats and difficult security challenges: Russia in the east, the continued fight against ISIL in the south, terrorism and cyber warfare.

These examples constitute elements of an increasingly uncertain and unpredictable security environment. A setting, that continues to pose new and demanding challenges and tasks, also for the Danish Defence.

Denmark is centrally placed in two important geo-political regions: The Arctic and the Baltic Sea. Overall, the developments in those two regions, combined with challenges from further afield during 2016, underline the continued need for an active Danish profile and engagement in NATO's collective security measures, international operations and stabilisation efforts.

## **NATO remains the corner stone of Danish security policy**

NATO remains the corner stone of Danish security policy. The Danish Government is committed to maintaining Denmark's status as a core country in the Alliance and to remain a reliable, responsible and active NATO Ally. It is important that the new Trump-administration has reconfirmed the significance of transatlantic relations and NATO.

In 2016, we accomplished the first element of the pledge from Wales in 2014, namely to halt the decline in defence expenditure. Moreover, in 2016 there was an increase in Danish defence spending in comparison to previous years.

Additionally, in 2016 the new Government announced that it intends to increase defence spending substantially in the coming multi-year defence agreement 2018-2022. Nationally, political negotiations will take place in 2017 with the aim of achieving this goal and contribute to the collective security of the Alliance.

Looking ahead, we need to further strengthen and develop military capabilities that are flexible and applicable to the full spectrum of tasks that our armed forces may encounter. Moving forward, we also aim to reorient and widen the scope of our defence policy to focus even stronger on collective defence in a NATO framework.

Yet, spending is not just about money. It is also getting about getting your money's worth. Therefore, we are constantly striving to keeping costs low and reducing overheads.

In 2016, Denmark continued to contribute substantially to international operations. In fact, more than 70% of Danish armed forces and capacities can be deployed internationally.

The decision in 2016 to replace our ageing F-16 fleet with F-35s will improve our ability to protect Denmark and our interests. The purchase ensures that Denmark, also in future, can uphold and enforce Danish sovereignty, and remain a committed and able Ally.

In short, Denmark stands by our commitments, and we take action and will continue to do so.

### **Security challenges from the east – Russia and the Security in the Baltic Sea area**

Russia's actions have been of concern since the illegal annexation of Crimea in the Ukraine in 2014. Russia's aggressive behaviour along its western borders, the modernisation and build up of military forces in Western Russia, snap exercises and deployment of advanced missile systems to Kaliningrad in 2016, have further added to uncertainty and concern. Such behaviour increases the risk of misperception or miscalculation that in turn may increase the risk of dangerous incidents.

A stable, rule-based European security architecture and transparency in the Baltic Sea region and elsewhere, is a core Danish interest. We will work closely with our neighbours around the Baltic Sea and our allies in NATO to address our security concerns in a well-coordinated and effective manner.

In response to Russia's increasingly threatening behaviour, NATO member states decided at the Summit in Warsaw in July 2016, to further bolster the NATO assurance measures already in place by establishing a military "enhanced Forward Presence" (eFP) in Poland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

The initiative serves as a means to enhance NATO's deterrent and defence posture on its north-eastern periphery.

In essence, the eFP will establish a multinational battle group to be employed in each of the four countries, and will conduct training and exercises together with national defence forces. Subject to parliamentary approval, the Danish Government plans to deploy a fully mechanized company comprising of up to 200 troops in support of the eFP in Estonia as part of the British framework in 2018.

We also deliver robustly in other ways. In 2016, approximately 4,300 Danish troops participated in NATO exercises in Eastern Europe in support of the Readiness Action Plan, and in 2017 more than 1,000 Danish troops will be dedicated to the enhanced NATO Response Forces on very high readiness (VJTF).

## The Arctic

It is a priority for Denmark to maintain the dialogue and co-operation with all countries, including Russia, on Arctic matters in respect of the Ilulissat Declaration and to ensure the Arctic as a region of low tension. It is our hope and expectation that Russia will continue its dialogue and collaboration with the other Arctic countries especially within the framework of the Arctic Council.

## Arctic Report

In June 2016, the Danish Ministry of Defence presented a comprehensive and detailed analysis of the future missions of the Ministry in the Arctic. While the report details a number of risks that may result in greater political and military tension, the overall conclusion of the report is that in all likelihood, the future of the Arctic will be shaped by cooperation and competition in rather than confrontation and conflict.

The Arctic missions of the Ministry of Defence include exercise of sovereignty, search and rescue operations, marine environmental protection, and support to the civilian authorities. The analysis recommends that surveillance, command, control and communications and operational units should be strengthened.

## Security challenges from the south

Looking southwards, 2016 was yet another year of active Danish participation in international operations and stabilisation efforts.

## ISIL

ISIL continued to systematically terrorise the Iraqi and Syrian populations in 2016, and continues to pose a severe terror threat to the region as well as to Europe. ISIL's actions in the Middle East have caused massive flows of refugees, some of whom embarked on a perilous journey towards Europe.

The fight against ISIL in Iraq and Syria remains one of the Government's top international priorities. Since 2014, Danish military units have been deployed to the Middle East to help fight ISIL. In 2016, an F-16 fighter contribution and a tactical air transport aircraft contribution operated in both Iraq and Syria in support of the international coalition to counter ISIL. By the end of 2016, Danish F-16s had been deployed for a total of 18 months conducting more than 800 missions.

The Danish Defence continues to contribute substantially militarily towards building Iraqi partner capacity with both regular and Special Forces, in addition to the contribution of a mobile radar and staff officers.

Besides the military contributions, Denmark is also contributing to the fight against ISIL through civilian and stabilisation programs. Having a close link between both the military and the civilian efforts is crucial to ensure the best possible conditions for bringing about long-term stability.

## Terrorism

For many years we have been confronted with a serious terrorist threat and have therefore maintained a significant focus on countering terrorism. 2016 saw new horrible terror attacks in Berlin, Brussels, Nice and elsewhere illustrating the gruesome nature of the international terror.

The current serious terror threat is still to a large extent fuelled by the conflict in Syria and Iraq. In a response to the terrorist threat, the counter terror efforts and abilities of the Danish Defence Intelligence Service have successfully been strengthened in recent years.

## Stabilisation Programme: Syria and Iraq

The Danish Government launched a stabilisation programme in 2016 covering Syria and Iraq under the cross-government funding pool: The Peace and Stabilisation Fund. Under this programme, the Danish Defence supports UN's Mine Action Services (UNMAS) in response to the threat of unexploded ordnances – an effort that is also supported with the capacity building effort in Iraq.

Other integrated regional programmes cover the Horn of Africa, Afghanistan-Pakistan and the Sahel-region using a broad range of diplomatic, security and development aid related instruments.

### **EU's Capacity building**

Denmark supports the development of the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) in complementarity to NATO while fully respecting the Danish opt-out on the military aspects of the CSDP. Denmark furthermore supports the EU's ability to efficiently perform comprehensive crisis management and prevention abroad, especially in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region and in Sub-Saharan Africa.

It is also in Denmark's interest that the EU can assist member states in building societal resilience and defence capacities to counter hybrid and cyber attacks. Denmark therefore supports the joint NATO-EU declaration signed in Warsaw on enhanced EU-NATO cooperation in this regard among other areas.

### **Danish contributions to NATO's responses to threats from the south**

At the 2016 NATO Summit in Warsaw, the Alliance decided to do more to counter the threats from the south, including by stepping up the engagement to counter terrorism and efforts to project stability.

Denmark actively supports the implementation of such initiatives, including the establishment of a new hub within the joint forces command in Naples to deal with the security threats and challenges across the Alliance's southern perimeter.

### **Afghanistan – Resolute Support Mission**

In Afghanistan, 2016 was a challenging year for the Afghan National Defence and Security Forces. Even so, the Afghan Forces stood their ground. This was due to the training, assistance and advice of NATO's Resolute Support Mission, including the Danish contribution to the mission that in 2016 rose from approximately 85 to 100 soldiers, all in Kabul.

In addition to the increased military contribution, Denmark decided to continue the substantial financial support for the Afghan National Defence and Security Forces of 100 million DKK per year until 2020. The international co-funding of the Afghan Forces is considered a key condition for the long-term stabilisation of Afghanistan, and is a clear demonstration of the international commitment to the future of Afghanistan.

## Operation Ocean Shield

The Danish Defence also contributed to NATO's efforts to maintain security and prosperity at the high seas. A Danish maritime patrol aircraft was deployed to NATO's counter piracy mission Operation Ocean Shield to conduct surveillance at the Horn of Africa where armed pirates for a long period have been a major threat for the international shipping in the area.

With no successful pirate attacks since 2012 the NATO countries decided to terminate Operation Ocean Shield as of 15 December 2016.

## Danish engagements to UN missions

Denmark continued the engagement in peacekeeping operations in support of the United Nations during 2016, most noticeably regarding the peacekeeping mission in Mali (MINUSMA) with staff officers and Special Forces for 8 months. Additionally, Denmark provided the Force Commander for MINUSMA for approximately 20 months, before Major General Michael Lollesgaard ended his term in December 2016.

Denmark has worked actively to support smarter and more efficient ways of contributing to UN peacekeeping missions. A concrete result was the establishment of a Nordic rotational arrangement of an air transport capability to MINUSMA with additional participation of Belgium and Portugal. This arrangement will ensure critical air transport capacity to MINUSMA until the end of 2018.

## Removal of Libya's chemical weapon materials

In July 2016, Libyan authorities requested that the UN and the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) helped to remove and discard chemical agents from Libya's former chemical weapons program.

Based on the UN Security Council Resolution 2298 (2016), Denmark contributed substantially to the overall mission. The Danish maritime contribution facilitated the pickup and transport of the chemical agents from Misrata in Libya to Germany where the agents were discarded. The Danish contribution included a transport vessel, a frigate, Special Forces and a team of chemical specialists.

After concluding the task of removing the chemical weapon materials from Libya, the Danish Navy took on assignments from NATO as the flexible support ship, HDMS Absalon, was deployed to NATO's Standing Naval Forces in the Mediterranean.

## Cyber threats

A different, yet, no less concerning security challenge comes from cyber threats.

Denmark is a profoundly digitalised society. However, in the wake of digital advantages, there has been an increased vulnerability to the threats that materialise in cyber space.

The threat to Denmark from cyber espionage and serious cyber crime is very high. State sponsored actors and professional criminals are attacking state institutions and private companies on a daily basis. New methods are constantly being developed with the purpose of stealing valuable information and assets or to simply cause disruption and destabilisation. This will remain a deep concern.

We also see an increasing willingness to use cyber tools to achieve political means, including interference in democratic processes. To counter these threats, we must remain vigilant and make sure that relevant authorities have the right tools. For this reason, the Ministry of Defence in 2016 has taken steps on a number of cyber issues. These include the build-up of a capacity to conduct military operations in cyber space, the so-called Computer Network Operations (CNO) capacity, and preparing a new National Strategy for Cyber- and Information Security.

## Nordic cooperation

Denmark held the chairmanship of the Nordic Defence Cooperation (NORDEF) in 2016.

Together with our Nordic partners we made numerous important achievements: A secure communications network to enable communication between the Nordic countries and the signing of the Nordic Baltic Assistance Programme declaration enabling closer Nordic-Baltic cooperation in supporting third countries, such as Georgia and Ukraine with regards to defence sector reforms, anti-corruption etc.

Furthermore, the signing of the Nordic Tactical Air Transport (NOR-TAT) Agreement formalised cooperation and coordination on tactical air transport. Moreover, steps have been taken to strengthen cooperation within the defence armament area, e.g. the agreement on joint purchase of combat uniforms with the aim of reducing costs for the Nordic countries.

Finally, the Easy Access Agreement enabling easier military access to each other's territories in peacetime in all domains is a historical underlining of the close Nordic cooperation that shows the full potential of NORDEF.

These concrete achievements show the vitality of Nordic defence cooperation based on a pragmatic and practical approach.

## The Home Guard and Danish Emergency Management Agency

The Home Guard has made a sizable contribution to Danish security in the past year. In addition to its numerous everyday tasks, the Home Guard assisted the Danish police with temporary border control. Since June 2016 some 140 Home Guard personnel have been assigned to assist the police at the border.

In 2016, the Danish Emergency Management Agency (DEMA), in addition to its national tasks, provided international emergency assistance and experts to disaster-stricken countries around the world including Haiti, Ecuador, Sri Lanka and Iraq.

## Conclusion

Partnerships and alliances are of key importance particularly in an increasingly unpredictable and complex security environment. It is our obligation to adapt and act accordingly. Denmark is committed to our partners and to the NATO alliance. The many examples of our engagements and achievements in 2016 are all testimony to this.

Moving into 2017, we are well aware that the pressure on defence will increase and come from many sides. That is why the Government has decided the objective to substantially increase Denmark's defence spending in the coming multi-year defence agreement 2018-2022.

This will ensure greater sturdiness and resilience of the Danish Defence and further strengthen our abilities to meet the challenges facing us together with our partners and Allies.

# Europe through a crystal ball

*By Per Stig Møller<sup>1</sup>*

## Europe is sinking

Europeans' conception of the place Europe holds in the world today does not tally with Europe's actual position. Our idea of Europe corresponds to the conception Europeans had of their continent prior to 1914, but this conception is a long way from the reality of 2017. In the twentieth century, the United States took over the position formerly held by Europe as the pre-eminent world superpower. Now, in the twenty-first century, Europe is being overtaken by China, which in global terms is coming close to regaining the position it held prior to 1800, when, together with India, it was responsible for 80% of global production.

Europe is quite simply no longer the global heavyweight it was before the world was thrown off its axis in 1914. At that time, in territorial terms, Europe controlled 49% of the world. Today it controls just 24%. In 1914, 48% of the world population resided in Europe, yet today it is barely 10%. At that time Europe controlled 70% of the global economy. Today this has shrunk to a mere 30%. Europe was responsible for 84% of global production. Today this has shrunk to only 25%. Europe's armed forces comprised 45% of global military power. Today they make up just 10%. On the other hand, social spending in Europe amounts to 50% of the global total. Europe has thus become an ever better place to live, despite the slump it has experienced in many terms in a global perspective. Europe has not become less prosperous. The fact is that the other world continents have grown. Europe's decline as a world power is only a decline in relative terms, but naturally this relative decline has geopolitical ramifications. Europe is no longer the heavyweight it once was. World trade now takes other routes than Europe. Global production has moved to other parts of the globe. Europe is nowhere near

the dominant global military power it once was. Clearly, Europe no longer occupies the same position on the global stage as it did in the nineteenth century, which ended so abruptly in August 1914.

Notwithstanding this relative decline, Europe continues to play a significant role globally; firstly by virtue of being the world's wealthiest continent, and secondly because of its close relationship and links with the United States: together, the US and EU-28 account for 50% of global GDP. Yet even this status is under threat. Global trade routes are changing course, away from the US and EU-28. Historically, these trade routes have always had major geopolitical implications.

When the Roman Empire fell in the fifth century CE, Europe was torn apart by wave upon wave of human migrations from the East and the North which criss-crossed the continent. The population shrank, and over the course of the subsequent millennium Europe experienced no lasting stability. In the meantime the Arab civilization blossomed, and from the seventh century onwards expanded exponentially under the influence of Islam, which in the space of a century expanded until it extended from Spain, which Arabian armies invaded in 711, all the way to Afghanistan. European trade ground to a standstill, while simultaneously it flourished from China to the Muslim world, which grew in prosperity and power, culminating in the fall of Byzantine in 1453, the Ottoman army's siege of Vienna in 1529 and wars waged in Poland and Russia in the seventeenth century. It was only after the defeats suffered by the Ottoman army near Vienna in 1683 and in Hungary in 1699 that the ultimate decline of the Muslim empire came to pass. Behind this change in fortunes lay the fact that, from the Early Middle Ages until the Renaissance, world trade took place in and between the Near East and Far East along the trade route known as the Silk Road, which in the fifteenth century had its terminus in Venice; a situation which allowed the city to prosper and grow in military strength.

At last, after a thousand years of decline, Europe was starting to coalesce. States were formed and empires stabilised. The population expanded and trade blossomed, while in the Arab world population growth stagnated as the Arab civilisation began to show its age and eased into retirement. In fifteenth century Europe, the mechanical revolution was underway, followed by the scientific revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which generated new solutions and markets and stimulated economic growth. Europeans colonised North and South America, and the centre of world trade moved from the Silk Road and the Mediterranean to the west coast of Europe and the Atlantic. This led to economic growth on both sides of the

Atlantic, which in turn stimulated an expansion of military might, culminating in the European colonisation of other continents in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

If you want to track the rise and fall of civilizations over the course of history, all you have to do is “follow the money”. Wherever a trade route runs, economies grow and so in turn does military strength. In the seven to eight centuries over which trade routes ran east-east, China and the Muslim world dominated the world stage. However, once new west-west trade routes supplanted the Silk Road and the Mediterranean, the dominant civilisations moved to the Atlantic, so that Europe, and later the United States, grew ever more powerful. These west-west trade routes dominated world trade until relatively recently, but now we are witnessing the growth of east-east and south-south trade.

As recently as 1985 west-west trade routes were responsible for 55% of world trade, but by 2011 this had fallen to just 30%. In the same period east-east and south-south trade grew from 10% to 28% of global trade. In 1980, the developing countries, including China and India, were responsible for 25% of the global economy. By 2010 these countries commanded a 47% share of the world economy. In 1980 they were responsible for 33% of global production. By 2010 this figure had grown to 45%, of which China alone stood for 30%. The World Health Organization estimates that, by 2030, and within an open global economy, the developing countries will command 57% of the total volume of world trade, while the developed countries will account for a mere 43%. Moreover, it is likely that these figures are just the beginning of this development, heralding an even more pronounced shift of the global economy from the Atlantic to the Pacific. An appendix to the report *Danish Defence and Diplomacy in Times of Change* (*Dansk diplomati og forsvar i en brydningstid*) forecasts that Asian internal trade alone will “before 2030 surpass internal trade in the EU”, and with reference to the World Health Organization, it is predicted that south-south trade, which in 1990 made up 9% of global trade and today accounts for 25%, will rise to approximately 30% by 2030. The conclusion is that what is taking place is “a rerouting of trade flows from the least developed countries towards the G20 developing countries and away from the more wealthy and developed countries [...] Thus, in 2006, China took over from the EU and the United States their position as the primary export destination for products from the least developed countries in Africa, and since 2010 the value of African exports to China has exceeded the combined exports to the EU and the US” (p. 80). This means that Europe is being left out in the cold, just as the Arab

world was when the centre of trade shifted from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. It is no coincidence that China is doing everything in its power to re-establish and develop the old Silk Road of centuries gone by. This is where the new, affluent and rapidly expanding middle class of the third world is to be found. The problem Europe faces with respect to this middle class is that, to an increasing extent they are buying Asian products which are cheaper but more or less the same as European products. Asia has largely caught up with European technological advances, and Asians can now afford to buy our renowned “know-how” and design.

Behind these economic figures there is another, decisive factor: demographics. Demography is the great wheel of history. Every civilization experiences upturns and downturns. During upswings civilizations experience growth in population, energy, the economy and military might. Once a civilization enters decline, economic strength and military capacity contract accordingly. Following the fall of Rome, the population of Europe shrank, only to expand once again towards the end of the fourteenth century. Simultaneously population growth in the Muslim world stagnated. This remained the pattern until the era of decolonization in the period after 1945. With the establishment of the World Health Organization, extensive vaccination programmes were introduced in the former European colonies, with the consequence that the population of these countries expanded rapidly in a period when population growth in Europe was stagnating.

There are various prognoses of how the global population will develop over the course of the twenty-first century, but forecasts more or less agree on likely developments up until 2030, given that those people who will have children over the coming 13 years are already very much in the process of having them. An appendix to the *Danish Defence and Diplomacy in Times of Change* (p. 52 ff) report states that in 1950 the population of Asia was 2.5 times larger than that of Europe, while in 2015 it was six-times larger, and in 2030 it is predicted that this will rise to seven-times larger. In 1950, the population of Africa was half the size of the European population, while in 2015 it was 60% larger, and in 2030 it is expected to have grown to 130% larger than the population of Europe. In 1990 the EU-28 had a population of 509 million. By 2025 this figure will have grown to around 540 million, and this modest population growth will be the result of immigration from the south. Meanwhile, elsewhere on the European continent, the population of Russia is actually expected to shrink. Between 1990 and 2030, the population of Africa will have grown by more than a billion people, and the United Nations Development Programme predicts that, by the end of the

twenty-first century, almost every other citizen of the world will be African. And let's remember, Africa is just across the Mediterranean Sea.

The expansion of the African population will thus be pivotal to the development of Europe and its future security. The appendix to the *Danish Defence and Diplomacy in Times of Change* report estimates that by 2030 the population of North Africa will have grown to 282.4 million, compared with 171.9 million in 2000. Simultaneously the population of Africa south of Sahel will rise from 642 million to 1.397 bn. As the report states "Over the past 15 years, the population of Africa south of the Sahel grew by around 320 million people, corresponding to an increase of approximately 50%. Over the course of the coming 15 years it is expected that this population will grow by almost 435 million people; an increase of approximately 45%." If these rapidly expanding populations do not find work, they will become poorer, and millions of people will migrate north. In the year 2000 the population of North Africa alone amounted to 171.9 million people, a figure which today has grown to 224 million and is expected to rise to 282.4 million by 2030. These countries have, and will continue to have, increasing youth-unemployment problems and accordingly will not be able to accommodate millions of migrants arriving from the south. In the Middle East for instance, which is dominated by Islam, the population will have grown from 185 million in 2000 to 321.6 million in 2030, such that the population of "the Middle East and North Africa region (MENA) is expected to expand by around 125 million people between 2015 and 2030, amounting to a 25% increase". This might point to a substantial and ongoing rise in unemployment, with the resultant unrest, revolt and conflict this will bring, unless the economies of these countries grow rapidly and employment rises.

On the other side of the Atlantic, key changes will come about, which will have major geopolitical consequences. By 2030, the population of the United States will have grown to a not insignificant 396 million compared with 314 million in the year 2000, yet in the same period the population of Latin America – including the Caribbean – will have grown at an even greater rate, from 527 to 721 million, a development which, just as in the case of Africa, will create a need for growth and jobs in order to avoid increased pressure from immigration to the US. President Trump can no doubt build a wall along the US-Mexico border to keep these immigrants out, but in the long run the US will not be able to keep Latin America in check and keep the "Latinos" at bay without this giving rise to conflict which will cripple US economic activity in the wider world and moreover allow China to move into Latin America with economic aid and increased trade.

These demographic shifts will naturally have repercussions, as has always been the case. The rapidly growing populations of these countries will be dominated by young people under the age of 30 for many years to come. They will start families and demand jobs, education and economic progress in societies which already have high levels of unemployment. Under the pressure of such tremendous population growth, it will be difficult to avoid rising levels of unemployment and resultant social unrest, with large waves of immigrants flooding to wealthier parts of the world.

Experience shows that a society in which 20% of the population consists of 15- to 25-year-olds will experience unrest, if this demographic is uneducated, unemployed or underemployed. In the present decade, countries such as Malaysia, Pakistan, Syria, Yemen, Jordan, Iraq, Oman, Libya and Afghanistan find themselves in this situation, and trends in the majority of these countries does not contradict historical experience.

The fact that Europe did not collapse during its period of rapid population growth in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries probably owes much to the fact that there were new, sparsely populated continents to settle. This is not an option for the hundreds of millions of people born in the Third World today. Consequently, there is the prospect of turmoil among the inevitable waves of migrants and unrest both between states and internally within regions and states. This is not least the case in Europe, which, like the Roman Empire in its period of decline, is home to large groups of people from other cultures.

Simultaneously, Europe has to face the situation that the US-European axis, which in the twentieth century preserved Europe's leading position in the world, is now showing its age and risks being severed. This threat is clear from demographics alone. The present population growth in the US is not the product of the Americans whose ancestors came from Europe, but rather Americans who are descendants of African, Asian, Central American and South American immigrants to the US. How much sympathy will these Americans have for "the old world"? None whatsoever. They will see no reason to send their sons and daughters to Europe to save it from attack from Russia or to assist it in a conflict against Islamic countries on the far side of the Mediterranean. They will have their hands full dealing with Central and South America, as well as China across the Pacific. Indeed, in 1916, Woodrow Wilson was re-elected as President of the United States on the promise that he would not involve the US in the war in Europe. Franklin D. Roosevelt made a similar pledge in 1940. In the year following their re-election they were both involved in the European war, but would Wilson have

received his mandate to go to war without the German sinking of American ships and Secretary of State Zimmermann's indications of a Mexican attack on the US? And would Roosevelt have received his mandate to send troops to Europe if Hitler hadn't been so kind as to declare war on the United States in the wake of Pearl Harbour? If Hitler had not done this, Roosevelt may only have been given a mandate to enter a Pacific war with Japan. Given that it was challenging enough at that time for the US to come to the aid of a democratic Europe, with the added factor of population shifts, this would only become more of a challenge in future. We must face the fact that we will have to go our own way and look after "our own backyard".

## The Russia Problem

When the Iron Curtain descended in 1945 and the Cold War commenced, two defence treaties were established: NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The opposing sides kept one another at bay with the threat of short-range and intercontinental ballistic missiles, in keeping with the principle of mutually assured destruction (MAD). Despite the fact that Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev signed major disarmament treaties, there nonetheless remained a sufficient number of nuclear missiles for the opposing military alliances to annihilate one another. With the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the Warsaw Pact was dissolved. Over the following years NATO, now the only remaining military alliance in Europe, absorbed the former Warsaw Pact states, which was made possible by point 8 in the 'Charter for European Security' (Istanbul 1999): "Each participating State has equal right to security. We reaffirm the inherent right of each and every state to be free to choose or change its security arrangements, including treaties of alliance, as they evolve". NATO advanced to the borders of Russia, a situation that Russia claims it had received assurances would not happen. In spite of the fact that the West denies having made any such assurances, Russia continues to see things this way, and since "perception is reality", NATO's advance has had consequences for Russia's perception of the West. Russia feels it has been duped and does not want to be duped again.

Since most EU member states are also members of NATO, the EU has ended up with a very tense relationship with Russia. In the 1990s, we thought we had a new and peaceful neighbour in post-Soviet Russia, which little by little would move towards a Western model of democracy and a free market economy. The various Soviet republics in the Baltic and Central Asia wasted

no time in declaring independence. As Russians are wont to remark ironically, during the major political changes and economic downturn in Russia in the 1990s we pretended that we were helping them, and they pretended that they were accepting our help, and this laid the basis for bitter anti-Western sentiment, which with Putin's accession to power developed into a policy of outright revanchism. Putin crushed Chechnya and saw to it that no other state left the federation. In the NATO-Russia Council (NRC), Russia criticised US plans for missile defence with increasing vociferousness, and the last straw for Russia was when, in April 2008, NATO promised Ukraine and Georgia that they could become members, albeit not right away. Because of this unresolved situation, the Estonian foreign minister and I concluded the meeting of the NRC with speeches in which we predicted that the future held momentous events in store for Ukraine and Georgia. We predicted that Russia would make use of the time between the promise of NATO membership and its realisation to thwart the project. And so it came to pass. In August 2008, exploiting the situation after Georgia entered a trap by bombing South Ossetia, Russia invaded Georgia, referring to Western recognition of Kosovo when it recognised the break-away provinces of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Nevertheless, half a year later, President Obama and Secretary of State Hilary Clinton pressed the "reset button", whereupon, in 2013, Russia brought about a new, frozen conflict in Ukraine, and subsequently annexed Crimea, which Catherine the Great had taken from the Tatars and Khrushchev had given to Ukraine. This meant that, for the second time in six years, Russia broke the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, which defines all countries' right to "territorial integrity". Now NATO dares not admit these two states as members.

The EU now finds itself with an unpredictable neighbour to the east. How far will things go in Ukraine? How long will Russia allow the conflict in Ukraine to continue? What in turn would need to happen in order for Ukraine to pull out of Eastern Ukraine and allow the country to heal and reform, and under what terms? One such term would presumably be a pledge that Ukraine would refrain from applying for membership of either NATO or the EU, given that, following a referendum in the Netherlands, the EU has demonstrated itself to be incapable of making good on its promise to Ukraine in this regard. Ukraine is not simply of geostrategic significance for Russia, it also holds historical and psychological significance. The Russian civilization originated in Ukraine, and in the Russia perception Ukraine has always been part of the Russian realm. At the very least – so goes the view – Ukraine should not be forced to be part of Western Europe. With time,

Russia would like to see Ukraine absorbed into the Russian sphere and participating in the cooperation which has come about between Belarus, Russia, Armenia and Kazakhstan. Without Ukraine, Russia is a significant regional power. With Ukraine, it would be a regional superpower.

Underpinning Russian aggression towards Ukraine and Georgia is a strategy stretching back 300 years; a strategy which received a major blow with the departure and declarations of independence of the Baltic states, Ukraine and Georgia. Russia lost its Baltic Sea coast and vital stretches of the Black Sea coast, and was left with only the Georgian secessionist province Abkhazia, which it therefore will not allow to become integrated with Georgia, just as it will not allow Crimea to return to Ukraine.

Historically, Russia has always sought access to the Black Sea and the Baltic. Peter the Great achieved the latter in the early eighteenth century. Later in the eighteenth century, Catherine the Great gained access to the Black Sea coast, and in the nineteenth century Russia acquired the Caucasian stretch of this same coastline.

Following the First World War, Lenin was forced to surrender the Baltic states, but after fierce conflict succeeded in preventing Ukraine and Georgia from leaving the union. By virtue of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939 the USSR regained the Baltic states, but in 1941 lost them once again to Hitler, with Stalin ultimately reclaiming them at the Yalta Conference in 1945. In so doing, he secured power over Poland and East Germany. Just as in the Tsarist era, Russia was now once again the dominant force in the Baltic. But after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1991, things went wrong (for Russia) once again. Russia lost its presence in the Baltic and the Black Sea coast of Ukraine, and was forced to retreat from the seas on which it had had designs for over 300 years.

Putin's campaigns in Ukraine are thus not merely an expression of revanchism, but the realization of 300 years of strategic thinking. For this reason we should by no means regard this as a closed chapter in contemporary history. In one way or another, Russia will continue to seek to gain control of Ukraine and thereby gain full access to the Black Sea. This brings us to Moldova, which already finds itself in a frozen conflict in Trans-Dnestra, and Gagauzia has a Russian-speaking majority that Putin may be able to use to his advantage.

Then Russian President Dmitry Medvedev coined the phrase "Russia's near abroad" and announced that Russia would protect the Russian minority in the former Soviet republics. As it did in Ukraine, Russia could seek to galvanize the Russian minority populations in Estonia and Latvia and in this

way destabilize the countries. It will not be by means of Russian military invasion that these states will fall into Russian hands, for such invasions would trigger NATO involvement. Instead, it will be via cyber attacks, propaganda broadcasts on Russian television stations directed at the Russian-speaking minorities, and with the help of “little green men” which Putin has absolutely no knowledge of. Thus, NATO will have no grounds for intervention. In these circumstances, the European Union will have to step in. On the strength of work by the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), the EU will be able to mobilize both military forces and police forces – but how strong will these forces be when the UK leaves the Union? And in the absence of a Russian invasion, the only options will be sanctions and police involvement. However, the EU lacks the kind of police force which would be of use in such a situation, specifically a paramilitary police force of the kind seen in France. It would almost certainly be wise for the EU to begin to develop such a corps before “little green men” appear on the scene.

We have certainly not seen the last of Russian expansionism. It could also have an affect in the Arctic. Despite the fact that we entered into an agreement to resolve all conflicts peacefully in accordance with the Convention of the Law of the Sea and international law as part of the Ilulissat Declaration of 2008, there is a risk that Russia will take the law into its own hands and expand its territory, for instance by allowing its navy to be permanently stationed at the North Pole, in light of the verdict of the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (CLCS) that the North Pole is part of the subaquatic Russian ridge. The verdict on whether it is also part of the Greenlandic continental shelf – if a verdict on this matter is deemed necessary – will not be reached for another 10 years. And what will we do then, if Russian cruisers are stationed there? Will NATO react? Will the US? How did the US react in the South China Sea? Would our own navy be able to repulse them? The Danish Realm would be faced with a political and military challenge, and Greenland will be thankful that it did not break away from the Danish Realm, which for its part must be in a position to see off Russian provocation. At the very minimum, this requires that the Arctic Five is not allowed to dissolve in the meantime, because within it, in addition to Russia, Greenland/Denmark are in company with the US, Canada and Norway, all three of which would likely support Danish rejection of Russia’s claims to the North Pole until such a time as Canadian and Danish claims are processed by the CLCS and all subsequent bilateral negotiations have been concluded.

