

CFSP WATCH 2003

NATIONAL REPORT DENMARK

by Jess Pilegaard

1. Basic views

Mainstream political parties in Denmark are supportive of the CFSP and the efforts to strengthen the co-operation (the position of the Danish government – as supported by the most important opposition party – is enclosed as annex I). Political parties on the far right and far left are less enthusiastic of Danish EU membership and the efforts to strengthen the CFSP. Priority CFSP issues for the Danish government include the Middle East, the Balkans, human rights, arms control/non-

becoming increasingly supportive of an ESDP, but the legacy of the past still weighs heavily on the Danish EU political debate (i.e. will an ESDP weaken NATO?).

Academia has not been very active on the CFSP, but interest does seem to be picking up, with new research networks on the EU as a global actor emerging. In general, however, academia has not been active in shaping or promoting a national CFSP strategy.

The Danish government follows a relatively pragmatic approach, with a preference for a strong security partnership with the United States in the NATO alliance. Basically, to the Danish government, the CFSP and ESDP do not offer viable alternatives to the hard security guarantee provided by the United States and NATO. Denmark has therefore traditionally attempted to ‘ride both horses’, with different governments at different times having varying preferences for the one or the other.

The following excerpt from a speech given by the Danish Prime Minister² is instructive:

“The scope of these disagreements [over Iraq] should not be played down in a matter of such seriousness.

But neither should they be blown out of proportions. We are definitely not witnessing the end of our Common Foreign and Security Policy. We on our part are certainly not in the business of weakening the CFSP.

If any conclusion can be drawn from recent events it is that the Common Foreign and Security policy must be based on present day facts and realities and not on dreams of a distant future.

We do not have a “single” European foreign policy. We have a “common” policy to the extent possible. And this extent is defined by the Member States and their national interests. This is especially true for the large Member States with global interests.

So our starting point must therefore be that the foreign, security and defence policies of the EU continue to be based on co-operation among the Member States. The so-called intergovernmental co-operation, firmly anchored in the Council.

But, within this framework of intergovernmental co-operation, we should strive to make foreign, security and defence policies as common as possible.

So while accepting that we may not always speak with one voice, we have a vested interest in giving the EU's foreign policy coordinator as strong a position as possible. Today, we have a so-called High Representative, anchored in the Council. At the same time, we have a commissioner who is responsible for external affairs. Perhaps we should merge the two posts into one - having one single foreign policy representative. As foreign policy will remain a primarily intergovernmental matter, I think it only logical that the EU foreign policy representative should be anchored in the Council.

This is not a question of strengthening the EU at the expense of transatlantic co-operation. Quite the contrary. We have a vital interest in close and strong co-operation between Europe and the USA. But, at present, the Western world is faced with challenges that make it necessary for Europe to stand on its own feet and make its own contribution. This is not only in our interests, but also in the interest of the USA.

Strong transatlantic relations are vital to Europe. We must not fall into a trap of trying to build a strong Europe as a competitor to the US. We should build a strong Europe which is a reliable and solid partner for the US allowing us to meet the many important challenges together."

The Danish government is thus supportive of the further development of the CSFP, incl. ESDP, provided that this does not jeopardize the transatlantic relationship.

In this sense, the Danish government would not share the concerns voiced by the continental European powers over the coming enlargement of the Union. The 'new Europe' is generally more 'Atlanticist' in outlook, and thus closer to the Danish position.

On the vast majority of all CFSP issues, Denmark is a keen supporter of increased European co-operation (in the UN, vis-à-vis third parties, etc.). Being a small power, Denmark has a strong interest in shaping common EU positions on issues of national interest. A number of areas are – however – somewhat sensitive. As explained above, the Danish government is keen on safeguarding and bolstering the transatlantic relationship, and thus wary of European efforts that may lead to competition with NATO and thus weaken transatlantic co-operation.

3. European Convention: Reform of EU External relations, CFSP/ESDP

See the annexed paper on the position of the Danish Government.