In the initial phase, the task will be to render Russian provocation futile. When it dawns on Russia that the door has well and truly been closed, we

can then enter the second phase of our relationship with Russia, since in the long run it is in Russia's best interests to maintain a good relationship with the EU based on mutual trust. Russia foresees and anticipates problems to the south and the east.

To the south there is the prospect of unrest in the Caucasus, where Dagestan, Ingushetia and Chechnya will pose problems for Russia in the event of the spread of Islamism. The fear of this eventuality is one of the main reasons Russia entered the conflict in Syria, siding with Assad. To the east, Russia likewise faces the prospect of a confrontation with China, both in Siberia, which Russia conquered in the eighteenth century and thereby established a presence on the Pacific coast, and over dominance of Central Asia, an area in which both Russia and China have major economic ambitions. Both Russia and China fear the growth of Islamism and the destabilizing effect this will have, which has the potential to spread from Afghanistan and Pakistan to the central Asian republics, and from there bring Islamist unrest to Russia and the Xinjiang region of China.

Long term, Russia's western borders are all that are not under threat, because deep down Russia believes that it has little to fear regarding invasion from the west. Thus, it is in Russia's long-term interests to establish a solid working relationship with Europe, including good trade relations, based upon mutual trust. In the meantime, Europe will have to weather the storm and keep in check Russia's short-term strategy, and only then can Russia and the EU embark on a mutual long-term strategy.

## The Middle-East Problem

If the short-term threat to Europe comes from Russia, the hotbeds of Islamism in Middle East and North Africa pose a threat in both the short-term and the medium-term. Therefore, it is imprudent of the Taksøe-Jensen report *Danish Defence and Diplomacy in Times of Change* to propose that Denmark should withdraw from engagement in the region, because foreign policy should always consider the long-term perspective. Dangers which later unfold with cataclysmic consequences are normally foreseeable well in advance, even if to begin with they appear minor and peripheral. In order to avert insignificant dangers developing into major threats, early intervention must be made – a stitch in time saves nine.

The increasingly political dimension of religion has been ignored because of a belief that the world as a whole was moving towards the model of the lib-

eral, tolerant, market-oriented democracy. In so doing we failed to see that a toxic brew was fermenting beneath the covers on the cauldrons of the Middle Eastern dictators. Indeed, in *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (1998) Samuel Huntington hypothesised a future characterised by a clash of civilisations, while in the conclusion to my book *Den naturlige orden* (*The Natural Order*, 1996), I warned that fundamentalism would turn out to be modern history's great 'spoilsport', just as Francis Fukuyama had done in *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992) when he suggested that Islamism could come to stand in the way of an otherwise bright, democratic future. Yet up until 11th September 2001 the world seemed to be a peaceful and promising place.

In the 1990s, Islamist terror attacks were a common occurrence in various parts of the world, yet no one predicted the internal dynamic which would play out between Shia and Sunni Muslims. It is nonetheless precisely this conflict which is at present being fought out in the Middle East: a conflict with repercussions for North Africa and Europe. Only once this conflict has come to a close, the dust has settled and all of the pieces have fallen into place, will we know the full extent of the threat of the clash of civilisations across the Mediterranean, and only then will we know what we are up against. Will it be a fanatical, fundamentalist, combative Islamism, or more or less democratic or authoritarian governments, more interested in working together with Europe rather than war and conflict. I once asked Qatar's Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs how long the Shia-Sunni conflict will last. His reply was this: "It has already lasted 1300 years, and it will last another 100-200 years, and there is nothing you can do about it in the meantime".

We should not meddle in internal Islamic religious conflicts and power struggles. To do so would only cause more problems. However, we must do all that is in our power to support and consolidate the moderate and modernising political forces in the region, in the hope that they will succeed in exerting a positive influence upon the region's ongoing development, irrespective of whether the various countries in question end up as Shiite or Sunni states. Indeed, this was the thinking that lay behind the 'Partnership for Reform and Progress'<sup>2</sup> launched by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark in 2003, which continues its work to this day. With its implementation of the Danish-Arab Partnership Programme and the development aid sent to the region, Denmark is exercising a 'soft power' which takes into account the long-term perspective, in contrast to 'hard power', which can only be brought to bear in the short-term and can never be deployed in iso-

lation. For this reason it would be a mistake to phase out the Danish-Arab Partnership Programme, in spite of the fact that, in truth, the Arab Spring – with the exception of Tunisia – did not lead to the intended development of the democratic, constitutional states. To give up this ambition and our contribution to its realization would, however, be to abandon the possibility of influencing developments in the region. And why else does one conduct foreign policy, if not to this end?

There are many and various flashpoints in the Islamic world, from Pakistan to Nigeria. And each of them was sparked by different events and circumstances. These are conflicts between fundamentalist and more secular or modernising governments in countries such as Pakistan, Afghanistan, Algeria, Tunisia and Nigeria, and they are not conflicts between Sunnis and Shiites. In contrast, the Sunni-Shiite conflict is raging in the Middle East, from Yemen in the south to Sinai in the north, spreading westwards to Libya in Africa and far south over the Sahel. The fact that this conflict has not affected Morocco or Senegal must be attributed to the fact that the Maliki school of Islamic jurisprudence dominates in these countries; for Islam consists of a good deal more than simply the Shia-Sunni conflict, and there are 99 different designations for Allah.

The Shia-Sunni conflict triggered a power struggle on the Arabian Peninsula between Iran and Saudi Arabia. Iran is seeking to expand and consolidate its power by achieving or ensuring Shiite governments in Yemen, Bahrain, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon. Once this is achieved, Jordan will be next in line. In order to avoid being surrounded by Shiite, Iran-dominated states, Saudi Arabia and Qatar supported the Sunni uprising against the Alawite Shiite, Bashar al-Assad in Syria, suppressed the Shiite uprising in Bahrain and became militarily involved in Yemen. Moreover, Saudi Arabia is expanding its relations with the Sunni Gulf states of Kuwait, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Oman by adding a military dimension; for these states also face an uncertain future. The very skewed demography of the Gulf States, with a small, wealthy, native population alongside a very large majority of disadvantaged foreign workers, makes future internal conflict likely. In addition to this pronounced demographic and social disparity, Saudi Arabia is home to a considerable, turbulent Shiite minority. The hitherto peaceful and wealthy Gulf states may thus find themselves face-to-face with unrest which will likely decimate their economies, bring about a fall in oil production, and thereby create problems for the global economy.

And as if that were not enough, the unresolved situation in Palestine has the potential to come to the boil once again. This will happen when all of

the pieces have fallen into place in the Middle East, whereupon the newly-formed Arabian governments will have the wherewithal to focus upon Palestine once again; for the conflict between Iran and Saudi Arabia must come to an end at some point, with some form of more or less lasting resolution. Once this has happened the Shiite states, with Iran at their head, will redouble their efforts against Israel, and the Sunni states will then be compelled to display their true Islamic disposition by following suit. For this reason it is a historical tragedy for Israel that it did not succeed in sealing a two-state solution in the 2000s. Soon afterwards, the Arab Spring took hold, and Israel was left to wait and see where it would all end. Moreover, President Barack Obama's conduct towards Israel meant that Israel no longer had faith that they were under US military protection. Simultaneously, Israel now lacked any state with which to enter into a lasting agreement, given that President Abu Mazen (Mahmoud Abbas) will be in no position to guarantee Hamas' peaceful intentions as long as it remains unclear who will ultimately rule in Syria. Who would be elected in Ramallah in a newly independent Palestine? Hamas? If so, Israel will find itself trapped between a Syria dominated by Shiites, Iran and Russia and a Palestine which seeks the destruction of Israel. Who will then come to Israel's aid? The UN? No; such a move would be vetoed by the Security Council. The EU? No; a divided Union would impede this. The US? Israel can no longer depend upon aid from this quarter and so far President Trump has only indicated that he will leave things to the parties themselves to solve. Thus, at the end of the day, we risk yet another fierce war in the Middle East, which will send sparks flying throughout global politics, because the US will not simply allow Russia and Iran to run the show, and the EU will have to implement sanctions which will be met with counter-sanctions – and with terrorism and higher energy prices.

Just across the Mediterranean lies North Africa; a region of latent unrest which risks disintegration, and in its wake the seizure of power by Islamists. What we are witnessing in Libya could very well come to pass elsewhere. The North African states find themselves between the devil and the deep blue sea, as the Moroccan Minister for Foreign Affairs, Benaïssa, once pointed out to me. The demographic development in Africa south of the Sahel has the potential to lead to huge waves of migrants to North Africa, and the EU will do all in its power to stop these migrants from reaching European coasts. If, as is predicted, climate change also hits Africa exceptionally hard, this will only lead to even greater waves of migration. Given that North Africa has significant population growth and youth unemployment, the arrival of hundreds of thousands of immigrants who then find themselves stuck in North Africa

will lead to social conflict and political unrest. This in turn will cripple these countries, destroy their economies and ultimately lead to the establishment of draconian governments, whose stance towards Europe is at present difficult to predict. However, if Islamism is victorious in these conflicts, we will not be facing war across the Mediterranean, so much as terrorism, sabotage and growing clashes within European countries, the economies of which will be overstretched, while simultaneously trade across the Mediterranean will fall and thereby weaken economies yet further. According to al-Qaeda, this is precisely the aim of their terrorist action in the West.

Irrespective of the fact that – as the Taksøe-Jensen report rightly states – we are in no position to do anything about the conflicts in northern and southern Africa, we can nonetheless contribute to preventing them and thereby influence the outcome. The EU can still bring a positive influence to bear by continuing to send development aid to these countries, by enhancing trade through a comprehensive free-trade agreement, by promoting political, military and economic cooperation with the African Union and by implementing the Paris Agreement on climate change. By boosting the economies of the African nations, we thereby stimulate employment and improve these countries' opportunities to develop the educational, social and health sectors and curb youth unemployment, and in turn this can potentially contribute to generating support for moderate, cooperative and non-fanatical governments in the region. This will cost money in the short term, but in the longer term it will spare us from all of the expenditure and risks entailed for Europe by a disintegrated North Africa and the resulting massive waves of illegal migration just a little further down the road. We either have to buy their tomatoes, or we will have to support them here in Europe!

## The EU Problem

The EU foresees growing problems to the north, east and south. And likewise to the west. The UK is on its way out, and on the other side of the Atlantic, President Obama has spoken of shifting the focus of US foreign policy towards Asia. He places less emphasis than his predecessor, George W. Bush, on relations with Europe and was somewhat passive with respect to Russian expansion in Europe. Nor did he show any particular interest in the problems in North Africa and the Arab lands. Demographic developments in North and South America suggest that this trend will be reinforced during President Trump's term, given that Trump only appears interested in US

involvement when key US interests are in “clear and present danger”.

With President Trump’s election, the free trade agreement between the US and the EU appears to have been abandoned, in which case the key link between the US and the EU will be a thing of the past. No doubt the US and the EU will together continue to comprise the world’s largest trade block and the strongest global economy with what is probably the world’s largest military but, if we go our separate ways, neither continent will retain this position. If US economic interests in Europe fall relative to its interests in Asia, US military involvement in European affairs will become less certain. The demographic situation already suggests that the US will have its hands full dealing with Latin America, and US global strategy suggests that it will have its work cut out in the face of the challenge from China and associated problems in South-East Asia. Moreover, if the US then also abandons its free trade agreement with the Pacific nations, South-East Asia will fall right into China’s shopping basket. One could scarcely do more to play into China’s hands than if the US were to trigger a trade war with China, a war which would damage both the US economy and the global economy. Naturally this would also damage China’s economy, yet, by virtue of its political system, China’s leadership will be able to endure such a conflict for longer than the US democratic government. The upshot of this will be a further-weakened US and a weaker partner for the EU, which will be hard-hit by the repercussions of a US-China trade war.

In the early 2000s, the US had no interest in a free trade agreement with Europe. When, at the time, I pointed out the necessity of this to the then US Trade Representative, Robert Zoellik, he replied that it would never happen. Fortunately, Obama supported such an agreement, but unfortunately the negotiations were so protracted that it now appears to be “gone with the wind”, and the EU bears a major part of the responsibility for this, because the EU viewed it solely as a trade agreement and did not see its significance for the prospective trade partners’ security policies. Consequently, the negotiations surrounding every single element of the agreement dragged on and on. It was not the security aspect which occupied the European Parliament and the public debate, but rather the prospect of American chlorinated chicken ending up in European supermarkets, despite the fact that the European consumer would be free to choose not to buy them!

The trans-Atlantic link that has been of crucial significance to Western Europe for hundreds of years is becoming weaker. Demographic developments and new global trade routes are taking Europe to a peripheral position on the western outskirts of the Eurasian continent.

Only a close trans-Atlantic alliance can delay and perhaps even prevent this development, and only a strong and resolute EU can counteract or at least slow it down, and yet the EU today is at best in a state of disarray and at worst in the process of dissolution. Perhaps the EU's problem, as Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and Helmut Schmidt pointed out in their last joint interview, is that with the decision taken at the Copenhagen Summit of the European Council in December 2002 to expand the EU, the EU came to encompass too many states. Yet I do not regret that decision, for it was necessary to ensure European security and safeguard the development of the former Communist states and Soviet republics. In addition, it has strengthened European economies. And yet we now see an EU that is unable to deliver in the form of safeguarding these states from Russian expansionism, securing the borders with the Arab countries and North Africa, improving European economies and supporting European citizens. A number of member states are diametrically opposed to increased European cooperation, and a number of successful European political parties want to dismantle or dissolve the EU. Yet this will not solve our problems; on the contrary it will lead to a collective decline. "We must, indeed, all hang together or, most assuredly, we shall all hang separately", as Benjamin Franklin said in Pennsylvania back when the United States of America declared independence.

Brexit may turn out to be the beginning of the end for the UK and the EU. In such circumstances, all European states will lose their appeal. Even the largest European states are mere small fry in a global perspective. Only united can the countries of Europe play a role and exert geopolitical influence. A disbanded European Union will resemble the map of Germany prior to 1870 and the map of Italy pre-1859: divided up into small principalities which larger nations need not take seriously. It will not be in a position to do anything about mass migration. It will not be able to withstand Russian expansionism. It will not be able to safeguard its interests by means of major, comprehensive trade agreements, because its prospective trade partners will have no particular interest in entering into such trade agreements with a disintegrated Europe. Europe will no longer be in a position to deliver strong action on climate change.

If the EU member states are to counter the clear negative tendencies facing them and guide the ongoing development of the EU in a positive direction, it is vital that the EU figure out how better to cooperate and develop its ability to convince the populations of the various states of the necessity of close cooperation. We must acknowledge that only together have we any hope of retaining the US as part of a broad trans-Atlantic alliance. Only to-

gether, in the long term, can we secure Russia's participation in constructive mutual cooperation. Only together can we rise to the challenge of the rapid population expansion in Africa. Only together can we withstand potential pressure from an Islamist Middle East and North Africa. Only together can we develop the economies of European states such that they are a match for their economic rivals in the coming global trade scenario in which a constantly expanding China is the dominant world power alongside the US, which has passed its zenith.

The odds are against us here in the EU. On History's Great Wheel – demographics – Europe is on its way down. In terms of global trade we are shrinking relative to other continents, and trade routes are shifting away from the Atlantic, back to the Silk Road. We risk ending up with more imports than exports and accordingly experiencing difficulty maintaining our welfare state. Climate change adds to the pressure from Africa. Muslim populations in several European countries are growing at an exponential rate that will affect EU states' foreign policy and in the event of a clash of civilizations challenge internal cohesion.

If EU member states are to fend off and moreover prevent such a negative spiral and have any hope of reversing it, they must safeguard the trans-Atlantic link, promote economic links to Africa, put their foot down hard on Russia, increase production and kick-start the economy without, in so doing, adding to the ecological challenges facing the modern world, given that unpaid ecological debts tend to grow.

## The Democracy Problem

The EU is facing reorganization and costs which European citizens may not be the slightest prepared for. Besides the demographic, security, economic and environment issues the EU is facing, we also have a political problem: can democracy actually deliver the goods? Will the pro-European governments that in time will point out the challenges and write the bills, be in any position to win elections? Is it not likely that those parties which are positive towards the EU will lose elections to the parties which claim that everything is the fault of the EU and that the victims and the costs are not at all necessary? It is, on the face of it, easier and more comfortable not to do anything at all. A European Union in which several member states are eagerly pulling on the handbrake will bring about a situation in which a group of at least

nine countries come together in “a strengthened cooperation” whereby the EU is divided up into a number of circles. Around these core states there will be a circle of countries such as Denmark, which will probably be involved in some federal matters, but not others, and outside of this circle will be countries such as Norway, which is not a member, but nonetheless is involved in some matters, and outside of them will be the UK, with which the EU enters into agreements. Such a European Union will be able to function, but it would not be strong, either in terms of trade policy or security policy, and accordingly this will contribute to accelerating Europe’s decline.

Will democracy be able to endure the protracted economic setbacks and crises which the future has the potential to inflict? The development of world trade and the global economy is giving rise to large, intermediate groups, primarily in Asia, but in time in the Middle East and in Africa, with an abundance of disposable income; groups which, we must hope, demand democracy. However, if the goods they purchase are produced in the east and the south, EU exports will fall, while imports will rise. Can our society survive such developments? Can our democracies? In the 1930s they were unable to do so. Back then, for Europe’s new democracies, economic depression meant being supplanted by authoritarian regimes. A range of opinion polls show that a steadily growing section of European voters would in fact be happy to see democracy replaced by strong men or women. When asked whether they would like a strong leader who was willing to break the rules, 80% of French respondents replied “Yes”. The same applied for 68% of Italians, 50% of British, 40% of Americans, 23% of Swedes and 21% of Germans according to a survey in the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* on 31 January 2017.

Can democracy survive long periods of terrorist activity? Or will counter-measures to tackle terrorism – in the form of increased surveillance – erode state legislatures and due process? Are democracies able to function socially with a growing, unintegrated population group and growing illegal immigration, or will our society disintegrate into opposed and competing parallel societies? Will European democracies be able to endure a long-term conflict with Russia, for which ever more parties and governments are displaying a growing sympathy. With Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya and Syria in mind, one might also ask whether our democracies are even remotely capable of defending themselves or going to war. Can European democracies in any way be reformed? Is resistance to change not so deep-seated that reforms will prove impossible? And finally: how are our democracies being shaped by modern communications technology, which promotes short-sighted group thinking and weakens the supply of coherent information, debate and dialogue. Is

representative democracy in the long run able to function alongside direct democracy, which time and again undervalues the former? Is it at all possible to enter into international agreements with such democracies? Who will abide by such agreements when no one is accountable for them?

In summary: It is about time we Europeans began to take ourselves and our democracy very seriously and look the new reality in the eye. But will we? Can we? Dare we?

## Notes

- 1 Among other Danish ministerial posts, dr.phil. Per Stig Møller (conservative) has served as Minister for Foreign Affairs 2001-2010.
- 2 In Danish known as 'Det arabiske Initiativ'.

# Nationalists, National Liberals and Cosmopolitans: Danish Foreign Policy Debates after Brexit and Trump

*Mikkel Vedby Rasmussen<sup>1</sup>*

The windows at the Marriott Hotel offered a stunning view of Copenhagen harbour as the sun rose on 9 November 2016, but of the more than two hundred people gathered in the ballroom for the US Embassy's traditional Election Breakfast, few showed much interest in the view. Instead they focused on the television screens, as CNN declared the US presidential election for Donald Trump. Even if the guests were not as distraught by the result as their host, the US Ambassador, they moved with the hushed awkwardness of people who have risen early to unwelcome news. While television crews pursued the politicians in the crowd for comments on the result, the rest of the guests quietly polled each other for an assessment of the situation. As they drank their coffee and nibbled their breakfast rolls, the business people, diplomats, journalists and other of the Ambassador's guests not only discussed the election of Trump but also the British vote for Brexit in June. These events constituted a break with the fundamental conditions for Danish foreign policy as they had existed since the end of the Cold War. And even if 'wait and see' was probably the slogan of the morning, the guests were in no doubt that they were in for a change when they emerged in the pale November light outside the Marriott after the breakfast.

Even if the long-term effects of Brexit and the election of Donald Trump have yet to play themselves out, they have created a new international environment in which Denmark has to operate and a new set of expectations of foreign policy on the part of the Danish public. According to a poll of February 2017, 59 percent of Danes felt less safe after the election of Donald Trump – terror and Russia scored 35 and 33 percent respectively.<sup>2</sup> Even though these numbers might reflect the nature of the Danish debate on the state of American politics as much as they reflect the actual insecurity created by the US presidential election, the fact that the United States was viewed

as a problem for Danish foreign policy constitutes a significant break with the notion that Denmark was a kind of junior partner to the United States in creating a new, better and more secure world order, which has dominated post-Cold War debates in Denmark on international affairs. This seems to suggest that when the Danes have done waiting and seeing what the election of Trump and Brexit will mean, Denmark will choose a new approach to its foreign and security policy. The present article will describe three approaches to Danish foreign and security policy – nationalism, national liberalism and cosmopolitanism. I have previously argued that Danish foreign and security policy can be understood in terms of a strategic culture constituted by a dialectic debate between defencism and cosmopolitanism (Rasmussen, 2005). This explains the extraordinary consensus behind foreign policy ‘Activism’ of the post-Cold War era. The era of Activism is over, however.

In power political terms, Activism was based on an international order dominated by the United States, which actively intervened politically and militarily in world affairs in order to uphold a liberal, Western order. European integration was an essential part of that order. In ideological terms, Activism was grounded in a conception of globalisation that argued for a closer integration of democratic nations in a free market for goods, services and ideas based on universal values. These values were institutionalised in the UN, NATO and, most deeply, in the EU. Neither the power-political nor the ideological premise holds true anymore. The election of Donald Trump and Brexit are the tombstones that mark the end of the power-political and ideological foundations of the post-Cold War, US-dominated world order known as globalisation (Rasmussen, 2002).

In the post-globalisation world, Activism makes no more sense for Danish policy-makers than neutrality did after the Second World War. The question is how to make sense of this new world and determine which world views will shape Danish policy. Whereas the end of the Cold War was marked by a desire to seek a new and stable world order, current international affairs seem to be defined by disruption. This is also true in Danish politics, where the government’s platform from November 2016 has adopted the concept of disruption as a guide to understanding and dealing with changes in the economic structure of Danish society and their consequences for the labour market. The government’s platform from 27 November 2016 thus refers to ‘an age of disruption’ (*en brydningstid*): ‘this is a crucial time when a great displacement in power relationships and security conditions are taking place. At the same time, the world offers many positive opportunities for a country like Denmark.’<sup>13</sup> How is Denmark to deal with the challenges and op-

portunities of disruption? The discussion over disruption questions existing practices and conceptions of how to conduct policy the most effectively. It is also a term that might merit a more specific definition. Joseph Bower and Clayton Christensen argue that disruption is only superficially about the introduction of new technologies; what the introduction of a new technology really disrupts is determined by its 'performance attributes' (Bowe and Christensen, 1996: 44). New technologies make it possible to do new things, but they do not necessarily do old things well. If a company insists on maintaining old-style business procedures and producing the pre-disruption products in the new circumstances, it will be even worse off than before. The problem for companies, Bower and Christensen points out, is that the customers are often quite satisfied with their old products and existing service agreements. Bower and Christensen conclude that big companies fail to innovate when they follow the management textbook's prescription for giving the customer what she wants (1996: 45). To deal with disruption management needs to re-image not only products but also the customer relationship. In terms of Danish foreign policy, disruption is about, firstly, the increasingly irrelevance of previously effective policies. Activism was an effective strategy in the post-Cold War world, but many of the practices of activism are not relevant in the new political reality created by the election of Donald Trump and Brexit. Secondly, the new environment of action will only become manifest after disruption has run its course: during the period of disruption itself it is by no means clear what the new conditions will be, and actors have a wide scope of action in shaping the new environment. For this reason, there will be fierce competition between different notions of what is actually happening and how best to operate under the new conditions. Thirdly, disruption means new 'customer relationships' or, in terms of international relations, new frameworks of institutions and alliances. How to cope with these three issues will present itself in the form of different business strategies, or, in politics, political ideologies that present a comprehensive guide to a new practice. In the following I will present three such competing views of the performance attributes of Danish foreign and security policy in an age of disruption.

## Denmark First: The Nationalist Approach

A world view can only shape policy if you are not the only one in the world to hold that view. The Danish People's Party (known by its abbreviation, DF) has never had a strong foreign-policy platform for precisely that rea-

son. Established in 1995, the party was born in opposition not only to the cosmopolitan consensus, but also to the prevailing Western discourse on the merits of globalisation (Trads, 2002). This was a time when the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, was declaring that 'globalisation is a fact and, by and large, it is driven by people'.<sup>4</sup> With a completely different conception of what constitutes a people and what drives them, the Danish People's Party had little to offer to that agenda. Even if the party accepted Danish foreign-policy activism and the military interventions that followed, they did so with ideological caveats. Brexit and the election of Donald Trump reverse these circumstances completely. Within a year, it was the established parties that seemed out of tune with a world view among the states with which the Danes identify the most. While the centre and centre-left parties struggled to find a position on Brexit or the election of Donald Trump, the DF felt vindicated. In 1999, Prime Minister Poul Nyrup Rasmussen had deemed them too foul-mouthed to be part polite conversation.<sup>5</sup> Today, Rasmussen's talk about choosing to build windmills to harness the power of globalisation in the same spirit as the windmill giant Vestas builds windmills all over the globe seemed a metaphor way past its sell-by date,<sup>6</sup> while the President of the United States was elected on a promise to build a wall on the border to Mexico. With this in mind, DF Chairman Christian Thulesen Dahl seemed like a paragon of restraint when he described Donald Trump as a 'breath of fresh air'.<sup>7</sup> For surely the election of Trump was a triumph for the Danish People's Party.

'For too long,' President Trump said in his inaugural address, 'a small group in our nation's capital has reaped the rewards of government while the people has born the cost ... the establishment has protected itself but not the citizens of our country'.<sup>8</sup> President Trump's political project was defined by this wish to take back control from political elites perceived as working for their own interests in collusion with other global elites. Trump thus embraced Nigel Farage for having been the first to break this consensus in Britain. During the campaign, the President referred to Brexit as 'a great thing' because the British people had 'taken back their country'.<sup>9</sup> 'We've seen Brexit,' Nigel Farage replied on 9 November 2016 after Trump's victory: 'We've now seen this and don't be surprised to see this political revolution elsewhere – perhaps in Europe next year. There is a general feeling that big, fundamental change and genuine democratic accountability is needed'.<sup>10</sup> For the same reason, President Trump expected Brexit to be the first of several exits from the Union: 'I believe others will leave. I do think keeping it together is not gonna be as easy as a lot of people think the EU to last'.<sup>11</sup> The collapse

of consensus on globalisation and the imminent collapse of the EU are perceived as a crisis by the establishment. The real crisis, according to President Trump, is not the collapse of either globalisation or the EU, it is globalisation and international organisations like the EU which have created the crisis – or ‘carnage’, in the words of Donald Trump – in the lives of ordinary people by robbing them of the opportunity for employment because globalisation leaves ‘rusted-out factories scattered like tombstones across the landscape of our nation.’ By describing the American condition in such Gothic terms, President Trump makes crisis the defining issue of his presidency. In Trump’s political rhetoric the invocation of crisis serves to prove that the current situation is so much worse than recognised by the elites, and having thus established that the elites are part of the problem rather than the solution, the severity of the situation legitimises the radical solutions offered by President Trump. By rising to face the ‘real’ problems, he argues, a ‘truer’ political community can be created, and he promises that ‘a new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights and heal our divisions’. Morten Messerschmidt, an MEP for the Danish People’s Party, followed the same line of argument when he suggested that ‘the truth reveals itself by means of a crisis’. Where President Trump focused on NAFTA, TPP and TIPP as specific examples of the globalisation he wanted to disrupt, Messerschmidt focused on the EU: ‘the financial crisis revealed the truth about the ideological project called the Euro, and now the immigration crisis show us the realities of the open borders and Schengen. More and more areas demonstrate the reality that the way the EU is constructed today will not stand and should be fundamentally changed.’<sup>12</sup> The parliamentarian and the president share a belief that crisis reveals a truth which cosmopolitan elites have tried to hide and that this truth in turn points to a truer policy, a type of policy which is more capable of addressing the real issues than the issues defined by the consensus in Washington, Brussels or Davos. ‘The time has come,’ Pernille Vermund of the new right party concluded, ‘for politicians to decide less in order to give responsibility and freedom back to the Danes.’<sup>13</sup>

A true policy, a policy that speaks not only the language of the ordinary man, but also addresses his problems, will thus entail a very different set of priorities than that defined by the elites. Marie Krarup (DF’s spoke person on defence and daughter of the Reverend Søren Krarup, who has been a highly influential in the party’s ideological debates) thus criticised the Danish Defence Intelligence Service for overestimating the danger posed by Russia. The Intelligence Service’s conclusion that Copenhagen would be within range of the nuclear-capable Iskander missiles Russia was deploying

to Kaliningrad and that Russia had increased its military presence and adopted a more aggressive military posture in the Baltic region was not challenged by Krarup, but she dismissed the notion that these actions should be viewed as an aggressive intent by Kremlin.<sup>14</sup> It seemed that Krarup's main issue with the Intelligence Service's analysis was related to whether Russia wanted to disrupt European and Western unity. The Intelligence Service concludes that 'Russia is very aware of the EU's vulnerabilities and dividing lines, and Russia is actively trying to deepen divisions in the EU countries, between the EU countries and in transatlantic relations'.<sup>15</sup> In other words, Russia had tried to disrupt Western institutions and deepen the crisis. Was that such a bad thing? 'I want the EU dead and buried and replaced by free trade. That is our policy', Marie Krarup stated in August 2016; 'if Putin or Marine Le Pen can help achieve this goal, then that is fine with me'.<sup>16</sup> President Trump made no secret of his admiration for President Putin and even welcomed Russian hacking of Hillary Clinton's campaign. Perhaps Krarup was warier of the Russian President, but she shared Trump's sentiment that, in fighting the elites, one could not be too picky in choosing one's allies. The sense of crisis reinforces the notion that, to save the nation, one had to do what needed to be done. Krarup thus alluded to Winston Churchill's boast that he would have something favourable to say about the Devil if he was an ally against Hitler when she said that she was ready to ally herself with the 'the devil himself' if that was what it took to get rid of the EU.

The religious references to the devil are by no means coincidental. As Messerschmidt noted, the EU stands in the way of perceiving and addressing the real crisis, namely the challenges of Muslim immigration and of terrorism committed by groups like IS – two distinct phenomena which are often linked in this narrative. If there is some reluctance to accept Vladimir Putin as an ally in the assault against the EU, there is no hesitation in expressing admiration for the Russian ability to fight Islam. Marie Krarup thus praised the Russian foreign service by saying that 'the Russian foreign service is fantastically skilled ... they understand how other people think. They can do what EU and NATO is not able to'.<sup>17</sup> From this perspective, making an enemy of Russia is robbing yourself of a capable and determined ally in the most important fight – the civilizational struggle against Islam. While the West, at least until the election of Trump, refused to see the wars in the Middle East as a clash of civilizations, the Russian government is quite explicit in its conception of international relations as a civilizational struggle. 'For the first time in modern history,' *Russia's National Security Strategy to 2020* from 2009 states, 'global competition takes place on a civilizational

level, whereby various values and model of development based on universal principles of democracy and market economy start to clash and compete against each other. Cultural and civilizational diversity of the world becomes more and more manifest.<sup>18</sup> This statement reflects an organic conception of the state as the manifestation of a certain natural will which is distinct from that of other nations and destined to wage a perpetual struggle against other nations. This Hegelian conception of society and history rings true with the Right's conception of Denmark as well.

When Putin's government is praised for its effective foreign policy by Krarup or for its determination by Trump, this praise should not be regarded as a treatise on comparative politics. This is not an in-depth analysis of Russia, but rather a determined plea for policies which should be adopted in Denmark or the United States. In the words of the *New York Times*, such praise is a rhetorical 'dog whistle'<sup>19</sup> which only their electorates can hear the true meaning of. In this narrative, Russia becomes a mythical place where right-wing ambitions are realised in the same way as the DDR was a mythical place where left-wing ambitions were supposed to be realised before the end of the Cold War. The reality of everyday life in Putin's Russia is beside the point in an argument which is primarily about establishing a template for approaching politics in a different way and with far greater ruthlessness. In the debate on the right of Danish politics, praising Putin thus serves to demonstrate your anti-establishment credentials. This is especially important for the Danish People's Party at a time it is being challenged from the left by the social democrats and from the right by Ms Vermund's New Right.<sup>20</sup>

Saying 'Denmark first' is a prescription for a different kind of policy than saying 'America first'. Denmark cannot indulge in populist flights of fancy in the way the United States can. Yet, what might be a flight of fancy for the United States quickly becomes a condition of policy for Denmark. In that sense, the foreign-policy discourse in Washington matters greatly for how the government in Copenhagen defines its scope of action. Given that Danish foreign policy has previously depended on a broad consensus on 'Activism', there is great scope for changing elements of Danish foreign policy simply by adhering to another world view, especially if that world view is shared, or at least partly shared, by the occupant of the White House. Following this line of reasoning, one might argue that, if the Danish government wanted to continue the policy of following Washington's lead, then it should adopt the narrative presented so forcefully by Krarup, Vermund, Messerschmidt and others. Such a policy would give access to the British as well as the American governments at a time when the new administrations in London and Wash-

ington are anxiously looking for allies on an otherwise hostile continent.