4. Mapping of activities

Key researchers in the field of CFSP/ESDP include (the list is not exhaustive and the names appear in random order):

- Professor Ole Wæver, Institute of Political Science, University of Copenhagen
- Jean Monnet Professor Bertel Heurlin, Institute of Political Science, University of

- Researcher and Programme Co-ordinator Mikkel Vedby Rasmussen, Danish Institute of International Studies
- Visiting Scholar, Head of Section, Ms Lisbet Zilmer-Johns, Danish Institute of International Studies
- Associate Professor Ms Lene Hansen, Institute of Political Science, University of Copenhagen
- Senior Researcher, Ms Ulla Holm, Danish Institute of International Studies
- Associate Professor Morten Kelstrup, Institute of Political Science, University of Copenhagen
- Research Director Gorm Rye Olsen, Danish Institute of International Studies
- Professor Finn Laursen, Institute for Political Science, University of Southern Denmark
- Associate Professor MMarl LenWindup, Institute of Political Science, University of Copenhagen
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Annex I

THE CONVENTION ON THE FUTURE OF THE EU

Unofficial translation of the Convention on the Future of the EU

Lisbon Strategy. This can create the framework for greater growth, more and better jobs, and more prosperity in Europe. The internal market should continue to be balanced by a social dimension in the EU consisting of ambitious minimum rules that can protect workers and enterprises against unfair competition and social dumping. We shall continue to strengthen contractual relations between the social partners and the social dialogue at the European as well as the national level. We must become better at fighting unemployment by enhanced co-ordination of our employment policies across the borders. Effective co-ordination of economic policy is a precondition for reaping the full benefit. The common commercial policy should be designed so that European political and economic interests can be strongly safeguarded in international fora, where the liberalisation of trade with the developing countries is a central objective, not least in the WTO. The common agricultural policy must be radically reformed in the coming years: the markets must be set free, subsidies reduced, and sustainable development placed at the centre of the common agricultural policy. EU environmental policy shall be further developed and improved by integrating environmental consideration into sector policies and laying down stricter environmental requirements in line with the precautionary principle. We must ensure fundamental rights, including workers' rights.

The development of recent years has shown that we are also faced with new challenges that have a cross-

We wish to maintain the intergovernmental nature of the common foreign and security policy. Experience has shown that it is unrealistic to imagine that the Member States will always speak with one voice. Nevertheless, we must improve our cooperation. It is not merely in the interest of Denmark, but in the interest of all countries, large as well as small, that the EU states strengthen their cooperation in this area to a higher degree. This promotes predictability and gives greater weight in international questions.

We will work for a stronger and more effective foreign and security policy cooperation in the EU. The EU must become better at making use of all instruments – economic, political and military. Better cohesion in the conduct of the EU vis-à-vis the rest of the world must be ensured.

This can take place by strengthening the present position of the foreign policy coordinator. Therefore, we wish to gather the aspects of the EU's foreign and security policy undertaken by the Commission, and the aspects undertaken by the foreign policy coordinator, under one person. This "EU foreign representative", who should be based in the Council, should be given formal right of initiative in the area of the common foreign and security policy.

At the same time, the decision-making procedures in the area of the common foreign and security policy must be simplified and made more flexible. The existing framework must be better utilised. The growing need for Europe to speak with one voice in the world means that we are open to greater use of majority decisions.

The common defence policy must also be strengthened. It is in the interests of Denmark that the EU develops a military capacity to undertake, inter alia, peacemaking and humanitarian tasks. Such capacity is a necessary supplement to the economic and political instruments in the area of security policy. The decision to deploy the military forces of a country will, of course, continue to be a national affair.

The welfare state in a globalised economy

The Danish welfare state is an asset in a globalised world. The welfare state contributes to social protection and a high level of education, thus contributing to a competitive, knowledge-based Danish economy.