A 'Denmark first' policy would be anti-Islam. It would provide an ideological context to the tough Danish immigration laws which previous governments have largely avoided giving an ideological foundation to. If the Danish government were to embrace the clash-of-civilisation rhetoric of President Putin, however, it would offer a new foreign-policy narrative that would defuse the conflict with Russia in a single speech. Marie Krarup is of course right that from a Russian perspective the West is creating the conflict, and thus the conflict can be largely defused by accepting the Russian world view and granting Kremlin the influence it desires. Krarup describes this as a 'realist' foreign policy which 'recognises that different countries and cultures hold different values' (Krarup, 2017: 45). From this 'realist' perspective, the concessions the West would have to make to Russia are either trivial compared to the perceived clash with Muslim civilisation or helpful in undermining the EU. The Denmark-firsters are probably more anti-Islam than the Russian government, which has been careful not to alienate its very large Muslim minority.

This is not to say that putting Denmark first would mean invoking Article 50. There is no majority in Parliament, nor currently any majority in the electorate for leaving the EU. On the other hand, there is no appetite for more integration either. Patience will therefore probably be the 'realist' strategy, as the Denmark-firsters wait for either new proposals for further integration, which can be exploited to generate more opposition to the EU, or wait for the UK to reach an agreement with Brussels under Article 50, which will then present a real alternative to membership. Faced with either an ultimatum or an alternative, the electorate would be much more open to Denmark-first arguments. In practical terms, this means an unsteady truce on European integration; security and defence policy is another matter entirely because it is hard to imagine the Danish People's Party underwriting an increase in the defence budget which is explicitly based on a greater threat from Russia. Defence might thus become a contentious issue for the first time since 2003, when the current structure of the armed forces was decided and DF became part of the Defence agreement. There is room for compromise, however. Conscription will be a powerful bargaining chip for the Denmark-firsters, who would like to increase conscription because they believe that military service instils Danish values in the younger generation. A marked increase in conscription could be made part of a rearmament initiative and thus interpreted by some parties as a measure against Russia and by others, including DF, as a way to strengthen the nation in ways with which Putin would sympathise.

## A Friend in Berlin: The National Liberals

If the nationalist position is based on a perception of a crisis which the elites ignore at their peril, then the national liberals perceive the nationalist surge to be the crisis. The national liberal label is an old one in Danish politics, the name under which the progressive forces that wrote the 1849 constitution operated. While they argued for free trade and deregulation of the economy, they also pursued a nationalist policy toward the German minority that led to the 1864 war. The national liberal movement was defeated in Copenhagen when the Danish army was defeated at Dybbøl. Ever since no one has wanted to be associated with the national liberal brand. Thus I use this label with some irony, but also in recognition of the fact that at the present time the only way to be a liberal at the centre of Danish politics is to be Denmark-first. The national liberals are no less impressed by a sense of crisis than the nationalists are. Their perception of the nature of the crisis is radically different from the Denmark-firsters, however. Where the nationalists feel vindicated, the national liberals have a sense of a project that is collapsing. Where the nationalists regard the crisis as the erosion of the nation state's ability to defend itself against Islam because of a careless cosmopolitan elite and see Brexit and the election of Trump as a response to this crisis, the national liberals regard the election of Trump and Brexit as the crisis itself.

Foreign Minister Anders Samuelsen has thus expressed the fear that the EU might collapse within three to five years.<sup>21</sup> By arguing in this way, Samuelsen is setting his goals for his period at the Foreign Ministry in terms of what should be avoided. It follows from his statement that Denmark should do its best to avoid such a collapse. Yet, having recognised that this is indeed a real possibility, he is also indirectly making an argument for disruption. If one believed without hesitation in the survival of the Union, then Danish policy should continue within the EU set-up, in which case there is a clear path to follow. Having recognised the possibility of collapse of the European project, however, the foreign minister tacitly recognises that European politics are moving beyond the normal into new and more turbulent waters. How to navigate these rougher waters then becomes the real question for the minister and his civil servants to answer. That answer must include alternatives to the EU. The minister thus recognises that ultimately Denmark might have to operate in a European environment in which the EU no longer exists. This sense of crisis echoes the nationalists' notion that this is an age of disruption where old policies cannot address new problems. However, the

perspective is very different. While in opposition, the current Minister for Higher Education and Science, Søren Pind summed up this perspective of crisis by arguing that:

‘at present it’s our way of life which is under severe pressure from two sides. Many people are starting to believe that authoritarian capitalism, represented by China, is the way forward instead of our democratic capitalism. Regarding the Islamic threat, many believe that it might be it that overwhelms us all. It is important that the democratic institutions will fight for themselves. Thus this is not merely a matter of idealism, but also of self-recognition, power and reality.’<sup>22</sup>

Whereas Marie Krarup regards the new authoritarianism as an ally in the struggle against Islam, Søren Pind regards both neo-authoritarianism and Islamism as enemies of ‘democratic capitalism’. The real crisis for Pind is thus whether the institutions of democracy can defend themselves. The nationalists are thus a part of the problem rather than of the solution in Pind’s perspective. Anders Fogh Rasmussen applied this argument to Donald Trump (at least before the election – Rasmussen seemed to soften his view on Trump somewhat after the election): ‘supporting the forces that seek the fragmentation of Europe, Trump represents a new, dangerous and protest-like view. One can fear that when Trump says “America First”: this means a return to the isolationism of the United States in the 1930s which led to world catastrophe.’<sup>23</sup>

This is a crisis in the algorithm that has defined Danish foreign policy since the end of the Cold War. This activism was based on the simple premise that, if Denmark closely followed the lead set by the United States and the United Kingdom, then it would be in the vanguard of globalisation. Activism was thus a prescription for how to act rather than what to do because the content of policies was to be decided in Washington and London. With Brexit and the election of Trump, London and Washington have explicitly stated that they will now be focusing on their own interests rather than pursuing the interests of a globalised West. Copenhagen can no longer expect that its close allies will formulate policies and take initiatives in which Denmark can be part, nor be sure that it will agree with Washington’s policies. Former Minister of Finance and present Defence Minister Claus Hjort Frederiksen thus commented on Donald Trump: ‘What he says seem very insensitive. It goes against a lot of what we have been working for. I have

been passionate about free trade, growth and better welfare for many years. Apparently, he follows a different tune, talking about walls and that sort of thing.<sup>24</sup> So what is Denmark to do if its major allies start playing a different tune? First, it will lead to a recognition that there is no longer any one global liberal project and that each nation must pursue its own policies. 'We have to recognise', argues Anders Samuelsen, 'that foreign policy is determined by the member states [of the EU]. We are different nations. There are areas where we can cooperate – e.g. peacekeeping missions, but when it comes to agreeing on which Russian civil servants to block by sanctions we can hardly agree.'<sup>25</sup> The government's platform from November 2016 reflects this sentiment when it states that 'the government will actively pursue Denmark's interests through strong European cooperation.'<sup>26</sup> This formulation made European integration a vehicle for pursuing Danish interests and thus for using foreign-policy activism in a new context: instead of activism being about Danish participation in a common effort, activism was now about using a common effort to realize Denmark's goals. This was also true of the government's position on Brexit: 'in the negotiations between the EU and Britain, the government's focus will be to pursue Denmark's interests'.<sup>27</sup> To the government the main question was thus to pursue the Kingdom's interests, but what exactly are they? Perhaps it is no coincidence that the government's most clearly articulated formulation of its interpretation of Danish interests came in November 2016 when Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen visited Berlin and was offered the rare honour of speaking to the *Bundestag* on *Volkstrauertag*, when Germany remembers the victims of war:

'Europe is facing a defining moment in time. A 100 years after the Battle of the Somme in the First World War – a tragedy of senseless killing – we are united in a union of peace. But also a union under pressure. We face cowardly terrorist attacks – attempting to break down our free and democratic societies. We face slow economic growth with millions of European citizens out of jobs. Nationalism and protectionism are becoming false symbols of hope. This must not lead to further division. Instead, we must stand together. Safeguard the immense achievements of European cooperation. And Europe needs Germany to keep on leading the way.'<sup>28</sup>

The Prime Minister identified the success of the European project with Germany's willingness to lead. In Lars Løkke Rasmussen's account, European

integration is neither the self-perpetuating process which functionalist students of European integration believe it to be, nor the product of a common purpose in creating a new political reality which federalists believe. The Danish Prime Minister believes that European integration depends on German leadership. Thus in structural terms, his analysis is not very different from President Trump, who believes that the EU is 'a vehicle for Germany'.<sup>29</sup> But even though Rasmussen and Trump agree on the centrality of German power for the EU, they view the way this power is used very differently. Trump regards the EU as a vehicle of German power, whereas Rasmussen would like Germany to use its power to safeguard the Union. Rasmussen does not fear German hegemony as much as he fears German disengagement, which would leave small European states like Denmark without the tutelage of the European Union. Nationalists would certainly see this as a confirmation that the European integration project is an alliance between national elites against a sceptical electorate. However, the government has been clear that the EU is a means to an end rather than an end in itself. Securing German support is a way to prop up European integration, but it is also an insurance policy against the foreign minister's fear that the EU might collapse in five years being realized. Denmark is thus in the process of replacing the United States and the UK with Germany as a key ally so as to redefine the nature of Danish foreign-policy activism. In so doing the government is following a well-known script: it has just replaced Washington and London with Berlin in the leading role. One might argue that in so doing the government is bringing Danish security policy in line with other aspects of foreign policy which have long been following the German lead. Even so it is a crucial difference, since the links with London and Washington gave the Danish government greater scope for action than an exclusive focus on Berlin will allow. This is to a large extent a question of imagination, since Berlin's outlook is much more Europe-focused than Danish foreign policy has been since the end of the Cold War. The Danish government is thus regionalising its foreign-policy agenda.

The precariousness of this policy is reflected in the government's aim of pursuing Danish interests in a strong Europe. One answer to Brexit is to give a new impetus to integration. In his state of the union speech on 14 September 2016 in Strasbourg, which was followed by a meeting of the heads of state and government in Bratislava two days later, the President of the European Commission thus announced that 'Member States must build a Europe that protects'.<sup>30</sup> In the Bratislava Roadmap the European agenda is defined in terms of internal and external security. Youth unemployment was

added to the document almost as an afterthought. On a continent where 20 percent of people under 25 are unemployed, any political priority which is put above fighting youth unemployment must be truly important. Perhaps this prioritization is the clearest indication that the EU plans to use security rather than the economy as the vehicle for further integration after Brexit. The Danish government's problem is that it is neither part of the European Security and Defence Policy nor the Euro. Thus because of the roadmap decided by the European leaders, Denmark simply cannot pursue an active policy to create a stronger Europe. The Danes' most vital contribution will be not to stand in the way. This means that the government must gravitate towards securing Danish interests by making sure that increased integration in the areas in which Denmark has opt-outs does not make Danexit a reality by default. For this purpose, the Danish government needs Berlin to put in a word for Denmark and make sure that any new initiatives leave a role for the country. The fact that Denmark secured a working arrangement with Europol despite the rejection of membership in a referendum is one example of this.

Even though it might change over time, the current national liberal approach is thus to replace the United States and the United Kingdom with Germany, but otherwise to continue pursuing a liberal foreign policy. In many ways, Chancellor Merkel is the last Western leader who believes in the values that have defined Danish foreign-policy activism. From this perspective, the re-orientation towards Berlin seems to be the least disruptive approach open to Danish foreign policy. This also constitutes the inherent challenge in this approach, namely that Germany and Denmark do not hold similar beliefs on European integration. On value-related issues like immigration, Chancellor Merkel and Prime Minister Rasmussen represent very different views. This was demonstrated in the serious disagreements between Berlin and Copenhagen in 2015 when Denmark responded to the surge of refugees in Europe by closing its borders to the consternation of the German government, which insisted that it could manage the influx of refugees. On this as on many other issues Denmark continues to be closer to London than Berlin. On neither integration nor immigration does the Danish government have much room for manoeuvre, however, and that means that Copenhagen has very little to offer its new best friends in Berlin. During the 1990-2015 period, Danish foreign-policy activism was sustained by continuous military engagements supporting Anglo-American interventions. Cooperation with Berlin cannot be sustained in this way, but if Denmark has little to offer in terms of contributing to European integration, it is difficult to see how

the renewed alliance could be deepened. Perhaps it is on this issue that the national liberals prove that they are indeed liberals, since cooperation with Berlin is based on the premise that international cooperation carries its own reward and on the liberal belief that progress will eventually overcome the problems of the present. In short, the national liberal strategy is to hope for the best.

The Danish government might find that taking out an insurance policy against future changes in the European order in Berlin is too narrow a foreign-policy goal to constitute a real alignment with Berlin. Denmark will not be a central part of any effort Germany might undertake to strength the Union, and Berlin and Copenhagen might quickly find themselves on different pathways. The best Copenhagen can hope for is acceptance of a multi-speed Europe, but where would that leave Danish foreign policy? A Danish foreign minister should also want to set agendas, rather than just taking notes on what goes on in Brussels while he is not there. Paradoxically, this might lead to a revitalisation of the Anglo-Danish relationship. The UK will be in the same situation as Denmark, namely looking for new initiatives to constitute a post-Brexit foreign policy, and while the UK would like to define an extra-European foreign policy, it is actually returning to northern Europe with an enhanced forward presence and other deterrence measures against Russia in a way not seen since the end of the Cold War. In terms of security, there is thus room for Copenhagen and London to continue the defense cooperation they established during the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. The UK will surely be looking for ways to use defense cooperation as bridge to other types of cooperation at a time when London needs all the European allies it can get.

## A Global Denmark: The Cosmopolitans

The national liberals are attempting to continue Danish foreign-policy activism under the new conditions created by Brexit and the election of Donald Trump. Their greatest challenge is to ensure continuation of the EU and the global trade regime in the face of disruption. The nationalists are the agents of disruption and have nothing but contempt for what they perceive as the elites clinging to the rigging of a sinking ship. The cosmopolitans applaud the collapse of the globalization agenda and rejoice at the demise of Danish foreign-policy activism. Activism began as an uneasy compromise between cosmopolitans and defencists (Rasmussen, 2005), but the Iraq War and subsequent military engagements alienated the cosmopolitans from Activism,

which they considered had degenerated into kneejerk militarism, a militarism that was inspired by lofty, liberal ideas which it in practice was unable to deliver on. The author Carsten Jensen has emerged as the most eloquent critic of the Danish involvement in Afghanistan, and in 2013 he summed up the cosmopolitan assessment of activism: 'I see good intentions combined with ignorance, incompetence and an unlimited supply of weaponry'.<sup>31</sup> The historian Paul Villaume described activism as an 'unreflective adjustment to Washington's security policy'.<sup>32</sup> These critics shared the nationalist's suspicions of the EU and NATO and also agreed with the nationalists that a confrontation with Russia was the result of an expansive Western foreign policy. In other words, they believed that many of the problems which present-day foreign and security policy is supposed to address have been created by that very same foreign-policy paradigm. Activism is part of the problem rather than part of the solution. By abandoning activism and declining to follow the United States into its various military adventures, it is argued, a more comprehensive security will be achieved than following the present course. While the cosmopolitans agree with the nationalist's critique of activism, they are not arguing for the same alternative policy. Whereas the nationalists claim to be speaking for the Danish people and its true interests, the cosmopolitans want to leave the parochial conception of national interests behind in favour of a world view that places Danes in a community with the other peoples of the globe. The Alternative Party's spokesperson on foreign affairs, Rasmus Norqvist, summed up this view when he called for 'making Denmark the best country *for* the world'.<sup>33</sup> Denmark should no longer ask how best to realise Danish interests, but rather how Denmark could act for the greater good.

At the heart of the very different policy prescriptions that follow on from the nationalists' and cosmopolitans' critiques of activism is a radically different conception of what constitutes the Danish nation and how that nation is related to the outside world. According to the nationalists, a war is being fought to maintain the Western, including the Danish, way of life under the joint onslaught of Muslim immigration and Islamite terrorism, which are often regarded as two sides of the same coin. This war takes many forms – some of them armed conflict, some a social struggle over identity – but in each and every case the Danish people are seen as being pitted against outside influences. The cosmopolitan perspective is increasingly being formulated as a response to this conception of a clash of civilisations. From a cosmopolitan perspective, foreign policy was one of several policies causing 'many refugees or descendants of refugees [to] feel alienated religiously and ethnically in

Denmark', as the poet Yayha Hassan put it during his brief spell as a politician. He mentioned one example of this: 'As opposed to Denmark, Sweden is not a member of NATO and the military coalition that drops bombs on civilians. Sweden has also recognized Palestine, thus sending an important signal and bringing the population together by recognizing minorities'.<sup>34</sup> By pointing to Sweden, Yayha Hassan is also pointing to a counterfactual foreign policy – a world in which Denmark did not enter the path of military activism after the Cold War but remained true to the Scandinavian notion of a harmonious society with fellow-feeling and cooperation among persons and classes (Østergaard, 1992). This was the traditional point of departure for Danish cosmopolitanism. Foreign minister P. Munch<sup>35</sup> claimed that the starting point for foreign policy should be 'the fellow-feeling and cooperation between persons, classes and states, not the blind struggle for power where one believes only in getting ahead at the expense of others' (Munch, quoted in Pedersen, 1970: 412). The cosmopolitans are thus speaking to an older notion of Denmark's place in the world which was almost lost in the period after the end of the Cold War, but the homogenous, liberal Danish society which produced that perspective hardly exists any longer. Today, cosmopolitanism is about multiculturalism, which connects Danes of many faiths and ethnicities to the rest of the world. The fact that Denmark did not intervene in the civil war in Syria appalled Haifaa Awad, who could not recognise her own values in the policies of the Danish government in relation to the civil war raging in her ancestral Syria. She wrote that she was unable to recognise 'my Denmark' in the discourse and policy on Syria, and continued: 'The number of refugees are at its highest since the Second World War, the blood-bath in Syria continues mercilessly and the Syrian people is squashed between Islamists and an ice-cold regime. And in Denmark we only do ice-cold calculations in order to keep the refugees out. Problems are to be solved in the region, they say.'<sup>36</sup> For Haifaa Awad, the distinction between the Middle East and Denmark makes little sense: her identity is defined by both. Hence the distinction between the 'ice-cold' calculation of interests in the Foreign Ministry and her own motivations, which are driven by the white heat of emotions. Awad's notion of 'a Denmark' naturally implies the existence of different 'Denmarks', or, more precisely, different notions of Danish identity. Her anger at the lack of empathy and involvement in the Syrian civil war is also a reaction against the national assertion that the fates of the Syrian and Danish peoples are not related when they are clearly linked in her biography. From this perspective, the debate is not about foreign policy but about who can count themselves Danes and how Danish identity is constructed in rela-

tion to the rest of the world. This is especially controversial in relation to the Middle East: is the relationship with the Muslim world defined by a conflict between Western values and Islam, or is it rather a family relationship with similar people moving between different societies?

From the cosmopolitan perspective, Carsten Jensen's description of Danish foreign and security policy should be turned on its head. Thus, instead of being defined by good intentions, ignorance, incompetence and an unlimited supply of weaponry, policy should be formulated on the basis of knowledge, skill and civilian capacity. Knowledge is the most important element, knowledge in the form of cultural understanding and concrete experience with life as it is lived in other places on the globe. Knowledge becomes the ability to operate in a world that is defined by your biography rather than by borders. From the cosmopolitan perspective, such knowledge should be seen as the antithesis of the perceived ignorance of the nationalist perspective. Tarak Barkawi and Shane Brighton have made a similar critique of British foreign policy, arguing that Britain is failing to exploit the fact that it is the hub of a post-colonial network because British elites do not imagine Britain having a global reach. According to Barkawi and Brighton, British strategy is informed by a nationalist reading of history rather than a cosmopolitan one (Barkawi and Brighton, 2013). They argue for a 'Brown Britain strategy'; Danish cosmopolitans could – though tongue in cheek – argue for a Dark Denmark strategy, which would put civilian networks rather than military power at the centre of foreign and security policy. Danish cosmopolitans have always questioned the utility of force. A Dark Denmark strategy would emphasise the use of NGOs to link diasporas in Denmark with their brethren in other places in the world. In that way, cultural understandings could be exploited to make much more effective strategies for development and assistance in the third world. The focus would be much less Eurocentric and much less cautious about getting involved because from a cosmopolitan perspective the interrelationships between societies mean that involvement is unavoidable in global affairs. This focus on involvement based on mutual agreements and understandings constitutes a rejection of the liberal notion of global values, as well as a rejection of the perceived need to enforce a global liberal order by military force. These cosmopolitans are thus highly critical of the United States, and the election of Donald Trump will only have boosted this. From a cosmopolitan perspective, his insistence on the will of the American people as opposed to other peoples will make Trump as problematic as Vladimir Putin. From that perspective, however, the EU does not necessarily fare much better because it is perceived as a community

that insists on creating a European identity at odds with the cosmopolitan relationships of Dark Denmark.

## Conclusions

Activism defined Danish foreign policy with reference to a specific set of values, and even though these values were hotly disputed, they nonetheless formed the basis of an algorithm of how to debate and decide on foreign-policy issues. That algorithm no longer adds up, as the activist perspective has been replaced by three competing perspectives on Danish foreign and security policy. The nationalist perspective on Danish foreign policy takes its point of departure in the belief that the main task of foreign policy is to defend the integrity of the Danish people against the perceived onslaught from Islam. The national liberals share a government perspective regarding foreign policy as a government-to-government relationship. Where the nationalists have an organic notion of the state and thus believe that government should express the 'will of the people', the national liberals focus on the national interest consisting in a longer term commitment to free trade and international institutions which transcend the current Euro-sceptic climate. This is the position which the cosmopolitans regards as 'cold'. Taking their point of departure in individuals, the latter engage in a type of identity politics which is fundamentally at odds and in many ways a creation of nationalist identity politics. To the cosmopolitans, international relations are first and foremost relations between individuals interrelated in ways that transcend borders. Whereas the national liberals want to defend the state and its interests against the whims of the electorate and the nationalists want to take over the state in order to make it a vehicle for the popular will as they define it, the cosmopolitans prefer initiatives that link civil societies together in the search for specific solutions to specific problems.

The three perspectives thus deal with disruption in different ways. The nationalists regard the disruption caused by Brexit and the election of Donald Trump as an opportunity to replace the liberal international institutions that support the national liberal order with a more nationalistic mode of governance. The national liberals seek to strengthen existing institutions by mobilising Germany to underwrite them. In their view, the disruption is a temporary crisis which can be overcome by investing politically in the EU and other international institutions. Because cosmopolitans embrace disruption, they will, albeit with trepidation, welcome the havoc caused by Brex-

it and the election of Donald Trump. In their analysis the events of 2016 demonstrate that the current political system in the West is unsustainable. Like the nationalists, they see the crisis as an opportunity to fundamentally rewrite the code of political DNA, but they see the nationalists as part of the corrupted code which needs to be removed if a healthy body politics is to be restored.

The national liberals dominate Parliament and the Foreign Minister with the support of the press and most public intellectuals. They have the political capital that the two other perspectives lack. Some of that can be spent on compromises that continue the tradition of activism by accommodating national and cosmopolitan concerns in joint projects. On the conceptual level the fact that the liberal, integration-friendly segment has morphed into a national liberal position is a major concession to the nationalists. Still, the centre that the national liberals defend might not hold under the onslaught from nationalists and cosmopolitans combined. In fact, the dominance of the national liberal view among increasingly unpopular elites constitutes that position's greatest weakness. This conceptual weakness is enforced by the fact that current events are also weakening the national liberal position. As opposed to the Activism years, Parliament and the Foreign Ministry no longer set the agenda and thus can no longer use specific foreign-policy events to shape a foreign-policy discourse. Most of these events seem to be undercurrent to the narrative the national liberals would like to promote, for each trade treaty the United States annuls, each foreign policy-gain by Russia and China, each crisis in Brussels and each election of nationalist leaders undermines the idea of a current crisis that can be overcome. In the final analysis, the national liberals have no answer for what to do if the EU collapses, if the United States withdraws from NATO, if Russia becomes the dominant power in the Baltics or if Angela Merkel is not re-elected as German chancellor. Cosmopolitans and nationalists do have something new to offer, even if national liberals reject their ideas as catastrophes in their own right. This means that they will often steal a march on the national liberals, who are forever destined to react, rather produce ideas for a pro-active policy.

A political idea is not destroyed because the projects it informs are unsuccessful; a political idea is destroyed when it is no longer able to inform new projects to deal with new problems. What disruption really disrupts is the algorithms of political ideas – the prescriptions for formulating and implementing political projects. The national liberals are defending a European order and insisting on Denmark's continuing commitment to it, though it seems unable to deal in new ways with new problems. Nationalism and cos-

mopolitanism embrace disruption and are thus able to suggest new ideas and point to new political projects. It is this ability to innovate, rather than the quality of their policy suggestions, that could give them the upper hand in the debate on the future of Danish security and defence policy. The nationalists and cosmopolitans should be careful what they wish for, however. It is one thing to long for disruption; it is another to live in a world created by disruption.

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# The Greenland Card: Prospects for and Barriers to Danish Arctic Diplomacy in Washington<sup>1</sup>

*Anders Henriksen and Jon Rahbek-Clemmensen<sup>2</sup>*

Globalisation and climate change have made the Arctic region an increasingly important area of global concern. Greenland is part of the Kingdom of Denmark, which makes Denmark one of only eight Arctic states, offering Copenhagen ample opportunity to exert its influence on a region of increasing strategic importance. As Ambassador Peter Taksøe-Jensen noted in his 2016 assessment of Danish foreign policy, Denmark is ‘an Arctic great power’ (Taksøe-Jensen 2016: i).

The Arctic region is important to the United States, and Greenland has historically served American strategic purposes, in particular during the Cold War, when the island constituted a vital node in NATO’s nuclear deterrence system *vis-à-vis* the Soviet Union. The United States is also an important Danish ally, and Copenhagen’s willingness to allow the United States to construct and operate military installations in Greenland during the Cold War gave Danish governments the so-called Greenland Card (‘Grønlandskortet’), which could be played in exchange for certain benefits both in Washington and within NATO (Danish Foreign Policy Institute 1997; Danish Institute for International Studies 2005; Lidegaard 1996; Ringsmose 2008; Villaume 1996). In light of the fundamental changes occurring in the Arctic, it is pertinent to ask whether the Greenland Card still exists. To what extent can Denmark use Greenland to enhance its influence over American policies on matters of interest to Denmark? What are the immediate barriers to Danish Arctic diplomacy in relation to the United States?<sup>3</sup>

The present chapter is a study of the interests of Denmark, Greenland and the United States in Greenland and the Arctic and the perceptions of the triangular dynamics involved among policy-makers in the three countries. Studying the perceptions of these dynamics helps us explore whether there are barriers inhibiting Danish Arctic diplomacy in Washington. The chapter

is based on interviews with relevant politicians, diplomats and experts from Denmark, Greenland and the United States conducted in the course of 2016 in Copenhagen, Nuuk, Brussels and Washington.<sup>4</sup> Most of our interviewees participated on the condition of anonymity, and although we give some background information on each interviewee, we have ensured that they cannot be identified. We are aware that many of our interviewees may have their own agendas and, when possible, we have sought to verify the content of their statements from numerous other sources.

The chapter takes its point of departure in Denmark's and Greenland's respective interests, which sometimes conflict. As a small country located in a geopolitically precarious site, maintaining a good relationship with and influence in the United States are crucial goals of Danish foreign policy. Greenland offers an opportunity to gain leverage and access that may be utilised for other purposes (Henriksen and Ringsmose 2011; Rahbek-Clemmensen 2014).

Greenland, by contrast, strives to achieve full independence from Copenhagen in the long term. For the time being, however, due to its current fiscal situation, the island will remain dependent on the substantial annual economic block grant (DKK 3.7 billion (roughly USD 530 million) in 2016, excluding services) that it receives from Denmark (Statistics Denmark 2016, p. 474; Economic Council of Greenland 2016, p. 26). To improve its economy, Greenland is seeking to find as many sources of revenue as possible, most importantly investments by foreign firms, including Chinese companies. Furthermore, Greenland is seeking to obtain as much international recognition and political autonomy as possible within the framework of the Kingdom of Denmark (Kristensen and Rahbek-Clemmensen 2016).

We start our analysis with an overview of the United States' interests in Greenland before we present the various ways in which Denmark and Greenland can benefit from the American engagement in the Arctic. In the final part of the chapter, we discuss the existing barriers to improving Denmark's Arctic diplomacy in Washington.

## American interests in Greenland

In modern history, Greenland has primarily been of interest to the United States due to its geographical location on the shortest route as the crow flies between Russia and North America. The United States has always sought to protect its north-eastern flank and to ensure that foreign powers cannot use

the island as a launchpad for operations in the vicinity of the United States. Even before the United States emerged as a global superpower, Washington sought to understand and exercise control over the far north, including several attempts to purchase the island from Denmark in the nineteenth century and around the two world wars. During World War II, the United States sought to obtain a foothold in Greenland to prevent Germany from using the island to construct weather stations and to land aircraft *en route* to North America. The American government struck a deal with Henrik Kaufmann, the then Danish Ambassador to the United States, who granted the United States extensive rights to utilise Greenlandic territory for military purposes. The agreement between Denmark and the United States was considered to be a Danish contribution to the allied forces during the war. In the Cold War period, American military installations in Greenland played an important role in America's nuclear early-warning system and in monitoring and countering Soviet naval activities in the North Atlantic (Berry 2016; Danish Foreign Policy Institute 1997; Danish Institute for International Studies 2005; Lidegaard 1996).

Although geostrategic interests still inform the overall American position, 'the opening of the Arctic' has also helped increase American interest in Greenland. In practice, the United States' interests in Greenland can be divided into three broad categories that we shall examine in more detail in this section: military-strategic interests; the opening up of the Arctic region, and political stability in Greenland. American interests in the region are far from static, and ample opportunity exists for exerting influence on the American political agenda.

### **Military-strategic interests**

The United States' military-strategic interests in Greenland are derived from Greenland's geographical location between North America and Russia. Thus, the island's strategic importance to the United States is closely related to the latter's relationship with Russia. When Russia is perceived to be a threat to the North American continent the United States is more interested in Greenland, and *vice versa*. In the words of one interviewee, the United States considers Greenland 'through the lenses of Russia. It is primarily about geography and the ability to operate in that area ... Greenland is nice because of its location.'

As already noted, the American military installations in Greenland, most notably Thule Air Base, constituted a vital element in the American nuclear deterrence system during the Cold War. However, the strategic importance

of the installations in Greenland declined substantially after the collapse of the Soviet Union. It is sometimes claimed that Thule Air Base could also play a role in the defence of North America against missile threats from rogue states, such as North Korea (Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2003; Dragsdahl 2003), but we found no evidence for concluding that such threats increase Greenland's importance significantly. As Greenland's strategic importance to the United States is linked to US-Russian relations, Greenland's strategic significance may increase if that relationship were to deteriorate. Russia's 2014 annexation of Crimea and its support for pro-Russian militants in eastern Ukraine worsened the relationship between the West and Russia and at the time of writing (March 2017), the United States is still participating in the sanctions regime that was imposed on Russia in 2014.

It is not yet clear what concrete policies the Trump administration will pursue in relation to Russia. In his presidential campaign, Trump spoke in favour of improving American-Russian relations, but he also indicated that he would seek to strengthen American missile defence capabilities, which would be considered a hostile move by the Russians.

Either way, the Arctic may end up playing an important role in US-Russian relations. In case of an American-Russian rapprochement the two governments are likely to search for areas of cooperation, and the Arctic would be a good place to start. After all, the region has remained an area of low-tension, even during the height of the Ukraine crisis, and it would therefore be a natural place to resume diplomatic relations (Oliker and Kurtunov 2017). While Greenland would become less important to the United States, Denmark could play a constructive role by facilitating Arctic cooperation with Russia.