Globalisation entails great opportunities for Denmark. We can only exploit these opportunities in close cooperation with others. This makes the EU a central instrument. In the enlarged EU there will be a great need for a well-functioning internal market and for co-ordination of economic policy, economic policy remaining a national responsibility. This is a prerequisite for strengthening employment and maintaining and developing our welfare society.

The Euro is an important element in this regard. The Euro was introduced on 1 January 1999 and became a physical reality on 1 January 2002. The exchange rate of the Danish Krone vis-à-vis the euro is fixed in European monetary cooperation. The Euro provides effective protection against international currency speculation. To meet the challenges of the future, it is necessary to improve economic co-ordination and strengthen the monitoring of economic policies. We must secure a strong, stable common currency – the Euro.

III. A new and simpler basis for cooperation

We want a more simple and a more comprehensible Treaty. It should be called a “Constitutional Treaty”. A “Treaty” because the EU constitutes binding cooperation between states which have chosen to exercise part of their sovereignty in a binding community. A “Constitution” because we wish to lay down and clarify the rights of the citizens and the Member States in relation to the EU in the areas in which the EU has competence. Such a Constitutional Treaty will, of course, not replace the national constitutions but will supplement them at EU level. In this connection, four central issues should be emphasised:

- *Firstly*, it should be made clear that there are distinct limits to the competences of the EU. Therefore, we shall work for a proper title on the competence of the EU in a new Treaty. Such a title should, in language that is clear and easy to understand, illustrate the fundamental principles for the tasks that the Member States have attributed to the EU.

This applies to the principle that the EU may only act where the Member States have given their consent. It implies getting out clearly that in the vast majority of areas, the EU shares the competence to regulate with the Member States, and in other areas can only support, supplement and set up common objectives. It applies to the principle that in exercising its competencies the EU must respect the national identity of the Member States. Finally. It applies to the principle that the EU may only regulate if this will lead to better solutions than if the regulation were to take place in the individual Member States. Therefore the principle of subsidiarity must be strengthened, inter alia by the establishment of a control mechanism that involves the national parliaments.

- *Secondly*, a better framework must be created for involving the national parliaments at European level. The national parliaments give the EU the necessary democratic legitimacy and ensure its continued anchorage in the Member States. It is important that this is also clearly reflected in the new Treaty.

It is a natural task for the national parliaments to monitor the implementation of the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality. Should a certain number of national parliaments find that a legislative proposal does not comply with these two principles, it should be possible for them to halt such a proposal.

In parallel with such a task, there will be a need for the national parliaments to co-ordinate and develop their mutual contacts. This is where the so-called COSAC cooperation can play an important role. Denmark would like to see a reform of COSAC in order to strengthen this cooperation.

- *Thirdly*, there should be even more transparency in the work of the EU. Transparency is an important precondition for the possibility of citizens to scrutinise the EU system.

The EU has already, and not least at the initiative of Denmark, made great progress in this area. There is a principle, established in the Treaty, of openness in

the work of the EU. Clear rules have been adopted concerning citizens' access to information. A EU ombudsman institution has been established. During the

system but a continual process. To avoid new lines of division, the EU must develop a coherent neighbour policy.

The Danish Government will participate actively in the negotiations in the Convention and the following intergovernmental conference with a view to meeting the great challenges facing European cooperation today and ensuring the greatest possible influence on the new EU Treaty.

Annex II

A Changing World

The Government's Vision for New Priorities in Denmark's Foreign Policy

Introduction

The world at the beginning of the 21st century is essentially different from the world we left at the turn of the century. The international system is transforming. More than ever, development will depend on the choices we make. The new situation calls for a reappraisal of how Denmark can best pursue its foreign policy goals. We must once and for all cast aside the complexes of a small nation. We are now a part of a larger entity and as such are presented with new and greater opportunities to exert influence. We must be forward-looking and think along new lines. And this must happen in an open and responsible dialogue with the public.

continually adapted to meet the political reality and also provide the framework for peaceful, global development in the future. Denmark's candidature to the UN Security Council for 2005-2006 should be viewed in this perspective.

Denmark has an important international responsibility; a responsibility we can best assume through a pro-active, focused and coherent foreign policy based on a clear set of fundamental values.

II. Values and Principles

Values

The primary goal of Danish foreign policy is to promote Denmark's security and prosperity based on a set of fundamental values; values that also constitute the backbone of Denmark's open society. The core values are the individual and the community, freedom, democracy and security.

* **The individual**
and his/her rights and opp

partners. We must ensure a dynamic interplay between Denmark's bilateral efforts, the work of the international organisations, and in coalitions with partners.

* **Action**

must follow words. Denmark must be ready to take the lead and to think along new lines whenever necessary. Whoever contributes actively and solidly to the solution of international problems speaks with greater weight when decisions are made. We must be ready to invest time, money and effort in those areas we deem of major importance.

* **Consistency**

must be the guiding principle of our policy. As a rule, negotiation, constructive participation and the power of example are the best means of promoting Danish values. Sanctions and the application of military force must always be the last resort, although the option must be kept open.

* **Perseverance**

in the form of thoroughness, objectiveness and continuity is in many cases the greatest source of influence for a small nation. For Denmark to speak with authority, our partners must be in no doubt that Danish arguments and analyses are objective and based upon in-depth knowledge about the world around us.

The Government will continue to closely incorporate Greenland and the Faroe Islands in foreign and security policy matters. We see it as a vital task in the coming years to realise the Government's vision for the home rule governments to act on the international stage on behalf of the kingdom of Denmark in matters that solely concern their particular affairs. The kingdom is an equal community between Greenland, the Faroe Islands and Denmark.

III. Three Dimensions in Danish Foreign Policy

The three key dimensions in Danish foreign policy are European, transatlantic and Arctic. The Government will take decisions in 2016 concerning the solution of the Arctic Council and the Arctic Council's role in the Arctic region.

concentrated around the Danish opt-outs – the common currency, defence, and justice and home affairs. Denmark has nothing to gain from impeding this dynamism – a dynamism which is crucial for Europe's prosperity and security. The opt-outs will therefore in the coming years increasingly restrict Denmark's ability to influence the direction of EU development and to obtain the maximum from EU membership. At an appropriate juncture, therefore, the Government will take the initiative to give the Danish people the opportunity to free themselves from the restrictive ties of the opt-outs by referendum.

Under any circumstances, it will be more difficult than today for Denmark to influence the decisions taken in an EU with 25 Member States. This is unavoidable. Competition for influence and attention is tough in the European market, and it will be even tougher after the enlargement. For Denmark to maximise its influence, it will need to pursue a pro-active, coherent and focused European policy. The impact of Danish views will be totally reliant on active alliance-building. The active efforts made towards pushing the enlargement process forward, crowned by the final round of negotiations in Copenhagen, have generated a large degree of goodwill and trust towards Denmark among the new Member States. This is a good starting point for Denmark's ability to safeguard its interests in the enlarged and transformed EU.

Particularly with regard to relations with the three Baltic States, a basis exists for fostering cooperation, which eventually may bear resemblance to the solidarity and quality characterising Denmark's relations with the other Nordic countries.

In both Denmark and other Member States, the EU serves today as the vital framework for most societal conditions. There is an increasingly closer interplay between European policy and domestic policy. The efforts to promote Danish views in the EU can therefore not be confined to government departments, but must be targeted broadly at politicians, the media and organisations.

An enlarged Union must not become a diluted Union. The EU must be able to make decisions – even with 25 or more members. This will require adjustments in the nature of cooperation. Consequently, the future of the EU must be secured in the form of a constitutional treaty, the content of which is being drawn up by the European Convention and will be finalised at the following intergovernmental conference. The goal is a more dynamic, open and democratic EU built on strong and independent institutions. The community approach must be maintained.