Increased tensions between the United States and Russia, on the other hand, are likely to lead to an enhanced focus on the seas between Greenland, Iceland and the United Kingdom – the so-called 'Greenland-Iceland-United-Kingdom Gap' (GIUK gap). The GIUK gap is a bottleneck of strategic importance to the ability of Russian submarines to operate in the North Atlantic, and surveillance of the area is set to remerge as an American priority and a task for Western defence in the event of a crisis between the United States and Russia (Hicks et al. 2016; Gramer 2016). To monitor the GIUK gap effectively, the United States is likely to rely on its local allies, most notably Iceland, Norway and the United Kingdom, but Greenland could also play a constructive role. For example, bases in Greenland could be utilised, and Danish forces could contribute capabilities designed for anti-submarine warfare (Hicks et al. 2016: 23). As was the case during the Cold War, the Faroe Islands could also play a substantial role (Jensen 2004: 13–40, 59–76).

## The opening up of the Arctic

American interests in Greenland are not limited to the island's important strategic location and its military-strategic relationship with Russia. Climate change and the accompanying 'opening up of the Arctic' and the seas in the North Atlantic have also drawn American attention to the region. In recent decades, regional organisations, such as the Arctic Council, have gradually become more important to the United States, and the 2015 American National Security Strategy explicitly refers to climate change as a security concern (United States Coast Guard 2013; White House 2015: 12; 2013: 4; Danish Ministry of Defense 2016b: 48). The increase in American interest in the polar region and the Arctic Council is not solely a result of its chairmanship of the Arctic Council in 2015. For instance, while the United States used to be represented in Arctic forums by Under-Secretaries or Deputy Secretaries of State, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton began to prioritise her own participation in high-level meetings in Arctic forums, such as the Arctic Five meeting in Chelsea, Canada, in 2010 and the Arctic Council Ministerial in Nuuk, Greenland, in 2011, years before the US chairmanship. John Kerry continued this trend by participating in the Arctic Council ministerials in 2013 and 2015 and by visiting Greenland in 2016. President Obama's 2015 visit to Alaska probably represented a new high in American interest in the Arctic.

The Obama Administration sought to put climate change on the political agenda in Washington, and Greenland often served as a symbol of the severe implications of climate change and the melting of the icecaps. Forces both within and outside the American administration recognise the importance of pushing for a pro-active climate policy and the potential for using Greenland as an example of how climate change will have repercussions for infrastructure and public services. As an American civil servant put it, 'Greenland is ground zero for rising sea-levels... This is a problem that requires long-term thinking... The problem is to capture people's attention.'

The opening up of the Arctic region has led to an increased American interest in acquiring Arctic coastguard competences and capabilities. At present, the ability of the United States to operate in the Arctic is fairly limited. The United States government is therefore keen to learn from states familiar with operating in the Arctic environment. The American Coast Guard is actively seeking to develop the capacities required for the surveillance of Arctic waters, the conduct of search and rescue operations and effective environmental protection. The Coast Guard struggles to gather information and acquire maritime domain awareness in this region, and there is also an acute

lack of reliable information about weather conditions and iceberg frequency in the seas around Greenland. The Coast Guard has tried to gather information and experience from other Arctic nations, including Denmark, Finland, and Norway, in its effort to train officers and develop new capabilities. American officers have, for example, been deployed on board Danish vessels in the Arctic to gain a first-hand impression of Arctic operations.

The Trump administration's 2017 budget proposal indicates that it will be less interested in the Arctic and that both climate change and the Coast Guard are likely to face significant cuts (Enge 2017). Although this indicates that Denmark will find it harder to cooperate with the new administration in the Arctic, it also offers new opportunities for Danish Arctic diplomacy in Washington. Political forces within the civil service, Congress, and the think tanks will still push for a more active climate policy. For instance, Secretary of Defence Mattis has stated that he views climate change as a potential source of conflict that should be mitigated (Revkin 2017). Denmark can use Greenland and its position in the Arctic to support this agenda in Washington. Furthermore, less funding could mean that the US Coast Guard will become more interested in cooperating with the Danish Armed Forces.

### **Political stability and Chinese investments in Greenland**

The United States has no interest in becoming involved in the sensitive constitutional relationship between Nuuk and Copenhagen. American policymakers are happy with the current arrangements and the fact that it is Copenhagen that is their entry point to the entire Danish Realm. For instance, former American diplomats who participated in the negotiations that led to the 2004 Igaliku Agreement, in which Greenland participated as a third party in the negotiations, noted that they had found it confusing to deal with both Greenland and Denmark.

But while the United States prefers not to become involved in the internal debate between Denmark and Greenland, the American government is at times dragged into this debate due to its presence on the island. The contract for providing services to the Thule Air Base serves as an illustration of this dynamic. The Danish-American Defence Agreement stipulates that services on the base, which makes up roughly 1.5 per cent of government income (Bruun & Hjejle 2015: 74; Statistics Greenland 2016: 30), should be provided by a Danish company as defined by the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Government of Denmark and Government of the United States of America 1951). Due to a concern about potential violations of EU regulations, in 2013 the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (with the

permission of the Government of Greenland) delegated the competence to find the proper service provider to the American government, which then gave the service contract to a Danish subsidiary of the American company Vectrus. Both Denmark and Greenland hold the view that the subsidiary is a shell company and that the contract was *de facto* given to an American firm. If that is the case, it would constitute a violation of the terms by which the certification authority was moved to the United States (Bruun & Hjejle 2015). Similarly, the Danish and American governments have refused to clean up the area at Camp Century, an American under-ice Cold War facility near Thule. Camp Century appears to contain substantial hazardous materials that may contaminate the surrounding areas as higher temperatures melt the ice around it (Hannestad 2016a). Although the Greenlandic government typically blames Denmark for such incidents (Olesen 2017), it has also been very critical of the United States and indicated that it will bring cases before international courts or demand an American withdrawal from Greenland (Hannestad 2016b).

The United States is fully aware that Greenland is gradually moving in the direction of greater independence from Denmark, and Washington respects Greenland's right to self-determination. All of the Americans we interviewed stressed that the United States does want to interfere in the Danish-Greenlandic relationship or in the manner in which Greenland exercises its right to self-determination. As one interviewee noted, 'we don't take up a position on how other states should handle their regions.' A high-ranking American diplomat conveyed the same message: 'dealing with Greenland is the problem of the Kingdom of Denmark. That is their concern.'

Though the United States accepts Greenland's right to independence, such an event is still viewed as an unpleasant source of uncertainty that could jeopardise Washington's position on the island. For instance, one American expert emphasised that the United States 'would be worried about how an independent Greenland would allow us to use that bit of geography. We would lose a bit of territory that we leverage for a very important task.' This concern is also reflected in leaked cables from the American Embassy in Copenhagen. Thus, in a 2006 cable to the State Department, leaked by WikiLeaks, the American Embassy in Copenhagen reported:

'... Should Greenland ever strike oil and achieve independence, the United States would have as a host nation for Thule a country inclined to be sympathetic to NAM [Non-Aligned Movements] positions rather than one of our staunchest allies [Denmark].'  
(Olesen 2017)

In this context, the reference to the ‘Non-Aligned Movement’ means that an independent Greenland could potentially loosen its ties to the United States and thus jeopardise the future of the Thule Air Base (*ibid.*).

The prospect of Chinese investments in Greenland is another issue where the United States may well find that it is being dragged into the affairs of the Kingdom of Denmark. The Danish Defence Intelligence Service has stated that Chinese investments in Greenland would potentially constitute a significant portion of the local economy and that China would therefore be able to exert a substantial influence over Greenlandic politics (Danish Defence Intelligence Service 2015: 34–35). Potential Chinese investments could therefore have notable consequences for Denmark’s foreign and security policy, most importantly its relationship with the United States. Washington diplomats have adopted a wait-and-see approach to this issue. For now, at least, the impression in Washington is that China is interested in Greenland’s natural resources and rare minerals, not in establishing a more permanent and physical presence in the region. It was also noted, however, that the United States is paying close attention to Chinese activities and that it is aware of the power and influence that massive foreign investments may have in a small economy like that of Greenland. As one American noted, there is ‘a little bit of concern; be sure you pay close attention to how this will play out.’ Another American expert similarly noted that a day may come when the United States would ‘tell the Danes that they should start paying attention to the influence foreign investments will have on local politicians.’

### Setting the agenda in Washington

It is important to recognise that neither America’s interests in nor its knowledge of the Arctic region are static, and that it is therefore an ongoing challenge to ensure that American policy does not move in a direction that is at odds with Danish foreign policy goals. US policymakers who work on Arctic issues see foreign governments as important allies that can help spread awareness of the region and push the Arctic agenda. As a Congressional staffer formulated it, ‘there is a lot of learning needed in Washington about what it means to be an Arctic nation. We are way behind the curve on this one.’ This means that even a small nation like Denmark can have a significant influence through public diplomacy.

Congress seems to offer an unexplored avenue through which Denmark can influence US Arctic policy. Congressional staffers usually cover more than one topic and have only limited time on their hands. They are therefore often willing to listen to concrete and easily understandable suggestions for

improvements in policy they can bring to the attention of their relevant superiors. Furthermore, when people from Congress (whether staffers or politicians) are promoted into more senior positions within the administration, they bring with them the information and advice that is given to them while in Congress. For example, one American expert noted that Hillary Clinton's decision to make the Arctic one of her priorities as Secretary of State was influenced by her visit to Svalbard in 2004 as a member of Congress.

Norway's thorough and extensive approach to Arctic agenda-setting illustrates how Denmark under-prioritises this dimension of Arctic diplomacy and it also provides a set of easy steps that Denmark could follow. The Norwegian approach consists of three basic elements. The first is to organise an annual trip to Norway, often with a stopover in Tromsø and Svalbard in the Norwegian Arctic, for politicians and civil servants in Congress. At the time of writing, more than 150 Americans, including Hillary Clinton and John McCain, have participated in such trips. These trips give Norway a unique opportunity to influence American policy-makers and to provide them with a thorough understanding of the particular conditions that govern the high north. It is not unusual for members of Congress who have shown no prior interest in the Arctic to begin pushing high north-related initiatives after they themselves or members of their staff have been on a trip to the region with the Norwegians. It is also worth noting that Norway remains in contact with the American participants after the trips, thus giving Norwegian diplomats a valuable alumni network that may prove useful later on.

The second way in which Norway seeks to set a political agenda in Washington is to arrange a wide range of formal and informal seminars and events that target Congress, think tanks and the media. Norwegian politicians, ministers and high-ranking civil servants often show up for meetings with American civil servants, even when the latter are formally not at the same level of seniority. The Norwegians also ensure that high-ranking Norwegian politicians and civil servants come to Washington and take part in various seminars with American counterparts and experts in the relevant think tanks.

The third element in Norway's approach has been to offer funding to American think tanks that focus on the Arctic. In the 2000s, the Norwegian decision to prioritise the Arctic was supplemented with an emphasis on Arctic-related research, and Norwegian research institutions began to support several think tanks in the United States, thus creating a platform from which Norwegian policymakers and experts can reach American audiences.

The Norwegian approach has been made possible by a political decision to prioritise the Arctic and to develop a long-term strategy. In 2005, Norway

made 'the Northern areas' ('Nordområdene') its most important foreign-policy issue, and Norwegian governments have allocated resources accordingly, as well as developing a long-term perspective that enables diplomats to field initiatives that will only pay off many years down the line (Norwegian Prime Minister's Office 2005). The Norwegian case thus shows what can be gained when a state prioritises Arctic diplomacy and the importance of a coherent strategic approach. As we shall see later, Denmark has yet to do these things.

## How can Denmark and Greenland benefit from the United States' interest in the Arctic?

We saw in the previous section that the United States has certain interests in Greenland that Denmark can seek to translate into benefits. The purpose of this section is to examine what output there is for Denmark *vis-à-vis* the United States in relation to Greenland. As mentioned above, Denmark has historically been able to use the American interest in Greenland to strengthen its often weak position in NATO. Changing circumstances have reduced the importance of this dimension of Danish-American relations, but other benefits have become available, most importantly defence cooperation and access to American decision-makers.

### Denmark's negotiating strength in NATO

Although historians disagree about the exact value of the Greenland Card during the Cold War period, most agree that Greenland helped secure Denmark's position in NATO, despite the fact that Denmark's contribution to the alliance was rather meagre (Villaume 1997). To counter the worst criticisms of its contribution, Danish government representatives consistently argued that the calculation of Denmark's contribution to the alliance should take account of its generous foreign-aid program and the annual block payment provided to Greenland (Danish Foreign Policy Institute 1997: 105; Ringsmose 2008: 147, 229–34, 242, 251–3; Lidegaard 1996: 578–88). As Jens Ringsmose has noted, the Danish rationale was that Copenhagen's willingness to allow the United States to operate more or less freely in Greenland should be considered a Danish contribution to the alliance. Both Copenhagen and Washington knew that Denmark's decision to let the United States use Greenland was far more important to the alliance than a potential in-

crease in Danish defence spending, and the United States therefore accepted Danish free-riding in other domains (Ringsmose 2008: 147, 211, 231; Danish Institute for International Studies 2005, vol. 1: 666-9; vol. 4: 693-6; Danish Foreign Policy Institute 1997: 33, 562-8). As one interviewee, who had occupied a central position in the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the Cold War, put it,

‘We used it shamelessly in NATO negotiations. ... I would always tell [the American government], “you can’t just look at [raw defence spending]. You also have to look at our development aid and our block grant for Greenland. That had to be included in the calculation.” They would snicker a bit, but they also knew that it was not completely wrong.’

This source also stated that he found it perfectly acceptable to tell the American government that Denmark wanted to be compensated for the policy towards the United States in Greenland. He also noted that the Danish approach worked because Washington adopted a less critical stance.

Within the Danish Realm, Denmark’s explicit reliance on the Greenland Card in NATO negotiations was met with demands from Nuuk that Denmark reimburse Greenland an amount that corresponded to the ‘discount’ that Greenlandic policymakers believed Denmark received from NATO by playing the Greenland Card. These demands were never met by Denmark (Ringsmose 2008: 337 n. 374). It must be noted, however, that both Denmark and Greenland benefitted from the arrangement, because the sheer size of Greenland meant that Denmark was unable to defend it without American support.

The Greenland Card came at a price during the Cold War, in particular for the Greenlandic people. A notable example was the controversial decision to move the local population out of Thule in the 1950s to make room for an American military base (Kristensen and Christensen, 2009). Furthermore, Denmark’s willingness to let the United States establish and operate military bases in Greenland also remained a sensitive issue in Danish-Soviet relations (see, for instance, Danish Institute for International Studies 2005, vol. 1: 297; Danish Foreign Policy Institute 1997: 562).

The value of the Greenland Card has fallen substantially since the end of the Cold War, and none of the Danes or Americans we interviewed indicated that the American presence in Greenland plays a significant role in current debates in NATO about Denmark’s low defence spending. It seems, in other

words, that Greenland is no longer a card that Denmark will try to 'play' in Brussels in order to deflect American criticism.

There appear to be two reasons for this. First of all, as noted in the previous section, the ability of the United States to operate military bases in Greenland is simply not as strategically important as it was during the Cold War. The less significant Greenland and the North Atlantic is to the United States, the smaller the value of the Greenland Card will be. As an American expert stated: 'I don't think there is a Greenland Card to play right now, because it has not been the perception that there is a security issue up there.' A former Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs similarly noted that Thule is not as important as it used to be. Technological developments, such as the development of new types of sensor (including space and sea-based sensors), may also have lessened the strategic importance of the Thule radar installation.

Secondly, the Greenland Card is less relevant in a NATO setting because Denmark no longer needs to play it. As mentioned above, during the Cold War, the Card was meant to compensate for Denmark's reputation as a free rider that did not contribute to the collective security of the alliance. Since September 11, 2001, however, Denmark has made substantial military contributions to a range of military operations in the Middle East, Central Asia and North Africa (Mouritzen 2007; Rynning and Ringsmose 2008; Rasmussen 2005), and this has had a positive impact on Denmark's reputation. The contributions to the American-led military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan had a particularly noticeable effect on Denmark's standing as a loyal ally (Henriksen and Ringsmose 2011). As one American put it: 'Danish participation in the Middle East is worth more to us than Greenland because it is more to ask for.' Another American expert similarly noted: 'right now it is the Middle East that gives Denmark the most influence in DC ... The scales right now tilt towards the military activism. We need your frigates and your troops.'

The diminishing value of Greenland and the increasing emphasis on military contributions to operations around the Middle East, Central Asia and North Africa has obviously been noted in Denmark. A former Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs told us that there is

'no doubt that Greenland is of importance to the United States. But it is probably about ten per cent. It is nothing compared to our presence in Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya. All the stuff about 'punching above our weight' is about Danish military activism and not so much about the Arctic.'

Another former Minister of Foreign Affairs similarly noted that it was the Denmark's military contributions that are the reason why there is not more criticism of Denmark.

### **American support for development and operations in Greenland**

The more practical challenges associated with the opening up of the Arctic region also mean that Denmark can benefit from cooperating with the United States. The Danish Ministry of Defence expects increasing activity in the North Atlantic, which entails several challenges for Arctic Command, including better maritime domain awareness (Danish Ministry of Defence 2016a: 31-32, 95, 157). The Ministry's recent Arctic analysis concludes that 'there is a large and mostly untapped potential for cooperation with the United States regarding Arctic tasks and Arctic development' (ibid. 222). Whereas Denmark may be able to offer practical advice to American agencies, United States agencies, most importantly the Coast Guard, can offer access to technological capabilities that can improve Denmark's ability to operate in the Arctic, for instance, satellite imagery of sea traffic around Greenland and various surveillance and search and rescue platforms (ibid.: 222).

However, there is little consensus over what Greenland can get out of the Greenland Card. Many Greenlanders argued that the United States should assist Greenland in developing local infrastructure and the local economy. Some of the Greenlanders we talked to said that the Joint Committee that was established under the 2004 Igaliku Agreement to promote cooperation within education, research, tourism and environmental protection should be revived.

Several Greenlanders also indicated that the United States should compensate Greenland financially for the American presence in Thule, in particular after the Danish-Greenlandic company Greenland Contractors (co-owned by the Government of Greenland) lost the contract to provide services on the Thule Air Base to an American company. Our Danish and Greenlandic interviewees gave different estimates of the United States' willingness to compensate Greenland financially and of Denmark and Greenland's bargaining power in negotiations with the United States. While several of the Greenlanders argued that the base in Thule is difficult to relocate and that American compensation ought to be possible, most of the Danes we talked to appeared to be of the belief that the American government would move the base elsewhere if it became too costly.

Apart from the areas mentioned above, it was not clear from our in-

interviews what sort of American contributions Greenland would like. However, our American interviewees were reluctant to be directly involved in developing Greenland, and one former American diplomat emphasised that the commercial opportunities in Greenland do not appear very tempting to American companies. Unlike Chinese companies, American companies are privately owned and thus more focused on short-term gains.

### Access to decision-makers in the United States

Access to decision-makers in the United States is in and of itself a benefit for a small country like Denmark because it provides an opportunity to gain valuable information about American positions and priorities on current issues and to influence American policy in a direction that correlates with Denmark's interests (Henriksen and Ringsmose 2011: 24). Earlier studies have shown that Danish politicians, diplomats and civil servants generally enjoy good access to relevant decision-makers in the United States, and our interviews confirmed that Denmark's access in America had improved as a result of Denmark's military contributions to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan (ibid.: 20-4). But while a study by Ringsmose and Henriksen indicated that this increased access made it easier for Denmark to persuade the United States to sign the 2008 Illulissat Declaration (ibid.: 26) that could not be confirmed in our interviews.

In general terms, however, Greenland clearly has a positive impact on Denmark's formal and informal access to Washington and the United States. Greenland gives Denmark *formal* access to the United States because Denmark has a seat in a range of exclusive Arctic forums where the United States is represented, most notable the Arctic Council. The Council has become of increasing importance, and its eight member states have begun to send very high-ranking governmental representatives to its meetings. As mentioned previously, the United States has sent its Secretary of State to Arctic Council ministerials since 2011.

Greenland also generates *informal* access to high-ranking decision-makers in the United States. Visits to Greenland by foreign politicians and officials provide Danish politicians and diplomats with the opportunity to conduct informal conversations and to establish personal ties that may prove useful in other settings. A former Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs put it this way: 'you get a decent amount of time together. You stand by the rail and talk. Such conversations are very useful, and you get to talk without the civil servants around you.' In practice, therefore, Denmark and Greenland benefit from Greenland's status as a very attractive and rare destination.

## Challenges for Danish Arctic Diplomacy

There is potential for Danish Arctic diplomacy in Washington. Unlike Norway, where the Arctic has been the number one strategic priority for more than a decade, Greenland and the Arctic have only recently become one of several strategic priorities in Danish foreign policy. It is indicative of the difference in emphasis between Denmark and Norway that Denmark has not followed Norway in building an extensive Arctic public diplomacy apparatus in Washington aimed at Congress and relevant think tanks.

However, a stronger emphasis on the Arctic will give Denmark more options to influence the United States. For the time being, Washington is focused on military contributions to stabilisation operations in the Middle East and elsewhere, and we have already noted how Denmark has been able to exploit that focus. But the American agenda may change, and it is not unlikely that Washington will begin to place less emphasis on military operations. The Trump administration has brought uncertainty to the direction of American foreign policy, and Trump was highly critical of America's wars in the Middle East during his presidential campaign. As noted previously, substantial uncertainty also surrounds American policy *vis-à-vis* Russia. Early indications suggest that Trump will seek a better relationship with Russia, but other aspects of his foreign policy could antagonise Moscow.

This uncertainty underscores how important it is that Denmark does not place all of its foreign policy eggs in just one basket. By forging alternative relationships with the United States, Denmark can avoid being caught flat-footed if American foreign-policy priorities change. A stronger emphasis on Greenland and the Arctic would be a natural way of diversifying the transatlantic relationship between Copenhagen and Washington. As previously described, the Arctic offers policy opportunities for Denmark in Washington, regardless of the Arctic policy of the new administration.

There is a gap between the resources Denmark allocates to the Arctic and the strategic significance of the region. Most of the Danes we interviewed (including individuals who do not work directly with Arctic affairs and who would therefore not benefit directly from them) argued that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should put greater emphasis on the high north. In his 2016 assessment, Peter Taksøe-Jensen similarly recommends that more human resources be allocated to the Arctic (Taksøe-Jensen: 35).

It is important to note that a strategic focus on the Arctic is not solely about the allocation of more financial resources, but also about identifying

how Denmark can utilise the Arctic in better ways than are currently the case. It is, in short, about developing a coherent strategy for managing all of Denmark's various interests in the Arctic. Several of our interviewees were critical of how Denmark thinks strategically about the region. There is currently very little strategic debate about the Arctic, and there is no coherent strategy clearly defining how Greenland can be used to gain political rewards and political influence. In the absence of a coherent strategy, there is a risk that Danish policy will be dominated by ad-hoc solutions and that different branches of government will pursue different goals. One high-ranking Danish diplomat stated that the on-going internal debate about Greenland never reaches the highest political levels in Denmark. As a result, Greenland simply becomes yet another area that must be managed. The diplomat also noted how Denmark had never had a strategic debate with the Greenlanders about their mutual relationship.

In the course of our interviews, we tried to identify what Greenland itself actually wants to gain from Denmark and the United States. However, aside from the issue of financial compensation for the Thule Airbase, the Greenlandic agenda was very vague. A number of Greenlanders we talked to noted that Greenland is a very young country with limited experience in foreign policy and international affairs. Clearly, it would be useful for Greenland to adopt a more systematic and holistic thinking about strategic priorities.

Why is strategic thinking about the Greenland Card not more focused? We believe that part of the answer lies in Copenhagen's current focus on sending military contributions to operations in the Middle East, Central Asia and North Africa. As noted earlier, our interviews confirmed that Denmark's military contributions have strengthened its standing in Washington. There is a risk, however, of the success of military activism coming to stand in the way of developing the potential that the Arctic and Greenland seem to have *vis-à-vis* the United States. One American expert noted that Denmark has not done a very good job of selling the Arctic in Washington, and that this appeared to stem from a Danish perception that the military contributions were sufficient. As the expert put it: 'in the public policy environment in DC, Denmark has disappeared a little bit.' He emphasised that the Danish approach will be vulnerable if the United States begins to focus less on those areas where Denmark contributes. Like other sources, the American expert found it hard to identify the longer-term Danish foreign-policy ambition. As he noted: 'what are you for today? It was very clear in the '00s, but it has not been formulated very clearly by Copenhagen.'

The lack of trust between Greenland and Denmark also complicates the

development of a strategic debate. Denmark's approach to the Arctic is reactive, not proactive or strategic, because of a fear that new initiatives will antagonise Greenland. Diplomats shy away from discussions of priorities or long-term plans because they may lead to unwanted friction in Denmark's relationship with Greenland. It is not the constitutional situation that is the biggest challenge: everyone we spoke to understands and accepts the fundamentals of the Danish-Greenlandic relationship, and there is widespread acceptance of the Greenlandic ambition to gain greater independence. The Danish sources all stressed the importance of ensuring that Copenhagen take care of Greenland's interests.

Instead, the problem is a lack of *trust* between Nuuk and Copenhagen. Several of the Greenlanders we talked to stated that they are not sure that Denmark really looks out for Greenland's interests, and they feel left out and without access to relevant decision-making processes. Many Greenlandic sources mentioned the 2004 Igaliku agreement as an example, where promises had been made but were never kept. Danish sources, on the other hand, expressed the view that Greenland had been unable to exploit such opportunities as arise, such as after the Igaliku agreement, and that Denmark is often used as a scapegoat to cover for Greenlandic incompetence.

Another problem concerns seemingly different perceptions of how valuable Greenland really is to the United States. Greenlandic policymakers clearly believe that the Greenland Card is of greater value than our Danish sources, whose estimates were in line with the policymakers we met in Washington. For instance, one Greenlandic civil servant argued that the Greenland Card has sometimes given Denmark a large 'discount' in NATO that is equal to the difference between the Danish defence budget and NATO's two per cent guideline, which would equal several billion dollars. Consequently, the source argued, it would only be fair if Copenhagen increased the annual block grant to Greenland. As mentioned earlier, similar Greenlandic claims were also made – and rejected – during the Cold War. Here it is worth noting that this estimate misunderstands the dynamics of NATO burden-sharing. The United States has also accepted low contributions from NATO members that do not have a card like Greenland to play, which means that one cannot simply assume that the Greenland Card is worth the difference between actual defence expenditures and the NATO guidelines. Furthermore, Greenland tends to forget that it also benefits from American protection of its territory and from being a part of NATO.

An additional barrier to developing a more focused strategy for Greenland's role is the taboo that appears to surround the Greenland Card. Many

of our Danish sources were very opposed to public discussions of how Copenhagen may exploit Greenland to improve its influence in Washington, as they believed that such debates would make Greenland lose trust in Denmark. A former Minister of Foreign Affairs explicitly stated that Denmark must not give Greenland the impression it is merely a tool. While it is obvious that no population wants to be reduced to a pawn in a larger strategic game, it is important to emphasise that all our sources, in both Copenhagen and Nuuk, were not only aware of the existence of a Greenland Card, but also felt that it was acceptable for Denmark to use Greenland to seek benefits and influence in the United States. No one argued that this was illegitimate: on the contrary, one high-ranking Danish diplomat compared the Danish-Greenlandic-American relationship to a three-legged chair where all legs are required for the chair to stand. All parties must feel they are getting something out of it.

It is our impression, however, that the taboo that surrounds the debate about the Greenland Card has the opposite effect – that it *increases* the distrust between Denmark and Greenland and that it exacerbates the different estimates of Greenland's international value. Several of our Greenlandic interviewees argued that Greenland is extremely important to the United States and that Denmark reaps a lot of benefits from the arrangements, which, however, Copenhagen does not want to acknowledge because it would then have to compensate Greenland. When asked about why that would be the case, our Greenlandic sources referred to earlier experiences when Denmark and the United States kept secrets from Greenland. As one Greenlandic interviewee put it, 'there is a historical precedence, where we are not told the whole truth... We have a reason to ask critical questions.' Ironically, the Danish silence about the Greenland Card, which Danish civil servants and politicians believe will diminish tensions with Greenland, reminds Greenlandic decision-makers of the silence they met during the Cold War, when Denmark and the United States did actually collude sometimes to circumvent the Greenlandic government. The taboo thus exacerbates the mistrust and tensions within the Danish Realm.

## Conclusion and recommendations

While the Greenland Card still exists, its value is currently not very high. Denmark's contributions to American stabilisation operations in the Middle East and elsewhere continue to be more important for the United States. Instead, the Greenland card is important because it allows Denmark to diversify its transatlantic relationship with the United States, making it less vulnerable to shifts in American foreign-policy priorities. It is therefore unfortunate that the Arctic still is only one of several Danish foreign-policy priorities and that Denmark's Arctic diplomacy is dwarfed by that of other comparable nations, such as Norway. In that light, it makes sense to strengthen Denmark's Arctic diplomacy by allocating more personnel and resources to the area.

Denmark lacks a general strategic conversation about the Arctic and Greenland, and this lack of strategic debate inhibits its ability to develop a coherent and proactive strategy for how to push the Arctic agenda in Washington. Instead, Denmark's high-north policy tends to become reactive and preoccupied with day-to-day affairs. Greenland too lacks long-term foreign-policy visions.

Several factors seem to be inhibiting the strategic conversation about the Arctic. First, contributing to American stability operations in the Middle East and elsewhere has become a cornerstone of Danish foreign policy and has made Denmark a treasured ally in Washington. However, it has also come to overshadow other important foreign-policy priorities, including the Arctic. Secondly, the complex relationship and mistrust between Denmark and Greenland also seem to limit strategic debates. The fear of offending Greenland is a barrier to the strategic debate about the Arctic, and more could be done to create a better common understanding of the international dynamics that surrounds both states and their relations with the United States. Greenlandic policymakers do not feel included in decision-making, and they suspect that Denmark has not been entirely truthful when it comes to its relationship to the United States.

One of the most important sources of mistrust seemed to be the taboo that still surrounds discussions of the Greenland Card. Danish civil servants and politicians argue against open discussions of Greenland's role in Danish-American diplomacy, as they fear that it will cause consternation in Greenland. However, Greenlandic policymakers are all well-aware of the existence of the Greenland Card, and they interpret the Danish silence to mean that Denmark and the United States are colluding to keep Greenland

out of the loop. Although the taboo on mentioning the Greenland Card is intended to improve Danish-Greenlandic relations, our interviews indicated that it has the opposite effect.

The Danish government has several options for improving its Arctic diplomacy in Washington. First, it should allocate more resources and manpower to the Arctic portfolio in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as recommended in Ambassador Taksøe-Jensen's 2016 foreign-policy report. More resources and the explicit prioritisation of the Arctic will give the bureaucracy a chance to develop a more strategic approach. Secondly, Denmark should consider whether there are elements of the Norwegian approach to agenda-setting that may be worth replicating. For instance, Denmark should consider bringing more Danish politicians, civil servants and experts on the Arctic to seminars and events in Washington where they can meet their American counterparts. Denmark should also consider arranging an annual trip to Greenland for American policy-makers. Thirdly, Denmark should try to improve relations with Greenland and reduce the taboo surrounding debates on the Greenland Card. Danish agencies and the Danish parliament should also do more to include their Greenlandic counterparts in debates, hearings, and reports. Another possibility could be to establish a coordinating unit within the Danish administration – for instance, a Danish minister for Arctic affairs or for Danish Realm affairs – to ensure that Greenland and the Faroe Islands are properly heard. Finally, as the current Arctic Strategy runs out in 2020, the process of updating the strategy provides an ample opportunity to include Greenland and the Faroe Islands in a joint process. The new document should also acknowledge the different interests of all parts of the Danish Realm and thereby bring debates on the Greenland Card out into the open.