The EU's policies must underpin economic growth in a sustainable manner. The Internal Market and competition policy must function as efficiently as possible at a high level of protection, and state subsidies must be reduced. The EU's competitiveness and growth must be enhanced through structural reforms in accordance with the Lisbon Strategy. At the same time, the EU must continue to be the guarantor of a strong and stable common currency –the euro – which will provide the framework for more and better jobs as well as greater prosperity in Europe. The EU must also become more effec

The Common Agricultural Policy must be fundamentally reformed. The markets must be opened and subsidies reduced, with sustainable development at the centre of focus as the guiding principle. Agricultural reforms will enhance the economic efficiency of the EU, and they will represent a vital contribution to a continued liberalisation of global trade. As a pendant to the Internal Market and the Common Agricultural Policy, the trade policy must foster a competitive market and thereby competitive European enterprises. The trade policy must also open up foreign markets and facilitate an efficient international distribution of labour. The EU's environmental policy must continue to be developed and improved through the integration of environmental considerations in sector policies and the introduction of stronger environmental requirements based on the precautionary principle.

Denmark has a clear interest in stronger cooperation in justice and home affairs. This is an area that has developed rapidly in recent years – not least after the terrorist attacks on the USA; a development that will continue in the light of the enlargement. This applies to the common efforts regarding refugees, illegal immigration and border control, as well as regarding the fight against international crime, all of which require common solutions and which to an increasing extent are an integral dimension of the EU's external policies. In this area, Denmark will only be able to exert maximum influence by abandoning its opt-out.

The Government will at an appropriate juncture take the initiative to abandon the opt-outs by referendum.

At the intergovernmental conference, the Government will work for:

- * A new and simpler foundation for the EU with clear boundaries for the EU's authority and clear rights for citizens.
- * A greater role for national Parliaments in EU cooperation.
- * Greater openness and transparency in the EU legislative process.
- * Greater influence for the European Parliament.
- * Equality of status between small and large Member States, and balance between the institutions.
- * Strengthening of the Commission President's democratic legitimacy.
- * More efficient decision-making procedures through increased use of qualified

More Outs by ref/F3 6.25 for citizens.

The neighbourhood programme will provide the opportunity to support efforts to promote democracy and prevent the outbreak of conflicts in other neighbouring states and regions of the enlarged EU, such as Ukraine,

Moldova and the Caucasus. Such efforts will strengthen the bilateral political dialogue with the neighbouring states and enable Denmark to build up knowledge of the countries and contacts there, that can provide the basis for building coalitions and cooperative relations locally. This is necessary in order to maximise Danish influence in EU and OSCE efforts in these areas.

The Government will work to ensure that the EU remains a dynamic cooperation that is ready to open its doors to new European countries able to fulfil the set criteria for accession. The EU must show no compromise on the criteria laid down for accession. Otherwise, there is a danger that EU cooperation will become diluted. The Government looks forward to the accession of Bulgaria and Romania to the EU in 2007, and also to the time when Turkey fulfils the Copenhagen political criteria, necessary in order for accession negotiations to be initiated. The EU has given countries in the Western Balkans a firm prospect of membership, which must be maintained. These countries should be supported in their efforts to meet the accession criteria. It would not be productive to define the EU's final outer borders at this stage, but a European Union stretched as far as the Pacific Ocean would not be meaningful. The nature of cooperation between the EU and Russia is therefore of a special character, not being based on a perspective of Russian membership of the EU. In the same way, it would not be relevant to talk of membership for countries south of the Mediterranean or in Central Asia.

A new Neighbourhood Initiative

The Government will make a special effort through the EU to develop a new, coherent and balanced policy towards its neighbours with increased focus on Russia and the EU's new neighbours to the east – Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus. The core elements should be:

- * An attractive offer of strengthened cooperation tailored to the very different conditions in each neighbouring state.
- * A consistent line, where the EU's support is directly related to the country's own reform efforts.
- * A long-term goal of integrating the new neighbours in the Internal Market on the same level as EEA countries.