## Notes

- 1 This chapter elaborates and expands an analysis that was first presented in Danish in Anders Henriksen and Jon Rahbek-Clemmensen: *Grønlandskortet – Arktis' Betydning for Danmarks Indflydelse i USA*, Copenhagen: Centre for Military Studies. Text and arguments are reused with permission of the publisher. The authors are grateful for the feedback provided by the Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook editors and reviewer and the financial support provided by the Carlsberg Foundation.
- 2 Anders Henriksen, PhD, is an associate professor at the Department of Law, University of Copenhagen. Jon Rahbek-Clemmensen, PhD, is an assistant professor at the Department of Political Science and Public Management, University of Southern Denmark.
- 3 The chapter focuses on Greenland and does not examine what role (if any) the Faroe Islands play in Danish Arctic policy or in the Danish-American relationship, and we also steer away from any substantial discussion of the various disputes that have affected the relationship between Denmark and Greenland over the years. To the extent we do refer to these disputes, we do so because they may help inform our understanding of the triangular relationship between Denmark, Greenland and the United States. Furthermore, we do not engage in any normative discussion of the existing constitutional configuration of the Kingdom of Denmark, including the extent of the current level of devolution, and we do not seek to convey any particular position on whether it is acceptable or not for Denmark to use Greenland as leverage in relation to the Americans. Our analysis simply takes its point of departure in existing political realities. The existing literature on Danish policy in the Arctic tends to use the terms 'Danish Realm' ('Rigsfællesskabet') or the 'Kingdom of Denmark' to illustrate that Denmark, Greenland and the Faroe Islands internationally act as a single legal entity (e.g. (Denmark et al., 2011)). One of the points we are trying to make is the importance of recognising that the different parts of the Realm have different competences, interests and concerns. We therefore refer specifically to 'Denmark' or 'Greenland' when it is necessary to understand the role the individual entity plays.
- 4 Among the 35 interviewees were four former Danish ministers of foreign affairs, a former Danish minister of defence, a former prime minister of Greenland, a former American ambassador to Denmark, senior diplomats and civil servants in Denmark, Greenland and the United States, as well as experts from leading American think tanks and former and current diplomats from other Arctic nations.

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# Refugee policy as 'negative nation branding': the case of Denmark and the Nordics

*Thomas Gammeltoft-Hansen*<sup>1</sup>

## Introduction

Historically Denmark has been held up as a liberal frontrunner when it comes to asylum policy and the protection of refugees. For example, it chaired the negotiations of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, which it was the first country to sign and ratify. Along with the other Nordic countries, Denmark has been an important donor to the UNHCR and a long-standing and active member of its Executive Committee. When the 'asylum crisis' in the 1980s led other states to adopt more restrictive policies, Denmark introduced its 1983 Aliens Act, at the time claimed to be the 'world's most liberal asylum legislation' by several international observers.<sup>2</sup>

Today, however, this picture has changed dramatically. In recent decades, Denmark has imposed a series of restrictive policies with regard to both asylum and immigration. Last year, it hit the international headlines after passing a bill restricting access to family reunification for Syrian refugees for up to three years and allowing the police to search refugees and seize their assets.<sup>3</sup> Following the surge in the numbers of those seeking asylum over the summer of 2015, Denmark ran an anti-refugee ad campaign in Arabic-language newspapers warning the refugees against going to Denmark.<sup>4</sup> Later that year, Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen suggested that the 1951 Refugee Convention should be revised.<sup>5</sup> While the Danish government subsequently expressed support for the Convention during the special UN summit on migration and refugees in the autumn of 2016, it simultaneously announced its intention to investigate the possibility of limiting the influence of the European Court of Human Rights during Denmark's presidency of the Council of Europe in 2017, not least with regard to issues of immigration.<sup>6</sup>

The present article takes Denmark as a paradigmatic case in examining the current reactions of Nordic and European states to the recent rise in asylum-seekers. The first part of the article locates Denmark's policy development in its historical context. Despite its liberal branding historically, Denmark has consistently pursued different policies of deterrence with regard to refugees, in several instances serving as an inspiration for subsequent European and international developments.

The second part of the article compares the most recent wave of restrictive policies in Denmark with those in force in other Nordic and European countries. It is argued that we are currently seeing a re-emergence and expansion of *indirect* deterrence. Rather than preventing access to asylum *per se*, policies of indirect deterrence are designed to make the asylum system and protection conditions appear as unattractive as possible, thereby achieving a 'beggar-thy-neighbour' effect in pushing asylum-seekers towards other countries. In that sense, indirect deterrence may be characterised as a form of national reputation management (Angell and Mordhorst 2015) or deliberate 'negative nation branding'.

The third and final section considers the impacts of indirect policies of deterrence. It is often argued that indirect deterrence serves largely symbolic or domestic political purposes. Much existing scholarship argues that indirect deterrence has no or only a limited impact on the number of asylum applications a state receives. Looking at developments in Denmark, Sweden and the EU in general over the past sixteen years, however, the Danish example seems to challenge that assumption. While Denmark has not been able to insulate itself from the general trend towards increasing number of asylum-seekers in Europe in the past ten years, the restrictive approach with regard to asylum and immigration seems to have had an effect in lowering asylum applications in the past fifteen years. Other factors, however, should cause states to consider carefully whether to embrace indirect deterrence as a domestic policy strategy. Indirect deterrence not only impacts on the core rights of asylum-seekers and refugees, it is also more likely than other forms of deterrence to affect efforts at integration negatively. More fundamentally, in the long or even medium term the effectiveness of indirect deterrence is questionable, and the current return to unilateral deterrence and border controls across Europe in many ways recalls the competitive and more unpredictable policy environments of the 1990s.

## Denmark's asylum and immigration policy: an overview

The cornerstone of Denmark's current asylum and immigration policy was laid down by the 1983 Aliens Act. This Act replaced the Foreigners Act, which, with a few changes (mainly the 1973 curtailment of the labour immigration schemes of previous decades), had been in force since 1952. The starting point for consultations over the 1983 Aliens Act was to improve legal guarantees for foreigners, in particular asylum-seekers. At the time, Denmark was not experiencing a significant influx of asylum-seekers, and acceptance rates remained high. Hence, the political motivation for the 1983 Aliens Act was not to establish a substantively more liberal policy, but rather to provide greater legal clarity, avoid the arbitrary administration of different cases and ensure that Danish law was more explicit in setting out rights with regard to asylum, family reunification and the circumstances under which asylum-seekers could be removed from the country (Jensen 2000; Brøcker 1990: 336-7).

In the legislative drafting of the Act, two issues nonetheless emerged. While agreeing to insert a right to asylum, both to refugees covered by the 1951 Convention and on broader grounds to so-called 'de facto' refugees, a majority on the drafting committee was concerned that formulating rights too broadly would undermine Denmark's ability to control immigration generally. Administrative competences to issue detailed rules were thus inserted. For example, an emergency brake was proposed to reject asylum-seekers at the border in cases of mass influx, and a provision to deny asylum under certain conditions was also introduced. Most importantly, the majority's legislative proposal did not contain a legal entitlement to family reunification, but left it to the Ministry of Justice to regulate this administratively depending on actual developments. The minority, on the other hand – among others the Danish Refugee Council and the Danish Bar and Law Society – argued that too much administrative flexibility not only undermined the legal standing of asylum-seekers and immigrants, it would enable the government to introduce wide-ranging changes without parliamentary consent (Christensen 2010: 97; Brøcker 1990: 338).<sup>7</sup>

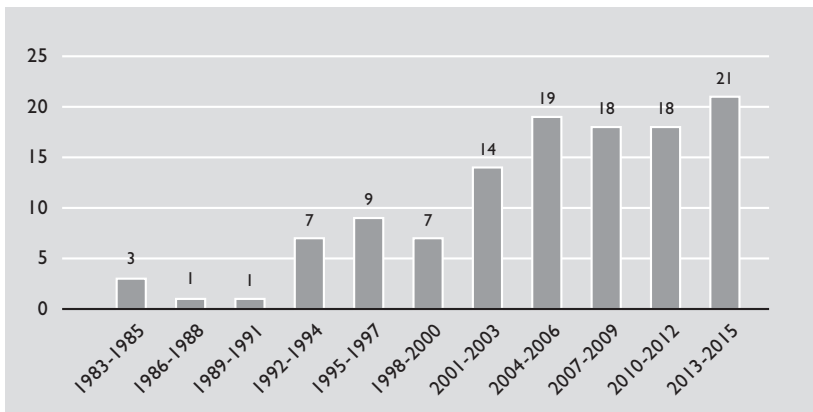
In a surprising turn of events, and following the mobilization of a broad range of Danish civil-society organisations by the Danish Refugee Council, an alternative proposal was subsequently adopted by Parliament. The new Act now contained a positive right to family reunification and a number

of legal guarantees with regard to the removal of asylum-seekers from the country.

In most areas concerning asylum, the Act simply sought to regulate existing practice properly. A right to asylum was established for both Refugee Convention and 'de facto' refugees. The latter category was directed at groups such as regime defectors and conscientious defectors, many of whom would today fall within the ambit of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. The Act further ensured rights for persons granted this form of subsidiary protection alongside those afforded to Convention refugees. The right to family reunification was similarly granted to both categories of refugees, and a procedure established whereby the specialised Refugee Appeals Board could hear appeals against adverse decisions.

Since its adoption, however, the 1983 Aliens Act has been subjected to well over a hundred amendments.<sup>8</sup> The pace of amendments is remarkable and bears witness to the growing politicization of this issue, especially in the last fifteen years. From 2002 to 2016 the Act was amended 93 times, a rate of just over one amendment every two months. In comparison, the Act was amended 25 times from 1986 to 2000, an average of one or two amendments a year.

Figure 1. Amendments to the Danish Aliens Act<sup>9</sup>



As is to be expected, a significant number of these amendments relate to more technical matters or reflect a requirement to adopt international law, in particular EU law. Although Denmark maintains a legal opt-out with regard to EU cooperation in the areas of justice and home affairs, a protocol means that Denmark is nonetheless a member of the Schengen area and, through a parallel agreement, of the Dublin System as well. Moreover, developments in

the laws governing free movement in the EU and international human rights have both had an impact on Danish immigration law, especially with regard to family reunification and the removal of foreigners.

Beyond these factors, however, a trend towards the introduction of more restrictive measures has been emerging. From a uniquely liberal starting point, Denmark has introduced numerous forms of deterrence or *non-entrée* policies (Hathaway 1992). Deterrence can be defined as policies intended to discourage or prevent migrants and refugees from either arriving in the territory of a prospective destination state or accessing its asylum system. Deterrence policies became a favoured response of developed states from the 1980s onwards, responding to a world in which proxy wars and globalization were creating new flows of mixed migration, while the economic crisis and the end of the Cold War simultaneously reduced the economic and ideological incentives to receive refugees (Gammeltoft-Hansen and Tan 2017).

As argued elsewhere, certain trends have emerged in the types of deterrence states employ. In the 1980s many states introduced legal measures to prevent refugees who had already arrived in their territory from entering the 'procedural door' (Vedsted-Hansen 1999). These included, for example, time limits for submitting asylum applications and legal concepts such as 'first country of arrival,' 'safe country of origin' and 'safe third country' as grounds for rejecting asylum applications from applicants who came from or through such countries (Hurwitz 2009; Gil-Bazo 2006). From the 1990s onwards a stronger focus was also placed on extraterritorial migration control and the outsourcing of migration management to private actors (Gammeltoft-Hansen 2011). The last decade and a half has seen deterrence policies extended to cooperation with states of transit and origin. From Australia's 'Pacific Solution' to the European Union's current efforts to secure agreements with countries like Turkey and Libya, these arrangements tend to link cooperation on border control to broader foreign policy arrangements regarding transnational crime, development assistance, trade privileges, labour immigration quotas and visa facilitation (Gammeltoft-Hansen and Hathaway 2015).

Denmark has been part and parcel of each of these developments, in some cases clearly inspiring other countries to implement similar deterrence policies. A particular novelty of the 1983 Aliens Act was the introduction of a 'first country of asylum' clause. In the hope that other countries would follow suit, a reciprocity clause was similarly inserted, granting access to asylum-seekers with a special connection to Denmark in order to avoid 'refugees in orbit'.<sup>10</sup> Denmark was also the first country to incorporate an explicit

legislative provision with regard to 'safe third countries' in 1986, allowing for pre-procedure rejections at the border. This became known as 'the Danish clause', as it was replicated throughout Europe (Hunt 2014: 504). It was also a direct response to concerns that the new Aliens Act would allow West Germany to 'wave on' asylum-seekers from East Germany, leading to a significant spike in asylum-seekers, from 332 in 1983 to 4,312 the year after the Act was passed. Denmark was among the first to introduce carrier liability legislation and to post immigration liaison officers to transit countries in order to block onward travel by asylum-seekers.<sup>11</sup> Since 2006, Denmark has similarly actively contributed to joint operations under the auspices of the EU's border agency, Frontex.

Existing literature on deterrence tends to focus on wider measures undertaken by, for example, the EU and on the various forms of migration control carried out by frontline states for irregular migration, such as the United States and Australia (e.g. Mann 2016; Moreno-Lax and Papastavridis 2016; Gammeltoft-Hansen 2011; Magner 2004; Koh 1994). It is nonetheless instructive to examine the Danish case in order to understand how non-frontline states in the EU enact deterrence and respond to the current inflow of asylum-seekers into Europe. Denmark shows that physical and legal geography both play an important role in determining which kinds of deterrence policies are favoured where. As a Nordic country, Denmark is on the one hand geographically removed from the direct pressure that several south and east European countries face from irregular immigration, and it is at least partially insulated from the effects of secondary movement of asylum-seekers due to the Dublin System. On the other hand, as a Scandinavian welfare state subject to the EU's law of free movement and wedged between Germany and Sweden – two of the most popular destination states in Europe for asylum-seekers in recent years – Denmark remains particularly vulnerable to secondary movements of asylum-seekers within Europe. Last but not least, the Danish EU opt-outs in the areas of justice and home affairs arguably provide certain comparative advantages when it comes to adopting deterrence measures. Several of Denmark's policies on asylum and family reunification would not have been possible if it had had to comply with EU law in this area (Adler-Nissen and Gammeltoft-Hansen 2010).

For Denmark, the response to the current rise in numbers of asylum-seekers and the consequent breakdown of protection capacity and/or will in several EU frontier states has thus been twofold. First, like Austria, Germany, Sweden and Norway, in January 2016 Denmark reintroduced temporary border controls despite being in the Schengen area. The temporary controls at

the Danish-German land border and Danish ports with ferry connections to Germany have been extended several times, most recently until May 2017. While such controls may have a deterrent effect, not least for asylum-seekers hoping to transit through Denmark in order to reach Sweden or other Nordic countries, they have not prevented asylum claims being submitted to the Danish authorities at the physical border. In comparison, the absence of a land border between Denmark and Sweden has allowed Sweden to employ another well-known form of deterrence, namely carrier sanctions, meaning that private companies must now perform controls on all passengers crossing Øresund via public transport, rejecting onward passage to anyone without proper documentation *before* they have a chance to apply for asylum with the Swedish authorities.

The other response has thus been to engage in and intensify unilateral efforts to deter asylum-seekers *indirectly*. Contrary to other deterrence policies, indirect deterrence does not physically or legally restrict access to seek and obtain asylum. Instead, indirect deterrence involves measures designed to discourage asylum claims or divert them to other countries by making conditions for asylum-seekers and recognised refugees less attractive. Since 2015 Denmark has introduced a range of new policies that fall into this category. A new tertiary protection status, 'temporary protection status', was introduced in 2015 for those fleeing general violence and armed conflict.<sup>12</sup> Under this provision, residence permits are initially granted for a period of one year only, ensuring that cases are regularly reviewed to assess continued protection needs. For other categories of refugees, the duration of initial residence permits has similarly been reduced from five years to two years (Convention refugees) and one year (protection status).<sup>13</sup> Access to family reunification for those granted 'temporary protection status' has also been removed during the first three years of residence unless special considerations apply.<sup>14</sup> The grounds on which asylum-seekers can be detained have been increased, and an option has been introduced to waive the ordinary, automatic right to habeas corpus for detained asylum-seekers in cases of mass influx.<sup>15</sup> Social benefits for refugees have been cut by 50%, and child care support and pensions for refugees are now graduated based on the length of the applicant's stay in Denmark.<sup>16</sup> Legislation has been adopted granting the police the authority to search and seize funds and assets from asylum-seekers in order to cover costs related to accommodation and other benefits.<sup>17</sup> Fees have similarly been introduced in connection with applications for family reunification and permanent residence for refugees. The latter is further subject to new requirements with regard to language and employment, and the waiting period for permanent residence has been extended to six years.

## Indirect deterrence policies as negative nation branding

While Denmark may be considered a frontrunner in this area, the surge in asylum applications across Europe in recent years has led several European states to follow suit and adopt similar policies of indirect deterrence. These measures cover a broad range of issues, including mandatory detention, limitations on family reunification, cuts to social benefits, and granting more temporary or subsidiary forms of protection, with fewer rights attached. The scope of current changes suggest that indirect deterrence has become a systematic response of European states in connection with the current political crisis over asylum in Europe, a development that may fundamentally reshape the dynamics of political cooperation regarding asylum in the EU.

Perhaps the most significant policy changes can be observed among Denmark's Nordic neighbours. Despite a long-term commitment to a liberal asylum policy (Stern 2014), the record number of asylum-seekers arriving in Sweden in 2015 led the country to implement a string of restrictive measures. Like Denmark, a dual strategy of border control and indirect deterrence was pursued. Under the new rules, those afforded subsidiary protection are now granted shorter residence permits of thirteen months, and family reunification is limited to exceptional cases. Also, a new maintenance requirement means that, in order to obtain family reunification, refugees must be able to provide adequate housing and economic support for family members. Almost simultaneously, Norway adopted its own restrictive measures, many directly mimicking similar provisions in Danish and the revised Swedish law in regard to family reunification, including requirements regarding age, association with Norway, economic support and the ability to refuse family reunification to persons afforded subsidiary protection. In the area of asylum, Norway goes even further than its two neighbours, having introduced an emergency measure to deny access to asylum-seekers at the borders of other Nordic countries and 'safe third country' measures to reject asylum-seekers entering Norway from neighbouring Russia.<sup>18</sup>

Germany has similarly replaced financial benefits for asylum-seekers with coupons which they exchange for food and clothing.<sup>19</sup> It has also introduced a ban on entry from safe countries,<sup>20</sup> higher requirements to obtain permanent residency and limited access to family reunification for persons afforded subsidiary protection.<sup>21</sup> In France, a combination of year-long processing times, bureaucratic hurdles and a lack of access to work and social welfare

during the asylum process has been proposed to serve as a deterrent for asylum-seekers.<sup>22</sup>

Delayed or protracted processes to determine refugee status may also be used as a deterrent in some instances. Administrative backlogs in both decisions on asylum and family reunification can be an unfortunate but inevitable consequence of situations of mass influx. In Europe, the current backlogs of asylum claims recall the levels of the early 1990s (Gibney 1994). Yet, in some countries, applying administrative caps on the processing of asylum applications or restricting access to submitting them appear to be part of a deliberate strategy to deter them. Thus Austria introduced a cap of eighty asylum applications per day in 2016, Belgium a cap of 250 applications per day.<sup>23</sup> Greece and Italy have similar been reported to block physical access to submitting asylum applications temporarily.<sup>24</sup>

A number of European states, including Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Macedonia and Malta, have finally stepped up the systematic detention of asylum-seekers.<sup>25</sup> Mandatory detention of asylum-seekers is another long-standing practice to deter further arrivals. Australia has long had a policy of mandatory detention of asylum-seekers arriving by boat and has actively encouraged Indonesia to introduce such a policy (Nethery et al. 2013). Israel places irregular migrants for up to a year in the Holot centre located in the desert, from which residents are unable to leave.<sup>26</sup>

The resort to these kinds of indirect deterrence may to some extent be seen as a strategy by European states to recover sovereign manoeuvrability in areas which, unlike measures directly blocking access to asylum, are less heavily circumscribed by EU and international law (Gammeltoft-Hansen 2014). However, indirect policies of deterrence often impact negatively on other rights under EU, refugee and general human rights law, including freedom of movement, non-discrimination, access to employment, public education and housing. While the right to family reunification is not guaranteed under the 1951 Refugee Convention, year-long waiting periods arguably violate the right to family life as established in general human rights law.<sup>27</sup> Asylum-seekers may legitimately be detained for identification or security reasons, yet widespread policies of detention are not consistent with the prohibition against penalizing illegal entry or stay under Article 31 of the Refugee Convention and under EU law. The recast EU Asylum Procedures Directive similarly sets a six-month time limit for the duration of first-instance asylum decisions, though different exceptions can be made in complex cases or situations of mass influx.

Several indirect measures of deterrence may also be challenged on dis-

crimination or socio-economic grounds. In 2012, the German Constitutional Court ruled that refugees are entitled to the same level of welfare benefits as German citizens.<sup>28</sup> In 2016, the Grand Chamber of the European Court of Human Rights ruled that an important component of Denmark's restrictive family reunification rules, namely the requirement that couples must have a stronger joint association with Denmark than with any other country, constitutes indirect discrimination since it does not apply to applicants who have been Danish citizens for 26 years or longer.<sup>29</sup> As has been shown for other forms of deterrence, however, states often react to successful legal challenges by simply adapting or developing their policies further (Gamlemtoft-Hansen 2014).

More fundamentally, what unites these very different policies is their underlying logic. Indirect deterrence works by making the country's asylum system and protection conditions appear as unattractive as possible. If successful, a 'beggar-thy-neighbour' effect is thereby achieved, pushing asylum-seekers towards other countries. As such, indirect deterrence may be characterized as a form of national reputation management or nation branding (Anholt 1998; Dinnie 2008; Browning 2007; Angell and Mordhorst 2015). Yet, rather than building a positive image in order to attract, for example, investors, tourists and highly-skilled labour migration (Anholt 1998), the goal here is quite the opposite, namely to employ a broad range of political measures in order to project a negative image of countries like Denmark towards a particular group of unwanted migrants, asylum-seekers.

However, for policies of indirect deterrence to achieve their objective, it is essential that prospective asylum-seekers know of an intended destination country's restrictive approach before launching an asylum application there. Underscoring this point, substantial efforts have been made to 'market' specific deterrence policies or to brand countries as generally 'unwelcoming' towards a target audience. Many countries have translated and tried to communicate pedagogically the impact of new restrictive measures in the languages of major groups of asylum-seekers. Belgium and Norway have both run Facebook campaigns to dissuade particular groups of asylum-seekers.<sup>30</sup> Denmark made the decision to take out advertisements in newspapers in key countries of transit in the Middle East, warning prospective asylum-seekers about its new and more restrictive policies.<sup>31</sup> Similar initiatives have also been adopted by certain non-European countries. Notably, Australia advertises throughout the Pacific region that asylum-seekers coming by boat will not be able to make Australia their home.<sup>32</sup>

Negative branding could be argued to share some similarities with warn-

ing campaigns towards irregular migrants. Both the EU and individual member states have sponsored campaigns in North Africa to dissuade prospective migrants from crossing the Mediterranean. In 2016, Italy and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) launched the 'Aware Migrants' initiative, aiming to raise awareness about the dangerous journeys and risk of exploitation by human smugglers through videos showing migrants narrating their own experiences.<sup>33</sup> Yet, warning campaigns of this kind tend to focus on the dangers or risks associated with processes of irregular migration. In contrast, the Danish and Norwegian initiatives warn about the difficulties in obtaining legal asylum and family reunification, as well as the plights that asylum-seekers and refugees will have to endure in those two countries. The campaigning country, which portrays itself negatively to the target group, is itself the object.

While such measures, as well as transnational networks, may be reasonably effective in disseminating the deterrence message, information and communication gaps are likely to persist. Interview studies show that, while asylum-seekers may have an overall idea of different asylum states as more or less welcoming, few have more specific and in-depth knowledge of the conditions they are likely to face in them (Brekke 2004). In other cases, deliberate misinformation and 'overselling' regarding certain asylum countries can be a strategy used by human smugglers with access to particular routes or who stand to make a larger profit by organizing longer routes.

Beyond concrete initiatives, states may thus also seek to brand themselves more generally as 'hard-line' countries when it comes to asylum and immigration. Assuming imperfect information among asylum-seekers, such branding may potentially be much more important than any specific measure of deterrence. Denmark has long openly justified its more restrictive asylum policies with reference to its desire to avoid asylum-seekers. When Norway introduced its most recent series of deterrence measures, one of the government parties, the anti-immigration *Fremskrittspartiet*, made a particular point in the national and international media of stressing that this would make Norway 'the most restrictive country in Europe' when it comes to asylum policy.<sup>34</sup>

At the same time, negative nation branding reaching wider audiences may of course impact perceptions of a given country more generally. In 2016 Denmark made headlines in newspapers around the world when it proposed the so-called 'jewellery law', allowing police to search and confiscate valuables from asylum-seekers in order to help pay for their accommodation.<sup>35</sup> The provision was one among several deterrence measures, many of which

were much more serious in terms of the human rights issues involved. Yet, an emotive link was made by several commentators, comparing the Danish proposal to the confiscation of valuables from Jews during the Second World War. The ensuing press attention led the Danish government to nuance the initial proposal, setting a threshold of EUR 1,350 and underscoring that personal assets such as wedding rings would not be seized.

Similarly, these particular kinds of deterrence policies may provoke political dilemmas. As Rebecca Stern has pointed out (2014), both international and national criticism and domestic opposition to restrictive immigration measures may provoke national dilemmas with regard to a particular country's self-image and wider nation branding to other countries. For a long time, the uneasy balance between liberal values and deterrence policies was seen as a form of institutionalised schizophrenia (Gammeltoft-Hansen and Hathaway 2015; Gibney 2004). An elaborate rights regime was maintained for those lucky enough to arrive, while at the same time developed states were doing everything in their power to ensure that the vast majority of the world's refugees would never reach their territories. Shifting migration control to the sea, to third states and to private actors further creates an 'out of sight-out of mind' effect, conveniently shielding the majority of deterrence practices from the host populations (Gammeltoft-Hansen 2011).<sup>36</sup>

With the increasing reports and pictures of desperate or dead refugees along Europe's borders, however, this bifurcation becomes harder to sustain. Moreover, policies of indirect deterrence represent a significant departure from the trend to shift the less palatable aspects of sovereign authority away from the state. The current range of indirect deterrence measures are implemented 'at home', towards those who are already here, and they often create visual nodal points, such as tent camps, queues and news stories about separated families, destitution and rigid requirements. They are also measures which need to be openly marketed in order to work. It is thus not surprising that indirect deterrence has prompted intense political discussions, often deeply dividing both the public and policy-makers in terms of different visions of 'the nation' and 'national values'.<sup>37</sup>

Nordic countries can be seen to deal with these dilemmas differently and at different paces. Most commentators identify 2001 as a major turning point in Danish asylum and immigration policy. Regardless of the fact that numerous deterrence measures had been implemented in previous decades, it was the formation of a right-wing government with political support from the Danish People's Party that signalled a change in overall rhetoric and a speeding up of deterrence measures during the past fifteen years.<sup>38</sup> In con-

trast, the anti-immigration party, the Swedish Democrats, have been politically isolated, and major agreements on Swedish asylum and immigration have been reached with the explicit aim of limiting the impact of xenophobia (Stern 2014). Whether this will change in the years to come remains to be seen. Conflicts of self-image, however, appeared to play a role when an evidently emotional Åsa Romson, Deputy Prime Minister, announced Sweden's new restrictive asylum and immigration measures in November 2015.<sup>39</sup>

## Is indirect deterrence effective?

An important remaining question is whether indirect deterrence works. All the Nordic countries saw a significant drop in asylum applications in 2016 compared to the year before. From some 163,000 arriving in 2015, only 28,939 people applied for asylum in Sweden in 2016. In Norway, some 23,000 applied for asylum in the last four months of 2015, compared to under 1,200 in the first four months of 2016 after the new legislation was announced – a drop of 95%.<sup>40</sup> Though less pronounced, the trend in Denmark is the same – from 21,316 in 2015 to 6,235 last year. Policy-makers in these countries have not been slow to claim a link between the drop in arrival numbers for 2016 and the recently adopted deterrence mechanisms. According to the Danish Minister of Immigration, Inger Støjberg, 'Our restrictive policies have definitely worked. The government has implemented forty restrictive measures and closed about forty asylum centres.'<sup>41</sup>

In refugee scholarship, it is often argued that many asylum-seekers do not actively choose their country of destination (Havinga and Böcker 1999). Interview studies further indicate that asylum-seekers tend to have limited or erroneous knowledge of conditions in the country of arrival (Gilbert and Koser 2006). More fundamentally, a number of studies suggest that other factors than asylum and immigration policies remain more important in determining which country an asylum-seeker chooses to flee to. These include historical and cultural links, including language affinities, postcolonial links and current political ties (Robinson and Segrott 2002; Neumeyer 2004, Thielemann 2006)). Other factors include information and travel routes available to asylum-seekers during different sections of their journeys and the role of human smugglers (Gilbert and Koser 2006; Papadopoulou-Koukoulou 2008). Personal networks also play a major role: existing diasporas or previous flows of refugees make it much more likely that more asylum-seekers from the same country or region will arrive in the same country (Robinson

and Segrott 2002; Hatton 2004; Neumeyer 2005; Jennissen et al. 2009). Finally, conditions in the country of asylum may be important, but these typically relate to more general and structural factors, such as job opportunities (Hatton 2004, Thielemann 2002; 2006), economic and social conditions (Thielemann 2002; Holzer and Schneider 2002; Neumeyer 2004), and overall assessments of whether the country is 'safe' and has a good human rights record (Neumeyer 2005, Thielemann 2006; Moore and Shellman 2007).

On this basis, most scholars conclude that the asylum policy of the particular country plays only a minor role, if any, in determining asylum-seekers' choice of destination. Perceptions of the particular country's asylum policy or human rights record more generally are also likely to be relatively generic, possibly drawing some asylum-seekers to a particular region, but incapable of explaining variations between neighbouring countries in Europe (Robinson and Segrott 2002: 62). In this perspective, the particular measures of indirect deterrence discussed above would be unlikely to impact on asylum arrival numbers, and in any case they are less likely to deter than other aspects of asylum policy, such as the country's recognition rate for different groups of asylum-seekers or rates of returns to particular countries under the Dublin procedure.<sup>42</sup>

Indeed, the significant drop in asylum-seekers in Denmark, Sweden and Norway in 2016 seems to reflect a number of mainly international factors. First of all, the reintroduction of border controls in all three countries is likely to have blocked onward movement for many asylum-seekers hoping to reach Norway and Sweden in particular. Secondly, falling arrival numbers may be partly or wholly ascribed to wider European developments, either blocking access to the EU as such or containing asylum-seekers in the first countries of arrival. Both the EU-Turkey agreement, ensuring Turkish cooperation with regard to border controls and readmissions from Greece to Turkey as a 'safe third country', and the individual border closures of several Balkan countries fundamentally changed migratory patterns from 2015 to 2016. Reports of *refoulement* and violence against asylum-seekers at the Hungarian-Serbian border have similarly limited access to the EU,<sup>43</sup> and several initiatives have been introduced aimed at preventing secondary movement from first countries of arrival in the EU, such as Greece and Italy. While complete data on the arrival of asylum-seekers in the EU is still lacking at the time of writing, similar falls in arrival numbers in other member states, such as Germany (from more than 890,000 in 2015 to around 280,000 in 2016), support the conclusion that these factors may be more important in explaining the most recent development in the Nordic countries.

A slightly longer perspective on the Danish case, however, suggests that asylum policy is not unimportant in determining arrival numbers. Figure 2 shows annual trends in asylum applications in Denmark from 2000 to 2015. As can be seen, the overall trends in Denmark and in the total number of asylum applications in the EU are roughly correlated. Denmark, like the EU overall (Figure 3), saw a peak in applications in 2001, after which numbers dropped for a number of years. Denmark has also seen a general increase in asylum-seekers from 2006 onwards, which corresponds to similar developments in the EU more generally.