The Government will develop a new bilateral neighbourhood programme for 2004-2007 with focus on the Baltic Sea Region and the Western Balkans. The programme will focus on:

- * Security and stability, including conflict prevention and the fight against terrorism, crime, etc.
- * Democracy and human rights, legislative reforms, development of civil society and freedom of the media.
- * Environment and energy as well as development business economics in the Baltic Sea Region.

The size of Community development assistance and the assistance provided by Member States on a bilateral level makes the EU the largest donor in the world,

two continents are each other's most important partners in all areas: policy, economy, security and culture.

Strengthened security and cooperation in Europe goes hand in hand with strengthened transatlantic cooperation and security. A weakening of one dimension will almost automatically lead to a weakening of the other. We cannot close our eyes to the fact that the transatlantic ties are under strain, emphasised for example, by the Iraq conflict. There are strong centrifugal forces on both sides of the Atlantic. The terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001 have changed American society far more fundamentally than most Europeans comprehend. The USA that staunchly pursues its own security interests is here to stay. And the development of an EU that gradually builds up its capacity to match the USA's global influence will continue. In Europe, there are voices that mistakenly believe that the way to a stronger EU is through a weakening of the transatlantic cooperation. And in the USA there are influential groups that see Europe either as a weak and irrelevant partner or as a potential rival that needs to be split apart and held back.

The transatlantic partnership must be put back on track. A wedge driven down through the Atlantic will also lead to a splitting of Europe. We must agree on a common vision in Europe for the relationship with the USA and the rest of the world. There must be no doubt as to where Denmark stands in this debate. We do not see the EU as a rival pole of power to the USA. The interests of Denmark, the EU and the USA are best united in an extensive multilateral system. We must work to involve the new Central and Eastern European members of the EU and NATO as much as possible in the development of this vision. As a supplement to the cooperation in the international organisations, it may be relevant to develop strategic bilateral partnerships with selected countries. The USA's involvement in Denmark's neighbouring area is important for security and stability. In particular, American involvement in the Baltic Sea Region must be maintained through conducting, for example, joint project initiatives in line with the Danish objectives for development of the area.

Finding solutions to a large number of important global issues requires close transatlantic cooperation. Europe and the USA have a clear common interest in strengthening international control with weapons of mass destruction, not least in relation to Asia where there is a basis for stronger joint American-European action to address the build-up of weapons of mass destruction in the region.

The USA and Europe may not see eye to eye on all policy areas, nor do they need to. As differences of opinion occur between European countries, they will also occur from time to time between Europe and the USA. Naturally, Denmark will wholeheartedly support the EU's line when it comes to, for example, the environment, the International Criminal Court or trade policy, and it will also work to ensure the USA's inclusion both in conventions supported by the EU and in areas where global efforts are weakened by the USA's absence. However, we must always bear in mind that in global policy the EU and the USA are not rival poles of power, but complementary. The transatlantic relationship is not a zero-sum game. Genuine global progress is best achieved when Europe and the USA pull in the same direction. The two continents must be aware of their joint responsibility. The decisions we make affect conditions the world over. This obliges us to seek the common way whenever possible. With our solid anchoring in the new Europe and the strong bilateral relationship to the USA, Denmark must concentrate its efforts on fostering strong cooperation across the Atlantic. The prerequisite for this is that Denmark is able to preserve a high degree of credibility on both sides of the Atlantic.

* The Government will work to foster the closest possible cooperation between Europe and the USA in order to find common solutions to global problems and specific conflicts.

* The Government will, through active and early inclusion in connection with both strategic considerations and specific projects, endeavour to involve the USA as much as possible in the Baltic Sea Region and in relation to the EU's new neighbours.

* The Government will take the initiative for joint European-American efforts to address the danger presented by weapons of mass destruction in Asia.