Figure 2. Asylum applications submitted in Denmark

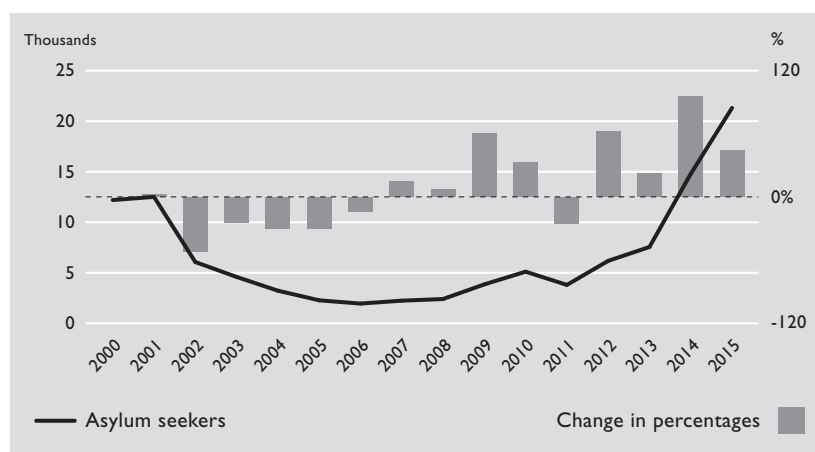
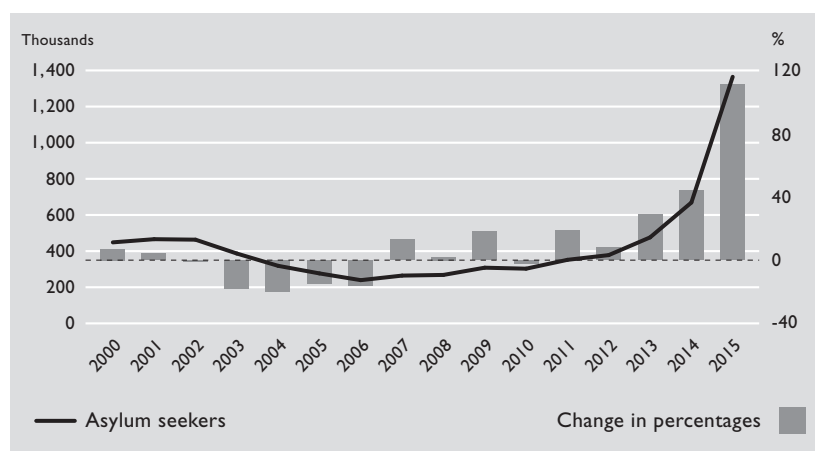


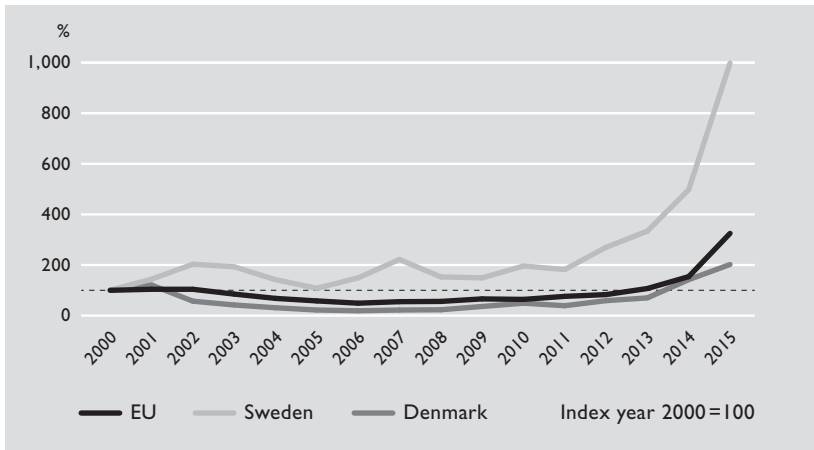
Figure 3. Asylum applications in the EU



In contrast to the EU trend, however, Denmark experienced a much more significant drop in asylum applications from 2002 onwards, which time-wise corresponds with the general change in policy following the 2001 elections and the various deterrence measures adopted in the following years.

The differences between Denmark and neighbouring countries become even more significant when relative developments of Denmark and Sweden are compared with the EU overall (Figure 4, below). Taking 2000 as the baseline year, Denmark and Sweden saw markedly different developments throughout the 2000s, the relative trend in Sweden having been much more erratic than in Denmark or the EU generally.

*Figure 4. Relative development in asylum applications in the EU overall, Sweden and Denmark*



That Denmark's more restrictive policy is indeed an important factor behind this fall is also the conclusion reached by Jan-Paul Brekke in a 2004 article comparing data for Norway, Sweden and Denmark:

'There is little doubt that the restrictions implemented by Denmark in 2002 had an effect. That was the intention behind the shift in policy and [it] worked. The country's government pulled all the brakes at the same time and two years later the train of asylum seekers nearly came to a stop.' (Brekke 2004: 34)

Brekke's analysis indicates not only that domestic policies can be effective in deterring asylum applicants, but also that the result of such deterrents can create a 'beggar-thy-neighbour' effect by diverting asylum-seekers to oth-

er countries. Tracing developments for different groups of asylum-seekers across the three countries between 2001 and 2003, relative falls in arrivals of asylum-applicants from Afghanistan, Somalia and the Former Yugoslavia in Denmark occurred in parallel to an increased number of applications from those same nationalities in Norway and Sweden (Brekke 2004: 33).

As hypothesised in the previous section, the effect of indirect measures of deterrence on asylum applications may further depend on how the country more generally is *perceived* by prospective asylum-seekers, their families, personal networks and human smugglers (Brekke 2004: 45). As interview studies confirm, the level of information about conditions in the country of asylum is neither perfect, nor necessarily correct. Hence, it matters how states introduce and communicate policy changes. When Denmark signalled a more general policy change in 2001 and subsequently introduced a broad package of deterrence measures, this can be seen to have had an effect. In comparison, Norway introduced a set of thirteen restrictive measures in 2008 in the hope of deterring further arrivals. In this case, however, the number of asylum applications did not drop significantly. In a follow-up study entitled 'Why Norway?', Brekke and Aarset point to fragmented content, unclear communication and internal disagreement in the government as some of the reasons why this policy change did not have the desired effect (Brekke and Aarset 2009: 94).

In conclusion, the Danish case emphasizes that indirect deterrence measures may, under some circumstances, have an impact on the number of asylum-seekers a country receives. This is also the conclusion reached by two other studies regarding Norway (Brekke and Aarset 2009: 91) and the Netherlands (Jennissen et al. 2009: 179). This does not mean that indirect deterrence measures necessarily trump the other factors mentioned above, such as personal networks, structural economic factors or accessibility, nor that governments can simply insulate themselves against general fluctuations in asylum numbers through domestic policies. Indeed, the increase in asylum applications in Denmark in the second half of the 2000s took place regardless of the general change in policy and the numerous deterrence measures adopted during this period. Yet, the tendency of some scholars to write off indirect deterrence as merely symbolic or as populist politics intended to show domestic constituencies that the government 'is doing something' is problematic. Rather, indirect deterrence may well be a rational policy strategy to reduce arrival numbers on a par with measures to prevent direct access to asylum through, for example, immigration control. Much depends, however, on a country's ability to brand itself successfully to prospective

asylum-seekers (Brekke 2004: 45). This in turn links concrete deterrence measures to a particular illiberal political rhetoric. The more explicit negative branding by the Norwegian government as part of the deterrence measures introduced last year, like the openly restrictive approach of Denmark, may thus form part of this strategy.

There have been several notable disagreements on this issue within the scholarly literature. Several factors may explain this. First, the experience of different countries is likely to vary significantly, as indicated above. Secondly, knowledge among refugees and migrants may change over time, or vary among different groups, again being related to the knowledge and communication of personal networks and human smugglers facilitating migration. Thirdly, conclusions drawn from individual cases may not match broader comparative studies (Thielemann 2006). Methodological differences may, however, also be part of the explanation. A number of the studies cited above rely on survey data collected from interviewing either asylum-seekers or recognised refugees upon arrival in the host country. Various questions may be raised in this regard. Are sensitive preference statements of this sort necessarily reliable? And are there likely to be important variations depending on background, nationality or whether or not interviewees have been granted status or not? More fundamentally, such studies are likely to suffer from ‘survivor bias’ in that they exclude the majority of those who did not choose that particular country, whether due to deterrence policies or for other reasons.<sup>44</sup> Likewise, quantitative or mixed methods studies may rely on overly broad or faulty indicators. For instance, the use of development aid as an indicator for how liberal a country is can be problematic (Brekke 2004: 45; *inter alia* Thielemann 2002). On the other hand, political discussions of refugee policy in Denmark are often framed as an either-or choice between granting asylum or helping refugees in their regions of origin; restrictive domestic policies may therefore go hand in hand with increased budgets for humanitarian aid and development assistance abroad.

More generally, the fact that policies of indirect deterrence can have an isolated effect in terms of lowering arrival numbers does not mean that there are no other compelling reasons why states should think twice before embarking on this path. Most obviously, the kinds of measures currently adopted place additional burdens on asylum-seekers and refugees who have already arrived that raise questions in regard to both international law and political proportionality. Syrians in Denmark afforded the new temporary protection status are faced with a difficult choice between ensuring their own safety and that of any children or spouses still remaining in Syria or

first countries of asylum. Such measures may also have an arbitrary gender bias: the majority of persons granted the new temporary protection status are women and children, since most Syrian men and their families are granted Convention status as conscientious objectors.

Indirect deterrence policies are also more likely than other forms of deterrence to impact on efforts to ensure the integration of refugees who are already in the country than other forms of deterrence. This is particularly the case for policies involving deliberate delays in processing asylum claims, a lack of access to labour markets during the asylum phase, automatic national dispersal policies and short-term residence permits, which have each been shown to impact negatively on the later employment opportunities and economic performance of those who are subsequently afforded protection.<sup>45</sup> Similarly, economic destitution and a lack of access to education and work experience may negatively impact on decisions by rejected asylum-seekers to return voluntarily and by refugees to agree to repatriation.<sup>46</sup>

Indirect deterrence may further create negative externalities in respect of other issues. Both domestic and international law place certain limitations on the design of indirect deterrence with regard to non-discrimination, making it difficult for governments to design policies specifically targeting certain groups or nationalities. The desire to maintain strict rules in respect of, for example, family reunification may thus inadvertently impact on a country's ability to attract wanted labour migration or necessitate restrictions on a wider group of national citizens. Moreover, high-profile policies, such as the Danish 'jewellery law', show that the kind of negative nation branding inherent in this form of deterrence may be difficult to maintain in relation to wider audiences. While notoriously difficult to gauge, indirect deterrence may ultimately impact on perceptions of the country more generally.<sup>47</sup>

Last but not least, policies of indirect deterrence are by design premised on a 'beggar-thy-neighbour' effect that fundamentally challenges their continued effectiveness in the long or even medium terms. Once pursued, surrounding states are likely to respond with similar policies – either pre-emptively or once they experience the displacement effect in ways that may reduce, nullify or even reverse the intended effect in the first country to introduce them.

## Concluding remarks

Few other European countries have significantly changed course with regard to their asylum and immigration policies as Denmark, from adopting the liberal Aliens Act in 1983 to becoming a self-declared hard-line state today. As the present article shows, however, this development has been neither sudden nor unique. From the mid-1980s onwards, Denmark has implemented numerous policies of deterrence, in several cases setting the pace for and inspiring similar developments in other countries. That may be partially true of the restrictive policies pursued the last decade and a half as well, many of which have been partly or wholly taken over by other Nordic countries in recent years.

More generally, the current drive towards unilateral asylum and immigration measures across Europe constitutes a distinct form of deterrence in its own right. Rather than legally or physically blocking access to asylum, these policies restrict access to rights and benefits for asylum-seekers and refugees who have already arrived with a view to discouraging further arrivals. Designed to make the prospective asylum country appear as unappealing as possible, these policies may be considered a form of target reputation management or negative management branding that are prompting states to advertise restrictive measures actively towards prospective asylum-seekers and their information networks.

Denmark's consistent and pervasive pursuit of indirect deterrence suggests that domestic policy, at least under some circumstances, can impact on arrival numbers. Rather than simply symbolic politics, indirect deterrence may thus be a strategic response by member states seeking to recover their sovereign manoeuvrability in an area where European states feel increasingly constrained by both EU and international human rights and refugee law. Legal geography plays an important role in this respect. Because of its opt-outs on justice and home affairs, Denmark enjoys greater freedom of manoeuvre in introducing sovereign deterrence measures than other member states, as does Norway as a non-member of the EU.

Pursuing these deterrence policies may, however, mean a number of indirect costs for the states involved. The policies of indirect deterrence explored above not only have an impact on the core rights of asylum-seekers and refugees, they are also more likely than other forms of deterrence to have a negative impact on integration efforts. More fundamentally, the beggar-thy-neighbour dynamic upon which these policies are premised make

individual countries vulnerable to similar policy developments in neighbouring states that are likely to reduce, or even reverse, the deterrent effect over time.

The current European context makes this point particularly acute. The widespread resort to unilateral border closures and deterrence mechanisms in many ways represents a return to the competition-oriented environment that characterized Europe in the 1990s, creating a downward spiral and a more unpredictable policy environment (Hunt 2014: 504; Byrne et al. 2002: 360). The historical solution to this collective action problem at the time was further harmonization and institutionalization, eventually leading to the Common European Asylum System. In contrast, the current wave of indirect deterrence and border controls appears, at least partly, to be borne out of a sense of frustration among many member states with the inability of the current EU system to deal with the current situation. As such, it is less self-evident that member states will accept further harmonization as a viable policy option today.

## Notes

- 1 Research Director, Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law; Honorary Professor, Aarhus University Law School. The research conducted for this article forms part of a project on "Nordic Branding" funded by UiO:Nordic.
- 2 Interview with former executive staff of the Danish Refugee Council.
- 3 <https://www.wsj.com/articles/denmark-debating-seizing-valuables-from-migrants-1452689275>
- 4 <http://www.thelocal.dk/20150907/denmarks-anti-refugee-ads-published-in-foreign-papers>.
- 5 <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/06/un-backlash-against-call-to-scale-back-geneva-convention-on-refugees>
- 6 *Politiken*, 'Ny task force skal udfordre konventioner', 9. november 2016. <http://politiken.dk/indland/article5649898.ece>
- 7 Denmark has a long tradition of minority governments.
- 8 See diagram 1 below. See further Gammeltoft-Hansen and Jørgensen 2014.
- 9 Source: <http://www.retsinformation.dk> and Christensen 2010.
- 10 While the 'first country of asylum' concept has since been widely adopted by other countries, the reciprocity measure has not and was abandoned in 2002. See Kjærum 1992: 517; Melander 1978.
- 11 The legislation was passed in 1986, but it only came into force in 1989 (Cruz 1995).
- 12 Amendment to the Danish Aliens Act, Law No. 153, 18 February 2015.
- 13 Amendment to the Danish Aliens Act, Law No. 102, 3 February 2016.

- 14 The moratorium on family reunification was originally for one year, but was subsequently extended. Amendment to the Danish Aliens Act, Law No. 102, 3 February 2016.
- 15 Amendment to the Danish Aliens Act, Law No. 1273, 20 November 2015.
- 16 Amendment to the Danish Aliens Act, Law No. 1000, 30 August 2015.
- 17 The authorities may confiscate funds or assets estimated to have a value above DKK 10,000 (approximately EUR 1,350). Personal assets with a particular sentimental value, such as wedding rings or religious artifacts, are exempt. Amendment to the Danish Aliens Act, Law No. 102, 3 February 2016.
- 18 <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/topics/immigration/asylum-regulations-in-norway/in-sight/tightening-of-norways-asylum-rules/id2465829/>
- 19 Asylverfahrensbeschleunigungsgesetz [Act on the Acceleration of Asylum Procedures], Oct. 20, 2015, BGBl. I at 1722, [http://www.bgbl.de/xaver/bgbl/start.xav?startbk=Bundesanzeiger\\_BGBl&jumpTo=bgbl115s1722.pdf](http://www.bgbl.de/xaver/bgbl/start.xav?startbk=Bundesanzeiger_BGBl&jumpTo=bgbl115s1722.pdf), archived at <http://perma.cc/K4YQ-VWNS>.
- 20 Gesetz zur Neubestimmung des Bleiberechts und der Aufenthaltsbeendigung [Act to Redefine the Right to Stay and the Termination of Residence], July 27, 2015, BGBl. I at 1386, [http://www.bgbl.de/xaver/bgbl/start.xav?startbk=Bundesanzeiger\\_BGBl&jumpTo=bgbl115s1386.pdf](http://www.bgbl.de/xaver/bgbl/start.xav?startbk=Bundesanzeiger_BGBl&jumpTo=bgbl115s1386.pdf), archived at <http://perma.cc/6HSW-G3PM>.
- 21 ECRE/ELENA, 'Information Note on Family Reunification for Beneficiaries of International Protection in Europe', June 2016, available from: [http://www.ecre.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/ECRE-ELENA-Information-Note-on-Family-Reunification-for-Beneficiaries-of-International-Protection-in-Europe\\_June-2016.pdf](http://www.ecre.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/ECRE-ELENA-Information-Note-on-Family-Reunification-for-Beneficiaries-of-International-Protection-in-Europe_June-2016.pdf)
- 22 <http://newirin.irinnews.org/non-merci-why-refugees-avoid-france/>
- 23 <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35365603>; <https://euobserver.com/migration/130120>
- 24 UNHCR, 'Dozens queue every week in Athens to apply for asylum'. UNHCR News story, 23 March 2012. Available at: <http://www.unhcr.org/4f6c8b6a6.html>; AIDA, Country Report Italy: Fourth Update, December 2015, available from [http://www.asylumineurope.org/sites/default/files/report-download/aida\\_it\\_update.iv\\_.pdf](http://www.asylumineurope.org/sites/default/files/report-download/aida_it_update.iv_.pdf)
- 25 Global Detention Project, The Detention of Asylum Seekers in the Mediterranean Region, April 2015; AIDA Country Report, February 2015, available at [http://www.asylumineurope.org/sites/default/files/report-download/aida\\_-\\_hungary\\_thirdupdate\\_final\\_february\\_2015.pdf](http://www.asylumineurope.org/sites/default/files/report-download/aida_-_hungary_thirdupdate_final_february_2015.pdf).
- 26 UNHCR is concerned at new Amendment to Israel's Law on the Prevention of Infiltration. Briefing Notes, 10 January 2014 <http://www.unhcr.org/52cfe2a09.html>
- 27 Notably Art. 8 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and Art. 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights. See e.g. UNHCR Regional Representation for Northern Europe, 'UNHCR Observations on the proposed amendments to the Danish Aliens legislation, L 87: Lov om ændring af udlændingeloven', Stockholm, 6 January 2016. See more generally Edwards 2005; Cholewinski 2002; Rohan 2014.
- 28 <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/german-court-rules-benefits-for-asylum-seekers-are-inhumane-a-845066.html>
- 29 *Biao v. Denmark*, European Court of Human Rights, Appl. No. 38590/10, 24 May 2016.
- 30 <http://blogs.wsj.com/brussels/2015/09/29/as-belgium-turns-to-facebook-to-deter-iraqis-more-arrive-daily/>; <http://www.thelocal.no/20151108/norway-launches-anti-refugee-facebook-page>
- 31 The text of the ad was subsequently criticized by the Danish Parliamentary Ombudsman for being misleading in that it suggested that the new restrictions regarding family reunification apply to all types of refugees.

- 32 <https://www.border.gov.au/about/operation-sovereign-borders/counter-people-smuggling-communication>
- 33 <http://www.iom.int/news/iom-italy-launch-aware-migrants-campaign>
- 34 <http://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/norge-far-europas-strengeste-asylpolitikk/60461396>; <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/refugee-crisis-number-of-asylum-seekers-arriving-in-norway-drops-by-95-a7114191.html>.
- 35 <https://www.wsj.com/articles/denmark-debating-seizing-valuables-from-migrants-1452689275>; <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/26/danish-parliament-approves-plan-to-seize-assets-from-refugees>
- 36 See in particular Chapter 6: 'Hic Abundant Leones: the institutional reach of refugee protection'.
- 37 In that sense, indirect deterrence may thus be compared to similar discussions around Danish nation-branding following the Danish 'cartoon crisis' in 2005 (Angell and Mordhorst 2015: 189-90).
- 38 See above, Fig. 1.
- 39 <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/refugee-crisis-sweden-deputy-prime-minister-cries-as-she-announces-u-turn-on-asylum-policy-a6749531.html>
- 40 <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/refugee-crisis-number-of-asylum-seekers-arriving-in-norway-drops-by-95-a7114191.html>. It should be noted, however, that arrival numbers in Europe generally vary depending on the season due to migratory possibilities, and hence that it is difficult to directly compare the last four months and the first months in a year.
- 41 'Vores stramninger har helt klart virket. Vi har gennemført 40 stramninger og lukket omkring 40 asylcentre.', <http://www.b.dk/politiko/inger-stoejberg-nu-letter-asylpresset-paa-danmarks-graenser>
- 42 In Sweden, for example, the drop in Iraqi asylum-seekers around 2008 has been attributed to a change in asylum practice and resultant lower recognition rates. Brekke and Aarset 2009: 42
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Kristian Jensen, Minister for Foreign Affairs

# Migration will be the biggest challenge of the 21st century

## Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen's speech at the Syria conference on 4 February 2016 in London

Your Excellencies, Distinguished delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Thanks to our five hosts for this very timely and well-focused conference.

Yesterday, the UN Special Envoy announced a temporary pause in the intra-Syrian talks in Geneva. In the weeks ahead, I urge all Syrian parties to create a constructive environment before the resumption of the talks on February 25. In this regard, a particular responsibility lies with the regime and its supporters, who must meet their obligations in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 2254. Resuming talks later this month offers an opportunity that must be seized. Political transition is the only way to end the horrific human sufferings and counter Da'esh.

But while we push for a political solution, we must keep up the pressure on all parties to ensure humanitarian access and respect for international law. And we need to step up efforts to create a better future for the many children, women and men caught in the conflict.

We must increase funding. We must improve living conditions locally for the many refugees and the host communities in the region. We must ensure protection and create more jobs and better access to education, health and other services.

All this requires a better link between humanitarian assistance and development efforts. And it requires a broader involvement of all actors – including governments, civil society and the private sector.

This is why we gather here today. This is why Denmark contributes substantially to the MADAD-fund [‘Madad’ is Arabic and means ‘helping together’, eds.]. And this is why Denmark has taken lead on the European Regional Development and Protection Program for Syrian refugees and host communities in Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq. A program that helps refugees and locals to find relevant jobs, to create new jobs, to upgrade their working skills, to start a new business, and to be informed on their legal rights and to avoid child labor – in close dialogue with the host authorities.

I am pleased today to commit 100 million US dollars or 688 million Danish Kroner in 2016 to address both the immediate and longer term needs in and around Syria. This includes the expected Danish contribution to the EU Turkey Facility.

Denmark truly wishes to contribute substantially to alleviate the human sufferings in and around Syria. Denmark will remain an active and committed partner in the years to come. Through humanitarian relief, through development efforts, and by strengthening the link between the two – in order to improve living conditions for the many families and local communities affected by the conflict.

Thank you.

## Speech delivered by Foreign Minister Kristian Jensen to the Danish Foreign Policy Society on 4 February 2016

Dear listeners, dear Foreign Policy Society, dear Lykke and the University of Copenhagen. I am really happy to see so many people interested in foreign policy here today. And there is certainly enough to be interested in!

I would like to begin with Awer Mabil. Awer Mabil is 20 years old. He got his debut with FC Midtjylland's premier league team – my team – on October 16, 2015 playing against Randers. He is a technical player – perhaps the new Pione Sisto? And like Sisto, he is not born in my neighbourhood. Awer Mabil is South Sudanese and was born in 1995 in the refugee camp Kakuma, which is located in Kenya close to South Sudan. In Kakuma, he began playing football from an early age, because there was – according to him – not much else to do. He lived in Kakuma until 2006, when his parents were granted permanent residence in Australia, where he is now a national.

On Wednesday December 16 last year – exactly two months after Awer Mabil's debut for FC Midtjylland – I found myself in Kakuma. There are about 180,000 people living there – the same amount of people living in Odense. It was my first visit to a refugee camp and what I saw there was need and desperation. On average, people have lived there for 18 years. And they do not have much to do. I spoke with a newly arrived family who had fled abuse and conflict. And I witnessed the poor conditions existing both in- and outside the camp. But I also witnessed hope and the will to live. I saw young people who held meetings on democracy and peaceful conflict resolution. I saw the single mother who, despite having seven children of her own and two of her sister's, also took care of an orphaned child. And the young rappers who sang about the same challenges as other teenagers around the world. I also

witnessed the great job that Danish and other NGOs were doing here – just as they do elsewhere in the world.

Kakuma – and Kenya and Africa in general – showed me that the way we handle the refugee crises, migration and its root causes, will be the greatest global challenge of the 21st century. We can see it with the naked eye and we can see it when we study the figures for how the world will look in 2050. It is at the top of the agenda for the world's leaders. And it is the one political topic that is of most concern to Danes.

In 2050, there will be twice as many people in Africa and the Middle East than today. The large youth populations in Africa and the Middle East present both a challenge and a solution. If managed wrongly, they can become a ticking time bomb beneath stability and prosperity – also in Europe. If managed correctly, they can become the key to growth, stability and development.

Migration affects us all. Both the countries that are losing people; the countries through which the migrants are passing; and the countries in which the migrants settle down, if they get that far. Right now, migration is affecting the Europe we know and love – a Europe with freedom of movement, beneficial economic integration and a high degree of security.

Migration also affects our values. European societies are changing character, both because the newcomers are bringing other values and thought patterns with them, and also because we may change our attitude towards the world when faced with massive challenges. And values matter.

My message is clear: We have a responsibility to ensure Denmark's security, growth and prosperity – not to mention our values – in this situation. And in order to do that, we need to use our entire foreign policy toolbox – security policy, EU policy, development policy, policy of growth and value policy.

Before I elaborate further on migration, I will briefly give you my view of 2016 from a foreign policy perspective, and of this year's major challenges for Danish and European foreign policy. Since I became Minister for Foreign Affairs, I have dealt with a great deal of the topics on the global agenda, but I will not be able to name all of them here today. This does not mean that they are forgotten.

There are many heavy challenges in the world of 2016. Within our own neighbourhood, we must ensure that Denmark will get solid agreements with the EU after the “no”-vote last year, so that we can ensure the safety of Denmark. We must do our best to ensure that the UK remains in the EU. We need to work for freedom and security for Ukraine, while hopefully it will become possible to create a better relationship with Russia with full respect for maintaining a unified EU position on this matter. And we need to continue to prioritise the Arctic and peaceful cooperation in the region.

A little further away, we must work for stability in the neighbouring areas. We must strengthen the fight against ISIL; despite being under pressure on several fronts, their horror organisation continues to spread to still more places in the Middle East and North Africa. And we must actively counter the threat of extremism and terror that hit Europe and the rest of the world so hard in 2015. A political solution to the conflict in Syria and increased stability in the Middle East are crucial priorities in 2016.

We must work towards concluding the negotiations on the free trade agreement between the EU and the US to the benefit of our economies and our consumers. And we must continue the struggle for human rights, for the eradication of poverty and for a world-order based on the rule-of-law and freedom.

These are heavy, hard and challenging agendas. And I cannot blame anyone for feeling pessimistic. But we must not forget that the world in many areas also has become a better place. There are also progress and bright spots.

The world can actually come together on important global decisions. This was demonstrated by the adoption of the new sustainable development goals in New York in September and the climate agreement in Paris. In both instances, Denmark and the EU played a constructive part. Also, the previous 2015 goals have resulted in a sharp decline in child mortality rates and a large reduction in the number of people living in absolute poverty.

In 2015, the world community and Iran – with the EU in the forefront – signed an agreement on Iran’s nuclear program. Regardless of regional tensions, the agreement provides a perspective for a more peaceful world as well as economic opportunities for Danish companies.

Democracy made advances in several places in 2015. Tunisia appeared as a democratic ray of light in a region where democracy has difficult conditions. We have to support that. Burkina Faso maintained democracy despite severe pressure from coup-makers and, most recently, terrorism. Solid progress was made towards a peace agreement in Colombia and a fairly democratic election was carried out in Venezuela. We also saw a democratic development with the election in Myanmar.

In the midst of all the gloom, opportunities and chances are also to be found. These must be promoted and seized, all the while we handle the challenges as good as we can. That is the essence of Denmark's foreign policy. We do not dictate where the world should go. But if we act wisely and prioritise correctly, then our efforts might help to set the agenda and tip the balance and the development in the right direction.

Migration will – in a broad sense – become the greatest global challenge of the 21st century. And we cannot solve this challenge on our own, no matter how many fences, we may put up. Since World War II, Denmark and Europe have made enormous progress, thanks to the four freedoms: free movement of goods, services, capital and labour. We have thus ensured both peace and the market economy. The four freedoms are the foundation of this success – and I do not wish to see European progress be undermined. I will therefore make a number of initiatives in the near future.

Firstly: We must manage migration in order to safeguard the Danish welfare society and to ensure that the Nordic Region remains an open and attractive region. A lot has been said and written about Denmark recently. Not everything has been accurate and not everything has been fun to read. I would therefore like to make clear that Denmark is a country that is aware of its responsibility. We have nothing to be ashamed of, when you take into consideration that last year Denmark received 21,000 asylum seekers and is one of the countries that provide the most humanitarian aid to Syria and other neighbouring areas per capita.

But our society is not equipped for mass immigration. We have a very collective public social support system, which only functions when everyone in Denmark work within their abilities and contribute with high taxes. At the same time, we have a society with many unwritten rules and norms and mutual trust. It is a big challenge if you do not know the unwritten rules.

This is why there is a limit to how many refugees and migrants Denmark can integrate. And it is why we have sharpened the course and taken the required steps forced upon us by the special circumstances. But it is important that we do not allow the enormous challenges we are facing to make us abandon the values that are specific for Denmark and worth preserving. Openness, trust, freedom, tolerance and equality. The solution is not to close the borders and restrict our international relations. The solution is to adapt our institutions to function better and cooperate more efficiently internationally with relevant countries and regions.

The situation has led to Danes and Swedes for the first time in over 50 years not being able to cross our common border freely. If we are to realise the full economic potential of the Nordic countries and the Øresund region, we must re-establish the free passage in the Nordic region and maintain Denmark and the Nordic countries as open and attractive to those people and businesses, we would like to settle here.

Denmark needs to be able to attract highly qualified labour in order to develop our economy and ability to compete – and thus our welfare society. The government's platform clearly states that we will ensure Danish companies easier access to skilled foreign labour. Here, too, the government and I are of course aware of the foreign debate on Denmark's immigration policy. It is important that we spread the facts about the Danish measures, in order to debunk the any myths. And we must continue to highlight Danish strengths and the international responsibility that Denmark takes.

Secondly: We must manage migration, to ensure that we do not lose some of the key benefits of EU cooperation. The number of asylum seekers in the EU doubled from 2012 to 2014 and doubled again from 2014 to 2015. In 2015, around 1.3 million people came to Europe. This has put the EU under tremendous pressure; EU's external borders, the Schengen area and the EU's decision-making power and solidarity. It is vital that we find common European solutions and that we not squander the progress which we have fought to achieve for more than 50 years. Young Danes have never experienced anything else than open borders, that are easily crossed, and I think that many overlook the fact that the four freedoms rest on several generations of hard work. They are freedoms that we might risk losing again.

Right now the biggest problem is that EU's external borders are not functioning. This must be at the top of EU's agenda and all countries have a responsibility to ensure that EU's external borders work. The EU is considering how to give the EU more instruments to secure the external borders and the government is open to looking at better working solutions. The EU could also consider adding more vessels to the patrol of the EU's external borders and to give the EU a more robust mandate to reject unjustified asylum applicants and send them back. One thing is certain – the internal problems cannot be solved properly until the EU's external borders are secured. If the community cannot solve the problems, the individual countries will try on their own.

The EU should also lead a much more coherent neighbourhood policy. The EU and its member states need to spend more money to counter the reasons why people flee and be ready to use political muscle in getting partner countries to take back more of their nationals, who hasn't been granted asylum. But the EU must also be ready to open its markets much more to countries in the neighbourhood, controversial as it may be.

Here lies one of the keys to solving the problems. If goods are not allowed to cross the borders, then people – and at worst soldiers – will do so to a much greater extent. Free trade helps to ensure thriving communities worldwide.

Thirdly: Conflicts create refugee flows and refugee flows create conflicts. We need to deal with the world's conflicts at an early stage and in a much more fundamental way, to prevent conflicts and fragile states from creating more refugees, more migration, crime and terrorism.

4.2 million people have fled Syria. And more than 125 foreign fighters have travelled there from Denmark. In Afghanistan the Taliban are fighting to come back, driving people on the run, just as Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram are doing in Africa. In Burkina Faso terrorists can suddenly strike, although the country has undergone the most promising democratic development in the region. And the conflict in Libya makes it easy for smugglers to send people from all of Africa over the Mediterranean.

It is within the security policy interest of Denmark to combat this and we will need to have a robust security policy if we are to make a difference. Denmark must continue to deliver militarily to the resolution of the conflicts

in the Middle East and Africa. We need to be present in both Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan – and other places where the refugee- and migration flows originate. Therefore, operations “further down” in Africa such as the Horn of Africa and Mali are absolutely necessary – and we will eventually see more such operations. Mali is only one border away from Europe and unrest in Mali affects our security.

At the same time we need to think further ahead – Danish foreign policy should also help to stop and prevent the next conflict, which has not yet occurred!

Denmark is good at contributing to stabilisation in conflict areas, because we take a comprehensive approach, combining all of our instruments – military, political and diplomatic, civilian reconstruction, training of local authorities, humanitarian aid and development aid, to counter the causes of conflict and create growth in the EU border regions. We need to push for the UN and the EU to take a comprehensive approach as a standard procedure in conflict resolution and prevention.

Taking a comprehensive approach involves difficult choices and significant risks. It is always – and this should not be misinterpreted – relatively easier to bomb from the air. However, on the ground the choices are harder. We must be prepared to cooperate more with all actors – except for terrorist organisations.

I would also like to see us spend more of our resources to support risky projects such as police training in Aleppo and the delivery of services by local authorities in Afghanistan. We must take risks to get involved, despite of difficult conditions. For I believe that it will lead to bigger rewards and more security for the local populations – and for the Danes.

Fourthly: We must contribute to emerging and developing countries making sustainable choices for their societies, enabling them to handle climate challenges and demographic changes.

There are major migration challenges both in emerging countries in Asia and in developing countries in Africa. The emerging countries are among other things pressured by climate change, the soaring need for resources, changes in demography, and mass migration from rural to urban areas. Today nearly 4 billion people are living in the world's cities, by 2030 that number will be

around 5 billion. And towards 2030, the global middle class will grow by up to 3 billion.

This presents emerging and developing countries with considerable challenges. It also offers significant opportunities – for them and for Denmark. These countries need to make strategic choices about how to renew and improve their societies. And this is where Denmark must be ever more ready to help – as we are currently doing it in for example Asia. Danish solutions – many of them green – are in high demand and so are Danish companies. Within urbanization, energy, environment, food stuffs, health, welfare technology and so on.

The government is therefore very focused on Africa. In Africa, we bring all our instruments into play. Our ambition is to use a larger proportion of our development aid in Africa and to focus it more towards the UN Development Goals and combating the causes of migration. To raise more money for investments in Africa through public-private cooperation such as the Climate and Agriculture Investment Funds. To focus more on the creation of social and legal frameworks for growth and development. All the while not forgetting the fragile states, the poorest countries and the poorest segments of the populations. We focus on Africa – but we do not forget about the rest of the world.

My overall message about migration and the refugee crisis is that it is the biggest global challenge of the 21st century and that these challenges, broadly speaking, will come to define the foreign policies of Denmark and Europe. This will also be apparent when we present a new strategy for development policy later this year. But within these challenges there are also opportunities for Denmark, if we manage them properly and if we use the entire foreign policy toolbox.

Denmark must protect the traditional alliances that have meant so much to Denmark's security and economy – NATO and the EU. We need to strengthen cooperation with emerging countries, especially in Asia, both politically and in terms of societal solutions. We need to have development aid, and while it may have been reduced it remains world class, and we are in the process of developing it. We need to strengthen Denmark through free trade and exports.

Three indicators are important for me to finish with:

First, we need to find the right balance between interests and values – two things that I do not see as opposites. We also need to find the right balance between realism and idealism. Henry Kissinger was right when he said that the world needs both realists and idealists. Because a cynical realist has no goals. And a naive idealist has no means to achieve his goals. I prefer to be a realist with idealism intact. I know where I'm going. And I know which means I can use to get there.

Secondly, that I, as a Liberal, value mankind's pursuit of happiness and greatest possible number of options. Freedom and equality are the best means to ensure the individual's right to choose freely his or her own life and future. This is central to me.

Thirdly, we must defend the right of every country to freedom and to choose for themselves their future and alliances. Inspired by the words of Woodrow Wilson, spoken in 1917, it is about making the world safe for democracies everywhere, especially small democracies like Denmark.

I would like to conclude with Awer Mabil from Kakuma and South Sudan. He began in a refugee camp and ended up in Denmark. His family got the opportunity and his talent did the rest. But Denmark and Europe cannot accept everyone who, because of conflict or poor conditions of life, are seeking a better life. What we can do with our foreign policy is to create a framework for a better life with less conflict, more freedom, more options, and better prospects for the millions of young people who grow up, particularly in Africa and the Middle East, in the coming decades.

This is the great challenge, it is not easy and there is much at stake! It is on the basis of how well prepared we were to handle this great challenge that we will be rated. This is the great challenge that will come to define Danish foreign policy in the coming years.

Thank you.

## Communication and media relations with Russia: platforms for debate, or hybrid warfare?

The foreign minister's speech at a seminar on 21 April 2016 at a meeting of NB8 [Nordic-Baltic Eight] in Riga

Thank you very much for inviting me to speak here in Riga on this important subject.

Only 25 years ago Latvia and the Baltic states fought for and got their freedom. And Denmark and my predecessor, Uffe Elleman-Jensen, stood firmly with you then as we do now. Today, we fight together for security, free trade and better lives for our people. You have become a close ally in the Baltic region, in the EU and in NATO. What a development!

In many ways the world has become a better place since the Cold War. But lately the Baltic States and people have felt insecurity once again. This is due to Russia's unacceptable behavior in Ukraine, their hybrid warfare and crude propaganda. We understand the insecurity people here feel and we have reacted. Our response has been military reassurance, closer cooperation and an increased effort to counter Russian propaganda and misinformation.

Propaganda is not new. You know that from the KGB during the Cold War, from the terrible war in Yugoslavia in the 90'ties – and from ISIL today. But never before has misinformation or propaganda been used to the extent and with the level of sophistication that we see in today's Russia.

The internet has become the most important battlefield but Russia is also using its state controlled media platforms, including Sputnik and Russia Today, all across Europe. Fortunately, the efforts to drive a wedge into the EU cooperation and stir up conflict by using propaganda and misinformation have not succeeded.

As a reaction to Russian propaganda, Denmark and three other EU countries took the initiative to put strategic communication on the EU agenda in

January 2015. One of the results was the establishment of the East Stratcom. I am pleased to see Mr. Jon Kyst here today. He plays a key role in that unit. And I know he has a good Latvian and Estonian colleague. Denmark has also promoted strategic communication in NATO and in the Nordic-Baltic cooperation. I am happy that Latvia is at the forefront of the regional efforts.

We are slowly beginning to see good results of the many counter initiatives. Today, I believe it has become more difficult for Russian media to successfully spread lies and myths in the international arena. People are becoming more aware of the methods used for propaganda purposes. The many examples of Russian misinformation exposed by Western media and authorities have contributed to stronger media literacy.

This we saw in the story of 13 year old Lisa from Berlin. Her alleged rape by refugees was supplemented by media coverage that included footage from the Tahrir Square in Cairo and YouTube images from 2009. Even foreign minister Lavrov intervened. But in the end the story backfired because German media and authorities actively countered and exposed the Russian misinformation and falsification. Lisa was not raped but spent time with a friend.

The EU's East Stratcom unit is playing an important role – so important that it is called EU's Special Forces by Russian authorities. The unit highlights examples of Russian misinformation. From actors pretending to be Ukrainian Azov fighters threatening the Dutch people with terror attacks before the 6 April referendum to allegations that the Brussels terror attacks were staged. We need to strengthen the East Stratcom unit with more permanent staff and resources.

The NATO Stratcom Centre of Excellence here in Riga has also done good work. In the tragic case of Malaysia Airlines MH17 it carefully documented how Kremlin-funded hybrid trolls were active on online-media as to the shooting down of MH17.

There are other things we can do beside strategic communication. We need to strengthen our support for critical journalism and open debate. The establishment of the Baltic Centre of Media Excellence contributes to this end. We also need to enforce media pluralism and access to quality media to all groups of society, also minority groups. We should invite Russian journalists to visit our societies and engage with Western journalists. And welcome when Russian media settle down outside Russia to report more freely and independently – such as Medusa here in Riga.

Let me end by making it very clear: Russian misinformation or propaganda is a dangerous weapon. It promotes hatred and intolerance. It can

divide people and polarizes societies. It undermines trust in the media. And it blurs the lines between what is real and what is fabricated. There are people who can fall victim to this – also here in the Baltics. Therefore we must counter it and promote objective and free media.

This is actually not a battle for the truth. It is a battle against propaganda that pollutes the truth. This makes our work difficult, but it also makes it so much more important for our free and democratic societies.

Thank you.

## Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen's toast at President Obama's State Dinner on 13 May 2016

Mr. President, first lady, dear colleagues from my neighboring counties, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

“Once I was seven years old, my mama told me,  
Go make yourself some friends or you'll be lonely.”

Those lyrics are from Danish singer Lucas Graham's no. 1 hit-song here in the U.S.

And I'm a lucky guy, because my predecessors didn't wait for this song to be released before they actually followed this advice. And therefore I am so privileged and happy to be here tonight – surrounded by good friends. From the Nordic countries, but first and foremost – you, Mr. President, your fantastic and dedicated wife Michelle, and all your fellow Americans. The United States is truly one of Denmark's closest friends.

The first time you invited me into the Oval Office, Mr. President, you said that Denmark is punching above our weight. It made me proud. It made us Danes feel a little special.

Now – some six years later – I understand that not only Denmark but all the Nordic countries punch above our weight. Nevertheless, I'm still proud. And I truly believe the same goes for my colleagues. You can count on us. You know that. And that is probably why we are all invited here tonight. We will continue to punch above our weight – and after tonight's splendid dinner we will definitely step up into a whole new weight class...

The ties between the United States and the Nordics are strong and go way back. Nordic Vikings crossed the Atlantic centuries ago and discovered amazing America.

Ever since, millions have left our rainy and windy countries – looking for a new start in America. Many of them settled in... Minnesota. I guess the weather there made them feel right at home.

The Nordic settlers took part in making America bright and beautiful. Scarlett Johansson, of Danish descent, is a living proof of that.

The Swedes, Finns and Icelanders did their part too. Contributing to the gene pool that gave you Julia Roberts, Matt Damon, and Uma Thurman.

And the Norwegians – well... They gave you Karl Rove. Among many other things.

So I guess it true to say that we have had a certain impact un America – in many different ways. The question is. Can we Nordics still contribute to America? And the answer is as simple as it is famous: Yes. We. Can!

Nordic architects, like Bjarke Ingels, contribute to transforming American cities with projects like the New York Dryline and the redesign of the Smithsonian here in Washington. Based on a vision of making urban areas more liveable, smart and sustainable.

Both the US and the Nordic countries try to set positive standards for the world of tomorrow. Taking the lead.

Speaking of taking the lead – it's easy to see the importance and value of your leadership, Mr. President. Without interfering in American politics I can truly and without a doubt say that: You have been the best president – Europe never had.

Now your presidency is coming to an end. And I must admit: I'm very fond of Donald, too... I support him as president. He's really smart. Shows great leadership skills. A true visionary. There's no doubt that Donald... Donald Tusk, that is – our Polish President of the European Council – in your absence – is the best president Europe could have.

Being a role model is not always easy...so I've heard.

But you – Mr. President – have come to represent a dream for millions of Americans, and people across the world.

We share a common vision of securing good, affordable healthcare to all. And I greatly respect your achievements in this regard.

Your leadership was also key to the Paris-agreement on Climate Change last year. Well both of us were disappointed after Copenhagen, but then worked hard, and finally in Paris we succeeded. And we continue our work together on the green transition.

Recently, you swept the White House in the rainbow colours. Being the first country on earth to allow same-sex partnership, Denmark admires and supports your fight for diversity and equal rights.

Nevertheless – your presidency is slowly coming to an end. Congress will probably try to block most of your initiatives in the time to come. That can be frustrating. Believe me – Being leader of a small minority government I

know that from personal experience.

And if I may – allow me to give you a piece of personal advice: When I get too frustrated I let off steam by... cooking. I can recommend that.

And if you do take my advice, I think you could be inspired by the New Nordic cuisine. It already involves edible rarities such as moss, bark and living ants. But maybe you could be helpful in our search for a recipe for lame duck.

Mr. President, you are a great friend and ally. Solrun and I will always be very happy to welcome you and your family in Copenhagen.

And Denmark would – as all the Nordic countries I believe – be honored to receive one of the most inspirational and charming figures in America. Along with her husband, of course.

So, dear Michelle. Mr. President. Ladies and Gentlemen.

Let me propose a toast for the strong relations between our nations. The very special cross Atlantic friendship between US and the Nordic.

To friendship...

Thank you.

## The Important Role of Women in Developing Markets

### The Foreign Minister's speech at 'Women Deliver', the Womenomics conference in Copenhagen on 18 May 2016

Thank you to the organizers, and Tine Willumsen, for inviting me to talk about an issue close to my heart: The role of women in developing markets.

Women are not just wife and mothers, or just consumers or just entrepreneurs or political leaders. They are all those things. And they should have the right to be just that. To be free of discrimination, traditions and norms preventing them from living the life they want.

That is, however, not the case. More than 120 countries have laws that treat men and women differently. Making it impossible for a woman to obtain an ID card, own or use property, access credit, get a job. These are restrictions that are fundamentally unjust. But also, as we have come to learn, economically unwise. For the societies to develop, and the economy to grow, we need everybody involved.

In addition to legal restrictions, girls and women are also – in many places around the world – faced with a fundamental lack of access to crucial services. Lack of access to education and to key health services that prevent girls and women to reach their full potential.

This is not only unfair and unjust – it is also from an economic perspective unwise. We need to be clear that to engage women in the labor market, or help her set up a small business. We need to work to help girls and women overcome these barriers and be empowered to make their own choices.

In spite of these challenges, women show incredible resourcefulness. They set up saving clubs to overcome their financial constraints. They make use of modern technology such as mobile phones to obtain information about food prices and figure out the best time to sell their products. And they move into

the labor market as employees.

There are some quick fixes and easy solutions – and they should be used. Yesterday I visited a photo exhibition organized by the Federation of Danish Industries showing that when you engage in a discussion with female employees, ask them about their needs and try to accommodate them – everybody wins. Special transport service, flexible work hours, kindergardens at the workplace were some of the examples of how Danish companies engage to adapt and improve working conditions for women. To the good of their employees – but also for the company.

I encourage the private sector to take it upon itself to engage and take responsibility to deliver for girls and women. We know it will benefit society – but I am convinced it will also benefit each company that commits to do this.

At the Financing for Development Conference in Addis Ababa last year – a new agenda for how to finance the new global agenda was agreed. One of the very clear messages was that strong involvement of the private sector in financing the new Global Goals is required. Financing from the developing countries themselves and development assistance from countries like Denmark cannot do it. We need the private sector to help us achieve all the wonderful intentions in goal number 5 which holds so much promise for the girls and women of the world.

So today I would like to urge all of you to engage for girls and women. Not only for their sake – also for your own. And I promise that Danish development cooperation will continue to be a strong supporter of the health and rights of girls and women. I look very much forward to partner with Danish private sector to deliver just that.

Thank you.

## The Foreign Minister's speech at the 3GF summit in Copenhagen on 6-7 June 2016

[3GF means Global Green Growth Forum, eds.]

Excellences, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am truly delighted to have this opportunity to express my admiration for your dedication and hard work over the last two days. Together, you have showed a strong collective commitment to promote sustainable green growth on a global scale – a commitment to turn the global promises into action.

Over the last two days you have laid the foundation for concrete action that will unleash the dynamics of cities as drivers of the green economy. You have advanced solutions to increase access to energy and water. You have taken steps to accelerate financial investments in sustainable growth. And you have shown how we can act in partnerships to support the aspirations of the emerging middle class while embracing sustainable living around the world.

When we defined the purpose of 3GF summit 2016 it was obvious to work on implementation following on from last and previous years' negotiations. We invited you all with a call to Action. So what has been achieved over the last two days? Through your active engagement, the 3GF platform has delivered substantial results.

The Kenyan government and Bidco Africa joins the vital work of the 2030 Water Resources Group with the launch of a new national platform to address a predicted 30% gap between water supply and demand by 2030. The call for action is to deeper collaboration on sustainable use of water across Africa, Latin America and Asia.

Partners have launched a global standard for measuring food loss and waste that will help us reduce the enormous amount of food that goes to waste. The call for action is immediate uptake of the standard by affected sectors.

To address the 51 trillion dollar gap to 2050 to meet global infrastructure needs, partners committed to take forward a Sustainable Infrastructure Registry to provide investors with a clear understanding of the specific characteristics of sustainable and resilient infrastructure investments. The call for action is the creation of an international Sustainable Infrastructure Registry.

These are just a few of the more than 30 partnerships that have been initiated or accelerated at 3GF this year.

The Sustainable Development Goals call for a hugely ambitious transition over the next 15 years. To a world in which extreme poverty is eradicated, growth is made inclusive and sustainable, and climate change is being effectively mitigated while we at the same time adapt to expected changes.

The 2030 and the Climate Agenda do not stand in the way of economic growth. Affordable, scalable solutions are now available to enable countries to leapfrog to cleaner, more resilient economies. The pace of change is quickening as more people are turning to renewable energy and a range of other measures that will reduce emissions and increase adaptation effort.

The political momentum from global agreements of 2015 will only last if we actively engage in this transition and bring the solutions into play. 3GF has been actively contributing to this for five years and counting. But we must realize that the world has changed since 3GF was launched in 2011. We now have a strong framework for sustainable development and combating climate change that the entire international community has agreed on. And we are no longer the only international forum to discuss sustainable and green public-private solutions. The partnership approach that 3GF champions is now widely employed as a means to secure real and tangible change.

Excellences, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is time to rethink the Global Green Growth Forum. We need to ensure that 3GF remains a relevant platform for the private and public partners driving the green transition – and continue our contribution to accelerating businesses' involvement in reaching the ambitious SDGs and climate goals

We have built bridges and formed alliances across regions and sectors. Developed and supported innovative, sustainable and green solutions – with one aim in mind – to create real impact – at scale. We have gathered unique experience and knowledge, we have a strong platform, and we have seen our partnerships continue to operate and develop innovative solutions. We have an excellent point of departure for rethinking 3GF. And we need your ideas and continued engagement.

Let this be a call to all 3GF partners to contribute views and ideas on what should be the future path of the Global Green Growth Forum.

I want to thank you for the stimulating dialogue and your active participation today and yesterday. The results of our efforts have been summarised in the “Charter of Action” which I recommend that you all take with you on the way out. A more detailed report reflecting the results and the discussions will soon be available.

This year’s summit has provided new inspiration, new ideas, and new concrete solutions. I for one leave the 3GF Summit feeling encouraged and full of confidence that we are on the right path. We have the framework, we know the solutions, and it is people like you here in this room that will secure the actual results – at speed and scale. Now let’s get to work!

## The Foreign Minister's speech at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' trade policy conference on 22 June 2016

I would like to welcome you all to our Trade Policy conference. Welcome to our distinguished guests, especially WTO Director General Roberto Azevedo, Deputy USTR Michael Punke, EU General Director Jean-Luc Demarty and also to the speakers of the second panel. It is timely to ask ourselves “What’s next for Global Trade Policy?”

Free trade is a hot topic: Free trade is under pressure in many places, among politicians and ordinary people in the US, Europe and in the Emerging economies. In the UK, trade is a central theme in the defining yes-no referendum tomorrow.

But why does free trade matter? The answer is simple: If two sides decide to close a deal, it’s to the advantage of both. Both win, both become richer. Free trade is one of the most ingenious inventions of man. History proves that wealth and human development has been propelled by free trade. And in short: If goods pass borders, there is less likelihood that soldiers will.

That will be my main messages today: Free trade matters, free trade must be promoted, and the WTO must keep delivering results – new results – to the benefit of our economies, creating jobs and growth.

People in many countries are becoming more sceptical. Protectionism is creeping forward – in the form of barriers and limits to free trade. The idea that open trade is a threat – and that you need to cut yourself off from the world – is wrong. It’s the opposite way around: Free trade creates growth and underpins employment. In Denmark, more than 700.000 jobs – one in four jobs – depend on our exports. Worldwide, it has lifted hundreds of millions

of people out of poverty. Just look at China and other Asian countries – and Africa is aiming to go next.

I am a free trader. But I am not – and we should not – be blind to the challenges connected with trade: Trade benefits society as a whole, not least the silent majority of consumers. But sometimes there is negative impact on some companies, workers or communities when markets open to competition.

It is an important task for governments to mitigate negative effects and assist workers to adapt to a more competitive environment. Protectionism will never be the answer – it will make us all poorer!

Free trade is often blamed for much misery in this world – which is completely unfair. But free trade needs a better reputation – better PR so to speak. One way to achieve this could be by identifying visible and quantifiable targets for our free trade agreements. Ambitious performance goals for our trade agreements.

Like in the area of climate change where hard targets have mobilised political will, I propose that we set a political target. We could agree on a “Headline Trade Goal”. Why not say that multilateral and bilateral free trade agreements over the coming 15 years should lift 200 million people out of poverty and lift GDP worldwide with 3 percent? We can always discuss the numbers but let’s be ambitious! It is clearly within reach for an ambitious international trade agenda to deliver on those goals so why not be open about it?

The WTO has also seen many challenges. But it is the best defence against protectionism. Here, everybody sits at the same negotiating table, setting the rules of trade, creating a level playing field, and settling disputes. The common rules of the WTO benefit all nations, in particular the Least Developed Countries of the world. But we must do more.

The WTO does deliver results – step by step. Trade negotiations are complicated. The WTO trade facilitation agreement from 2013 cuts red tape and delays at borders. When ratified, it will reduce trade costs up to 15%. That counts.

Last year in December, I was at the WTO ministerial conference in Nairobi. Here we agreed to eliminate export subsidies – the largest agricultural reform in 20 years and a long-lasting wish from developing countries. Also,

a big group of WTO countries shook hands and decided to remove custom tariffs on a range of IT products representing 10% of world trade. That also counts.

The global economy is changing shape: global value chains are spreading, new economies are emerging, technology and the digital economy is transforming the way we live and trade. In the WTO, many members are engaged in bilateral and regional trade negotiations.

Firstly, this means that the WTO has to work on new policy areas. We need to look at issues like e-commerce, investment, and at expanding the rule book of trade.

Secondly, we have to address some of the Doha issues on their own merits. For instance, within agriculture, domestic support could be explored. I believe that we should aim for a solid package at our next ministerial conference in 2017, covering both new and old issues, with a special focus on the poorest countries. The discussion started in Nairobi, and now it's time to focus more.

We can pursue trade liberalisation through several channels: Multilaterally – or plurilaterally, meaning in a group of interested WTO countries. Done smartly, these different roads can support each other and lead us to the same destination: fewer trade barriers.

Plurilateral negotiations can deliver good results. For example, the current negotiations on environmental goods can provide growth as well as environmental benefits. I would like to see an agreement this year, which would show that we can deliver.

At the same time, the European Union – and Denmark as part of the EU – has an ambitious bilateral trade agenda.

The TTIP [Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership] negotiations are important for both EU and the US. An agreement will set standards and give an important boost to American and European economies. And it will benefit our consumers with more choice and more money to spend. We need to get this positive message across.

TTIP is also important politically. It will strengthen the already close ties between EU and the US.

The public debate about TTIP is very lively. This is positive, as we get the best agreement when we challenge each other – like today. But much of the debate is based on myths and not facts. Neither EU nor the US want to use TTIP to lower standards for environment, food safety or consumer protec-

tion or limit governments' scope to regulate. These are clear red lines – and in no one's interest.

In closing, let me return to the basic argument for free trade. Trade is not the problem, it's the solution. The best way to prove that is to deliver results, to deliver better lives, and to deliver development to countries and people. How? By providing good deals that make trade easier, by setting fair rules, by upholding high standards and by keep working to include everybody. The WTO and a strong global trading system is a big part of that answer. We need more free trade – not less.

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by upholding high standards and by keep working to include everybody. The WTO and a strong global trading system is a big part of that answer. We need more free trade – not less.

## Transatlantic partnership essential to Denmark

Op-ed by Minister of Foods and the Environment Esben Lunde Larsen in cooperation with Minister of Business and Growth Troels Lund Poulsen, published in *Huffington Post* on 23 September 2016.

Denmark and the United States are close partners within both politics and trade. The United States is the world's largest economy and a growing market for Danish companies.

The United States and Denmark continue to strengthen our economic ties and in 2015 exports from Denmark to the United States totalled 14.7 billion USD. The U.S. market is Denmark's most important export market outside the EU.

It is therefore our great pleasure to accompany Their Royal Highnesses the Crown Prince Couple of Denmark on this important visit to the United States. This time, the Crown Prince Couple will be leading a sizeable business delegation of 60 Danish companies from sectors such as sustainability, healthcare, agriculture & food and the maritime industry.

Denmark has already established itself as a significant partner within these sectors. We may be a small country – just about the size of the state of Maryland. But our economy and our businesses are highly focused on markets abroad – not least in the US. And Danish companies have established more than 650 companies and offices here, adding more than 60,000 jobs to the American economy.

But we are not just here in the U.S. to reaffirm existing ties. We also want to cultivate them so they can grow even stronger, and we see a strong potential for increased cooperation.

Denmark and the US agree on many things – first and foremost we are both dedicated to the values of free trade, with as few limitations and bureaucratic impediments as possible.

The Danish government see a TTIP agreement as a central tool to strengthen economic growth and to develop further our already long-term and close trading relations with the United States. Therefore, we must continue to promote positive public opinion about TTIP – especially when it comes to the many difficult issues related to agriculture and food.

However, it is important that the final agreement delivers substantial economic benefits and is ambitious in areas such as regulatory cooperation, public procurement, and sustainable development. So we cannot give up – even though negotiations are hard and the political environment is complex. We need to stay focused on our common goal: Free trade across the Atlantic to the benefit of both our countries.

A strengthened partnership between the United States and Denmark in these strategically important fields will benefit both countries in terms of economic growth, job creation and in- and outgoing investments.

The strong trade and business relations between the United States and Denmark have generated positive results on both sides of the Atlantic. Ranked first in six of the 10 annual editions of Forbes' "Best Countries for Business", Denmark is known for a high level of freedom, and a transparent and efficient regulatory climate. This favorable business environment has attracted many American companies to Denmark and with the visit this week we seek to expand this partnership even further.

## Speech by the Foreign Minister at the ‘Yalta European Strategy’ conference in Kiev on 15 September 2016

Ladies and gentlemen,

It is a personal pleasure for me to speak today. For me as a young Danish liberal politician, the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 was a defining moment. It meant new prospects of a free world, democracy, free trade and human rights. My party leader at the time, foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, took the lead in getting the Baltic and Eastern European countries back into the European family of democracies. And I was a proud supporter.

In 2002 the EU enlargement was negotiated under the Danish EU presidency. It was my party leader at the time, Mr. Anders Fogh Rasmussen, who took the lead in bringing East and West together as a new Europe. Once again I was a proud supporter.

Now it is our turn to set European history on the right track.

For Ukraine the path towards Europe has never been easy. However, the European aspirations of the Ukrainian people have been present all the way and have grown still stronger – especially since the 2014 Dignity Revolution.

I have two main messages today:

First, Denmark and the EU stands firm in its support to Ukraine’s European aspirations and against Russian aggression in the East and Crimea. Every nation has the sovereign right to choose its own future. Therefore, the EU must stand firm on our sanctions and our message to Russia: The conflict in the East must stop and we will never recognize the illegal annexation of Crimea. I assure you that we will keep Ukraine on top of the EU agenda despite a world too full of crises.

Second, the best way to promote the European aspirations of Ukraine and to counter Russian aggression is to make the New Ukraine a success – with jobs, growth and transparency. It is the responsibility of the Ukrainian people and leadership to realize this New Ukraine.

Much has been achieved since 2014 but the reform process has now reached a critical point. In some important areas reforms are not being implemented or are moving forward at snail's pace. This creates disappointment and frustration among Ukrainians. As I have said to my good friend and colleague Mr. Pavlo Klimkin, the Ukrainian government and parliament must reinforce reforms, for instance in the justice and energy sectors and on decentralisation and anti-corruption.

I acknowledge the difficulties to reform Ukraine in the middle of a severe conflict. However, this cannot and must not serve as an excuse.

Denmark will continue our support and friendly push for reforms. We have enhanced our financial support. We have put the issue on the agenda of the EU Foreign Ministers. And we urge the EU and its Member States to do even more, to do better and to coordinate better.

Corruption is perhaps the most important and difficult reform area. It exemplifies the struggle between the New and the Old Ukraine. It affects citizens and companies and must be dealt with.

Important progress has been made with legislation and new structures. But we still experience delays and obstacles. The e-declaration system is a case in point. I urge the government to make sure it is implemented.

Today, I am honored to announce that Denmark has been chosen to lead the new EU anti-corruption program starting at the end of this year. It is a program of more than 16 million euro. Denmark will assist Ukraine with strong credentials: We are repeatedly rank as the least corrupt country by Transparency International. We will work hard to make the program a success – but in the end it will depend on the political will of Ukraine.

My final message is that the EU will not let Ukraine down. There is too much at stake – for Ukrainians, for the EU and basically for international rules and values. I urge and hope that Ukraine continues to seek closer ties with Europe and Denmark. The EU should also deliver on our vision for stronger relations, including a visa free regime.

We all have a responsibility to fulfil the European aspirations of the Ukrainian people. It is a moral obligation to a population that has fought hard for closer ties with Europe. We stand firmly behind Ukraine's right to determine its own future. Thank you.

## The Foreign Minister's speech at President Obama's Leaders' Summit on the global refugee crisis on 20 September 2016 at the UN in New York

Mr. Chairman, Excellencies,

I am honored to be here today, together with leaders, who are all committed to the huge effort to reduce the suffering of refugees.

It is high time for joint international action.

Denmark takes global responsibility. We spend 0.7 percent of our national income on development assistance. Denmark is consistently among the top-5 humanitarian donors per capita.

Countries hosting large refugee populations must be supported – in a predictable manner, with serious resources and for as long as it takes.

It is my firm belief that it is better to help refugees close to their homes so that they are not forced to take up long and dangerous journeys.

At the same time we must ease the burden on local host communities and reduce dependency on humanitarian assistance. We must do so by enhancing the possibilities for refugees to contribute to local growth and development where they live.

Men and women often bring knowledge and skills – let's give them a chance to use them, to contribute, to take part in the life of cities and local communities hosting them. And let us make sure that their children do not get left behind, let's educate them and give them a future.

We need to give back hope to people where they are.

Firstly, we must provide the money. For 2016 and 2017, Denmark intends to increase humanitarian assistance to record levels of more than 350 million dollars annually. As part of this, my government plans to provide a

specific grant of 15 million US dollars to the efforts of the World Bank in assisting refugee-hosting countries.

Secondly, we must ensure that development assistance link up with humanitarian efforts to create jobs, health care and education in fragile situations. People need opportunities. Not just short term humanitarian assistance for long term needs. We intend to support the new Education Cannot Wait initiative and through that UNHCR's education appeal. We call on other countries to do the same.

Thirdly, we must build new partnerships. That is what we aim to achieve through the Solutions Alliance. Affected governments, donors, UN, the private sector, civil society organizations, and multilateral development banks together must break new ground in the search for solutions to displacement.

Finally, we must address the root causes of forced displacement through peace building efforts.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is time for all of us to join forces. To take global responsibility.

To leave no-one behind.

Thank you.

# Chapter 3

## Danish Foreign Policy in Figures

### Defence · 166

Defence Expenditures to International Missions et al.

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Danish Official Development Assistance (ODA) 2013-2016

Danish ODA by Category 2013-2016

### The EU · 168

Financing of the EU budget

## Defence

### Defence Expenditures to International Missions et al.

(million DKK)	2013	2014	2015	2016
Participation in UN, OSCE, NATO and other multilateral missions	1,231.0	1,014.0	893.2	844.7
The Peace and Stabilization Fund <sup>1</sup>	65.3	80.1	72.1	69.6
NATO <sup>2</sup>	573.7	575.3	293.3	274.3

#### Notes

- 1 An additional amount of DKK 10 million for the Peace and Stabilization Fund has been earmarked under the MFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs).
- 2 Includes contributions to NATO plus expenditures for NATO staff (net).

Source: *Danish MoD (Ministry of Defence)*

# Danish Official Development Assistance

## Danish Official Development Assistance (ODA) 2013-2016

(Current prices – million DKK)	2013	2014	2015	2016
ODA net disbursement	16,443.2	16,874.4	17,254.4	15,962.5

Source: *Danish MFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)*

## Danish ODA by Category 2013-2016

		2013	2014	2015	2016
Bilateral Assistance	Million DKK	11,989	11,972	12,646	11,449
	Per cent	73%	71%	73%	72%
Multilateral Assistance	Million DKK	4,453	4,902	4,607	4,513
	Per cent	27%	29%	27%	28%
<b>Total</b>	Million DKK	<b>16,443</b>	<b>16,874</b>	<b>17,254</b>	<b>15,962</b>
	Per cent	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: *Danish MFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)*

# The EU

## Financing of the EU budget<sup>1</sup>

Member State	Total own resources Million Euros, round figures	Share in total 'national contributions' (%)
Austria	2,943.7	2.46
Belgium	5,593.8	3.15
Bulgaria	437.1	0.33
Croatia	472.7	0.34
Cyprus	165.5	0.13
Czech Republic	1,591.4	1.20
<b>Denmark</b>	<b>2,562.8</b>	<b>1.94</b>
Estonia	210.3	0.16
Finland	1,881.3	1.58
France	20,461.9	16.95
Germany	27,133.1	20.58
Greece	1,618.7	1.33
Hungary	1,071.9	0.83
Ireland	1,966.4	1.48
Italy	15,373.8	12.17
Latvia	250.1	0.20
Lithuania	401.6	0.29
Luxembourg	318.6	0.27
Malta	92.9	0.07
Netherlands	6,764.9	3.81
Poland	4,102.9	3.16
Portugal	1,671.7	1.39
Romania	1,512.7	1.24
Slovenia	402.1	0.30
Slovakia	733.6	0.57
Spain	10,801.9	8.43
Sweden	3,899.7	3.01
United Kingdom	17,324.6	12.60
<b>Total</b>	<b>131,717.9</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Note

1 The member-states' budgeted contributions to the EU budget for 2017

Source: *EU-Oplysningen*

# Chapter 4

## Opinion Polls

Refugees · 170

The New American President · 172

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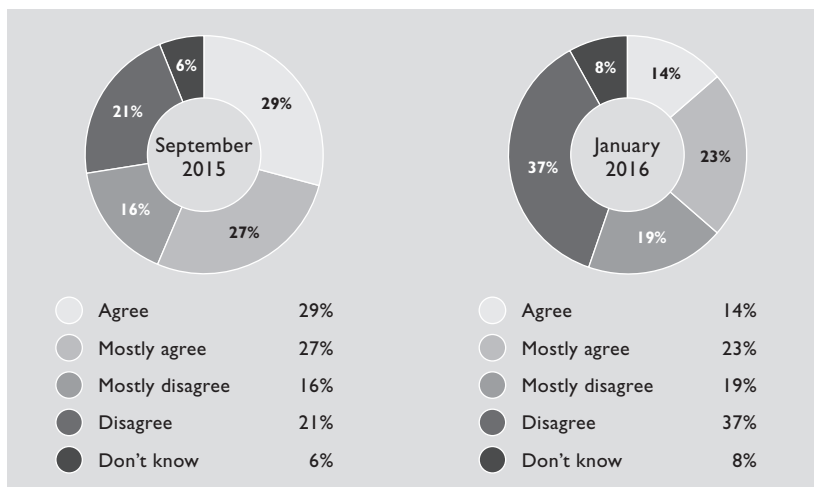
Development Assistance (ODA) · 178

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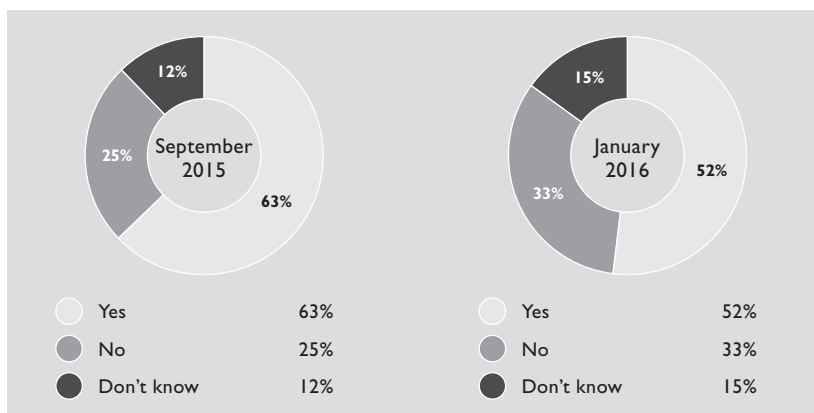
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## Refugees

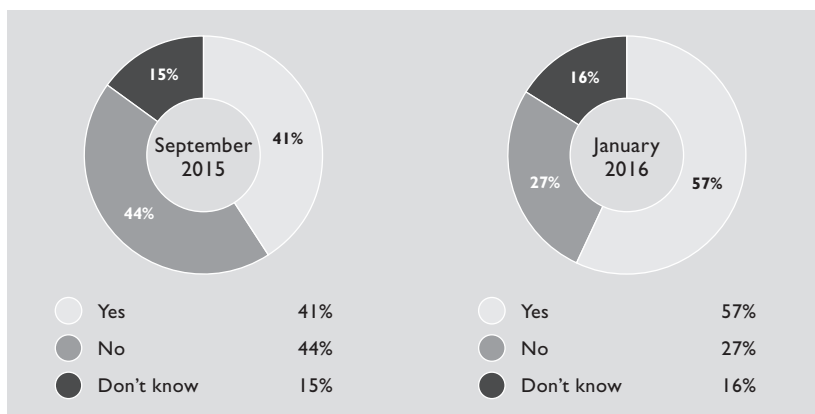
*Question:* The number of refugees in the world is increasing partly due to the conflicts in Syria and Iraq. How far do you agree or disagree that Denmark should give residence permits to more refugees now that there are crises in Syria and Iraq?



*Question:* Should Denmark join a potential common EU agreement on the distribution of refugees?



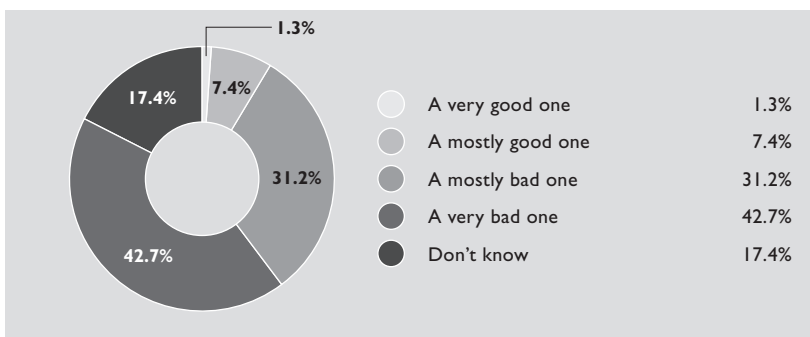
**Question:** Should the EU ensure full border control on the EU's external borders if necessary with walls or fences to counter irregular access?



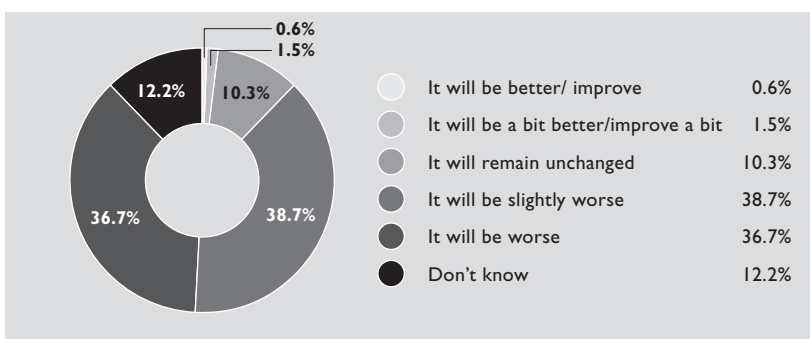
Source: © TNS Gallup/Berlinske, 16 January 2016

## The New American President

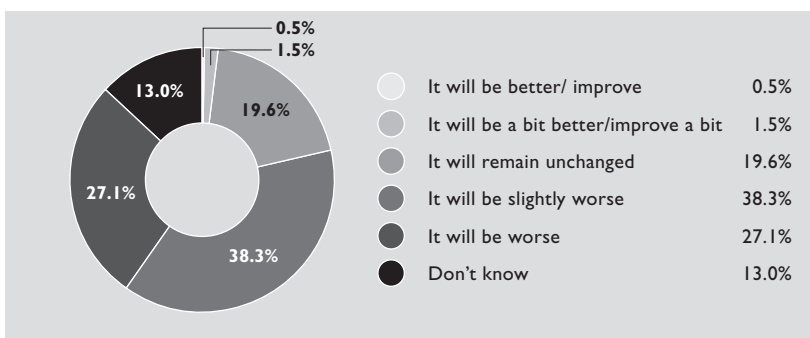
*Question: Do you think Trump will be a good or a bad US President?*



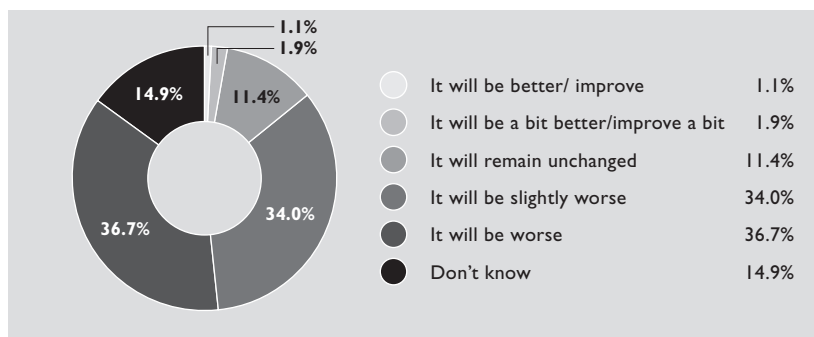
*Question: How do you think the election of Donald Trump will affect cooperation with Europe?*



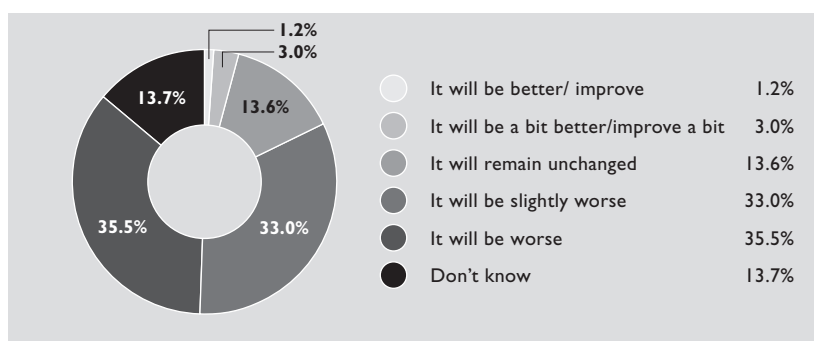
*Question: How do you think the election of Donald Trump will affect cooperation with Denmark?*



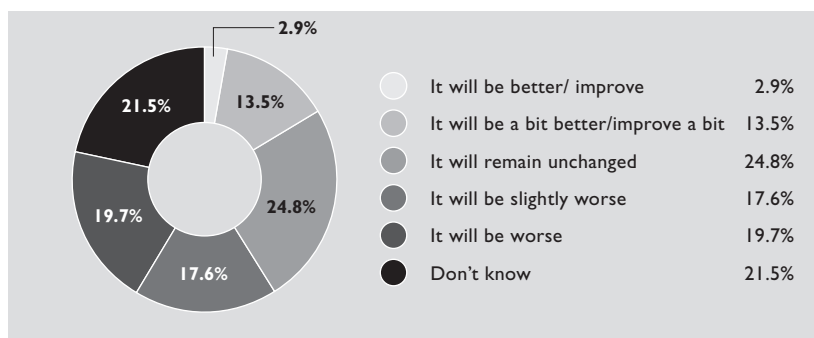
**Question: How do you think the election of Donald Trump will affect cooperation within NATO?**



**Question: How do you think the election of Donald Trump will affect world peace?**



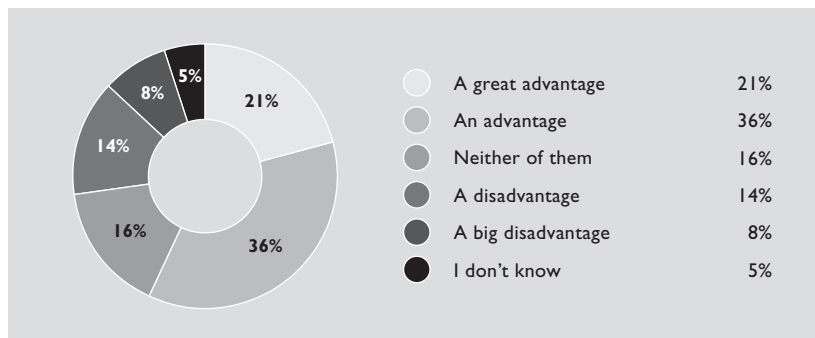
**Question: How do you think the election of Donald Trump will affect the fight against terrorism?**



Source: © TNS Gallup/Berlingske: Gallup om Trump som president, 9 November 2016

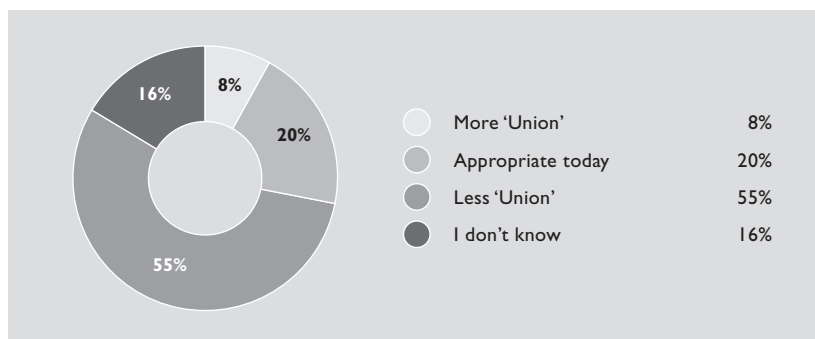
## The EU

**Question: Do you think it is an advantage or a disadvantage for Denmark to be a member of the EU?**



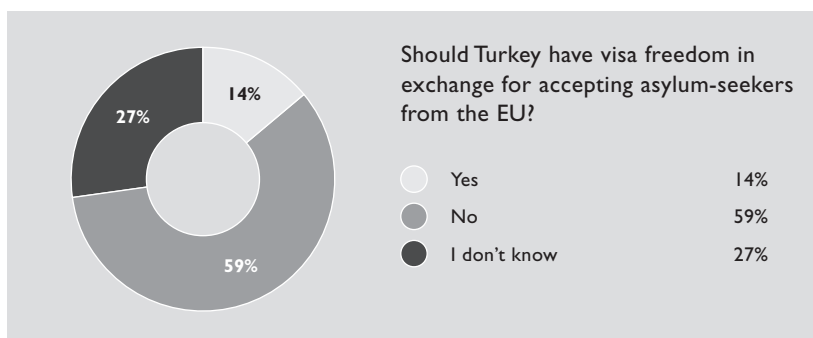
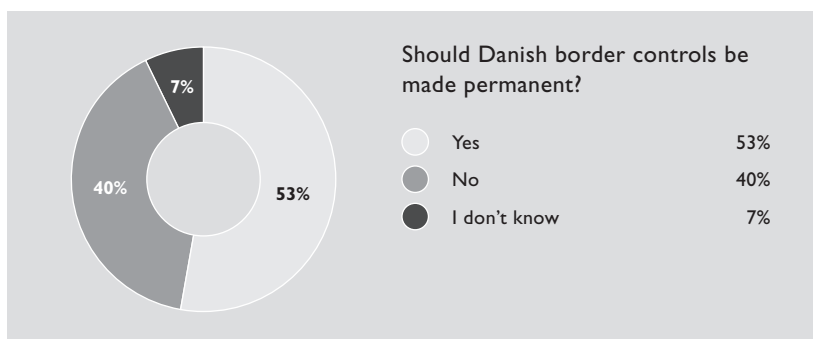
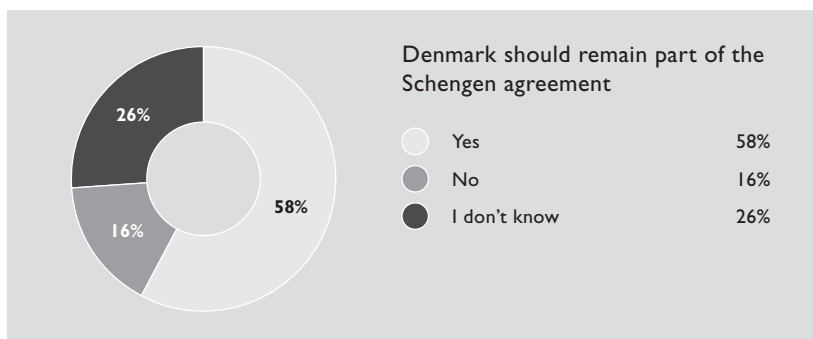
Source: © TNS Gallup/Berlingske: Gallup om EU; 15 September 2016

**Question: Do you think we need more or less 'Union'?**



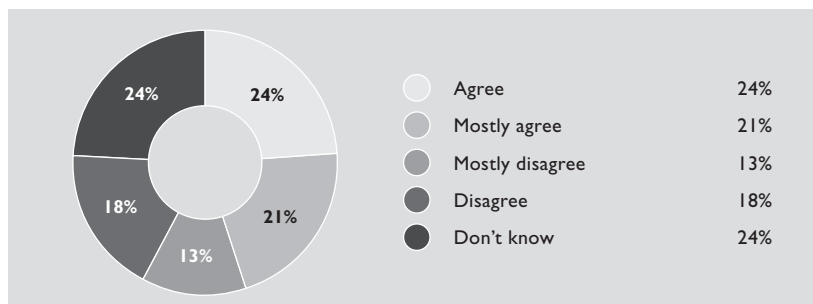
Source: © TNS Gallup/Berlingske: Gallup om Brexit; 20 June 2016

*Question:* What do you think about the following statements?



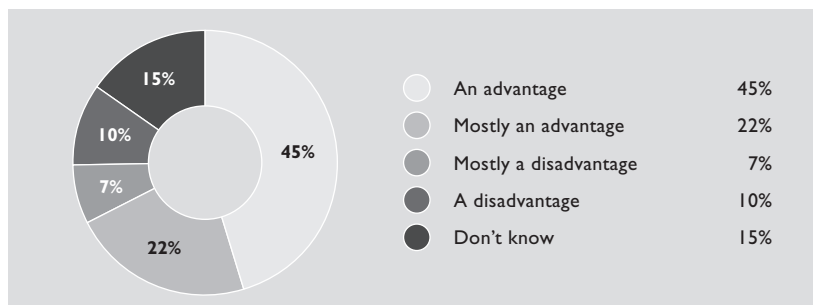
Source: © TNS Gallup/Berlingske: Gallup om Brexit, 20 June 2016

**Question: How much do you agree or disagree that Denmark should discard its opt-out on defence cooperation in order to be able to participate in closer defence cooperation?**



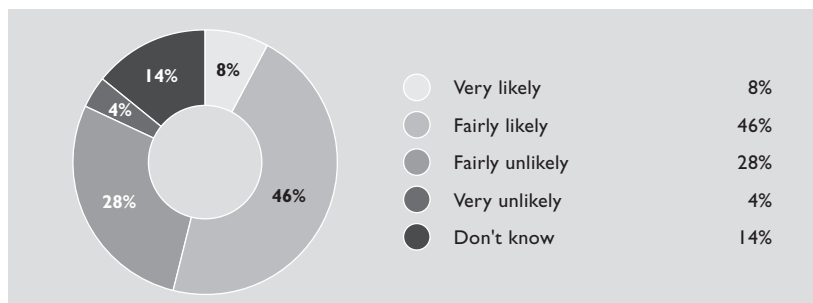
Source: © TNS Gallup/Berlingske: Gallup om EU, 15 September 2016

**Question: As of now Denmark will leave Europol on 1 May 2017. Do you believe that this will be to Denmark's advantage or disadvantage?**



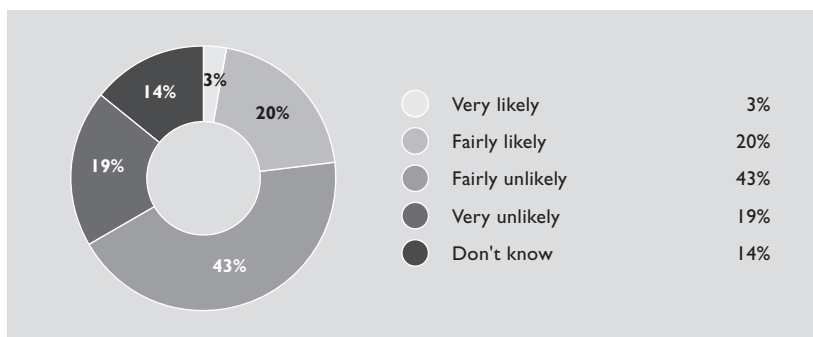
Source: © TNS Gallup/Berlingske: Gallup om EU, 15 September 2016

**Question: Now that Britain has voted to leave the European Union, how likely or unlikely do you think it is that other countries will also leave the European Union in the next ten years?**



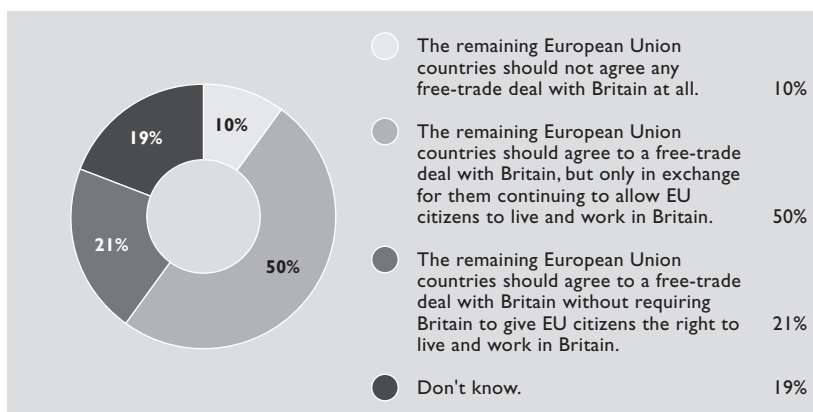
Source: © YouGov (sample 1008 Danes 31 August – 9 September 2016)

**Question:** And how likely or unlikely do you think it is that Denmark will leave the European Union in the next ten years?



Source: © YouGov (sample 1008 Danes 31 August – 9 September 2016)

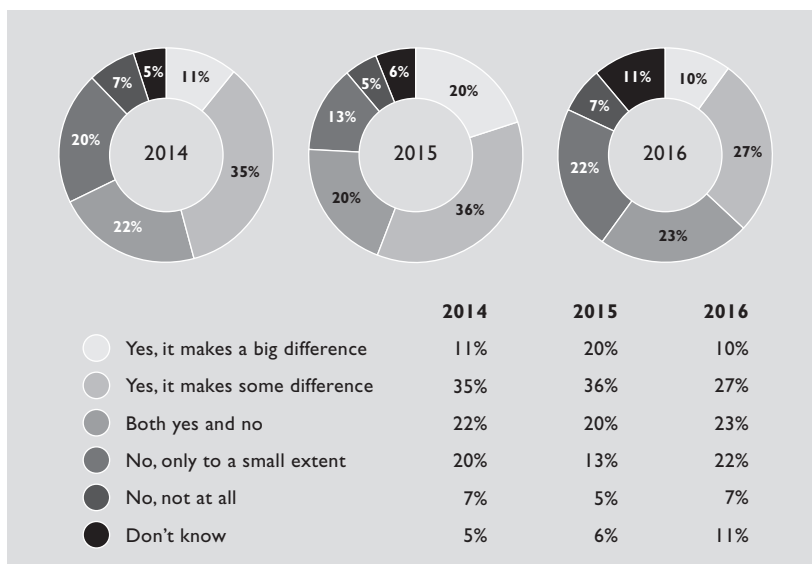
**Question:** It has been suggested that the next British government may seek a free-trade deal with the European Union, but without any rights for EU citizens to live and work in Britain. Which of the following best reflects your view?



Source: © YouGov (sample 1008 Danes 31 August – 9 September 2016)

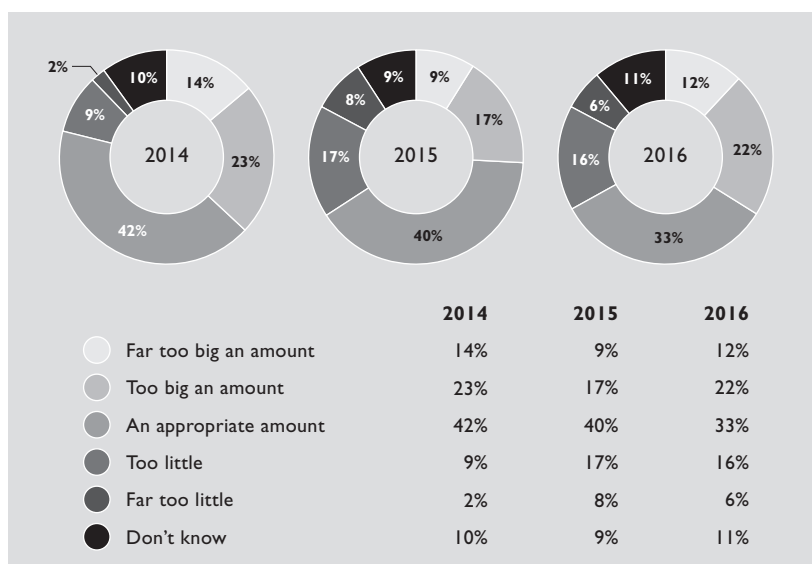
## Development Assistance (ODA)

*Question: Do you think development aid makes a difference for the better?*



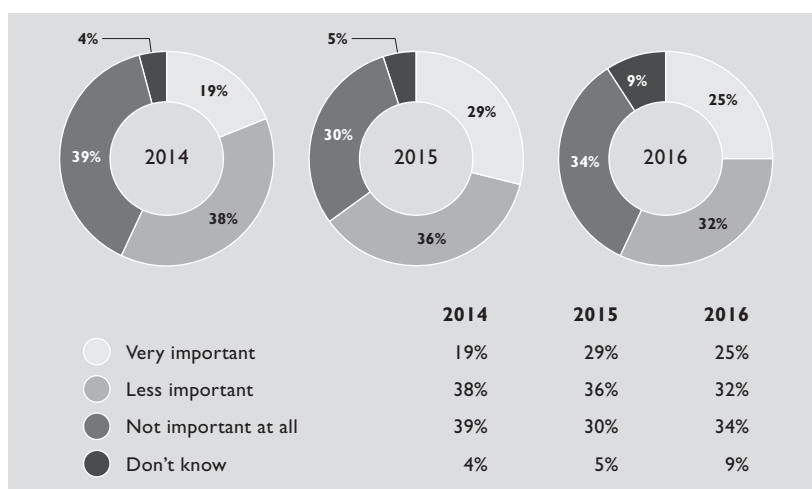
Source: © Epinion/Verdens Bedste Nyheder, Befolkningsundersøgelse, Report September 2016

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



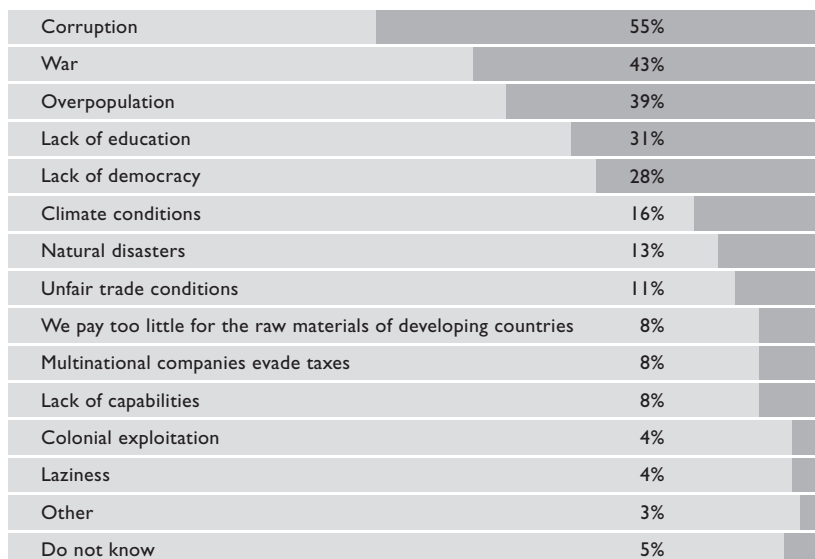
Source: © TNS Gallup/Berlingske: Gallup om Brexit; 20 June 2016

**Question:** How important is it to you that Denmark is leading in giving development aid, compared to other countries?



Source: © Epinion/Verdens Bedste Nyheder, Befolkningsundersøgelse, Report September 2016

**Question: What do you think are the reasons for poverty in developing countries?**



*Source: © Epinion/Verdens Bedste Nyheder, Befolkningsundersøgelse, Report September 2016*

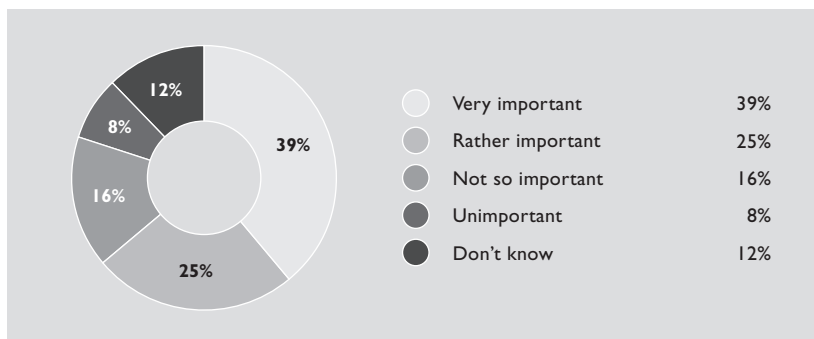
*Question: In your opinion, is it very important, fairly important, not very important or not at all important to help people in developing countries?*

	Total “important”	Total “not important”	Don’t know
<b>EU28</b>	<b>89%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>2%</b>
Austria	85%	14%	1%
Belgium	93%	7%	0%
Bulgaria	75%	15%	10%
Croatia	90%	9%	1%
Cyprus	97%	2%	1%
Czech Republic	78%	19%	3%
<b>Denmark</b>	<b>93%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>1%</b>
Estonia	78%	19%	3%
Finland	93%	6%	1%
France	88%	11%	1%
Germany	92%	6%	2%
Greece	84%	14%	2%
Hungary	83%	14%	3%
Ireland	96%	3%	1%
Italy	87%	10%	3%
Latvia	77%	20%	3%
Lithuania	87%	10%	3%
Luxembourg	97%	3%	0%
Malta	94%	4%	2%
Netherlands	93%	7%	0%
Poland	90%	7%	3%
Portugal	96%	2%	2%
Romania	87%	11%	2%
Slovenia	84%	15%	1%
Slovakia	81%	15%	4%
Spain	96%	4%	0%
Sweden	98%	2%	0%
United Kingdom	89%	8%	3%

*Source: Special Eurobarometer 455, TNS opinion & social/European Commission, November-December 2016 (Report: ‘EU citizens’ views on development, cooperation and aid’, publ. April 2017)*

## Greenland Independent?

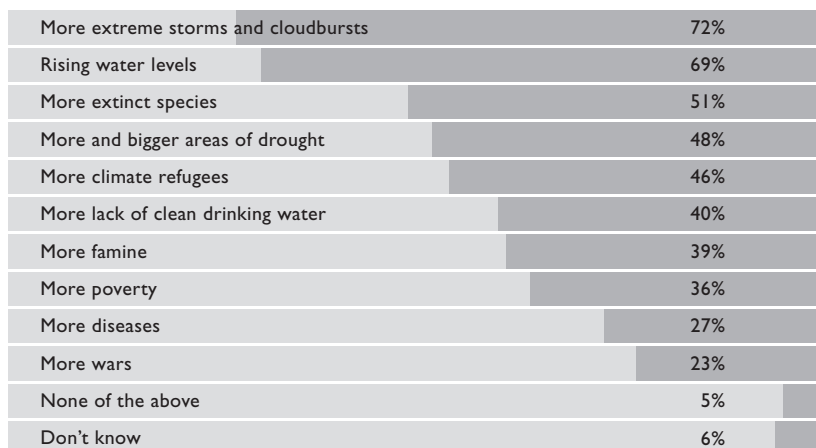
*Question:* One of the priorities for the new (Greenland self-rule) coalition (formed on 27 October 2016) is an increased focus on independence. To what extent is it important to you that Greenland will one day become a sovereign state?



*Source:* © HS Analyse/Sermitsiaq (sample: 708 greenlanders), 1 December 2016.

# Global Warming

*Question:* **What consequences will climate change have in your lifetime?**



More extreme storms and cloudbursts	72%
Rising water levels	69%
More extinct species	51%
More and bigger areas of drought	48%
More climate refugees	46%
More lack of clean drinking water	40%
More famine	39%
More poverty	36%
More diseases	27%
More wars	23%
None of the above	5%
Don't know	6%

*Source:* CONCITO, *Klimabarometeret 2016* (p. 10), Report by Michael Minter, December 2016.



# Chapter 5

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ISBN (print): 978-87-7605-870-8  
ISBN (pdf): 978-87-7605-871-5  
ISSN: 1397-2480