NATO

The transatlantic security partnership is just as important today as it was during the Cold War. Not just the USA, but the entire Western world faces new threats to our open and democratic societies. And even with its overwhelming military strength, the USA must involve its allies in order to safeguard its security.

It is crucial for Denmark to maintain NATO as the key forum for joint and binding security policy cooperation between the whole of Europe and the USA – and thereby for peace in the world. This cannot be taken for granted as we have clearly seen in connection with the crises in Afghanistan and Iraq.

NATO today is the only realistic multilateral framework for a military solution if other allies apart from the USA should suffer a security policy shock on the scale as that of 11 September 2001. NATO's continued role as the major international security organisation depends on the organisation's ability to effectively implement the Prague Summit's ambitious decisions to adapt itself to the new challenges and threats. NATO must have an integrated military structure that can lead operations, constitute a circle of potential coalition partners and possess a "toolbox" with a military capacity that can be drawn upon when needed.

We must openly debate NATO's future role in the settlement of international crises. The Government is ready to examine the possibility of NATO – as in Afghanistan –

playing a constructive role in connection with the stabilisation of Iraq and in connection with the efforts to find a sustainable solution to the Israeli-Palestinian issue. We must not be constrained by our view of the world in the past, but shape NATO in a way that enables it to effectively address the security issues of the present.

NATO must focus on military cooperation. This is the organisation's decisive comparative advantage. A natural division of tasks between NATO and the EU regarding crisis management must be found, and this must also involve the OSCE. All three organisations have important strengths that must be exploited to the full, as opposed to wasting scarce resources on competing with each other and duplicating

time, it cannot be ruled out that these states in reality are quite willing to use their missiles and weapons of mass destruction more quickly, or for other

We must strengthen the international conception of justice. We must ensure that clear consequences are built into the international system that deter states from aggression and gross violations of human rights. The international community's decisions – especially the Security Council's resolutions – must have built-in credible incentives in the form of rewards for compliance – and sanctions for non-compliance. Security Council resolutions should in general be accompanied by a concrete sanction regime that can be brought into play when requirements formulated by the world community are ignored; if necessary through a credible threat of the use of force.

The International Court of Justice in the Hague is the most important organ when states are unable to reach agreement on a peaceful settlement of their mutual conflicts through negotiation. The International Court of Justice does not lack the ability to act, but there is a need to strengthen its role, as far from all states recognise its authority.

The same applies to the International Criminal Court, whose purpose is to pass judgement in matters relating to war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide, and thereby contribute to preventing such crimes and ensure that justice is done. The International Criminal Court must also have the authority to prosecute individuals responsible for acts of terrorism.

Denmark must contribute to strengthening the capacity of the UN and regional organisations to prevent and resolve conflicts, and also to developing effective measures for efforts in post-conflict situations. We must contribute to active peace diplomacy and participate in crisis management efforts – both peacekeeping and peacemaking operations. We must also support the development of a new security architecture in Africa, which, through stronger regional organisations and the implementation of the new NEPAD Initiative, will increase peace and stability as well as contribute to strengthening Africa's capacity to intervene in its own conflicts.

Denmark must enhance its efforts to resolve conflicts in close cooperation with the UN and our partners. New and more active Danish efforts in this area could take the form of sustained and long-term mediation initiatives. We must also be ready to take the necessary initiative to provide peaceful and sustainable solutions. This requires in-depth knowledge of the conflict's causes and consequences, and that Denmark has built up credibility and respect among the parties in the conflict and among other stakeholders prior to implementing any initiative.

Denmark's candidature to the UN Security Council in 2005-2006 is a solid expression of our willingness to assume co-responsibility. The role of the elected members in the Security Council must not be underestimated. If Denmark is able to win election to the Security Council, a demanding foreign policy task will lie ahead. Our involvement in developing Africa leads to a natural Danish focus on the African continent, which already accounts for the majority of matters dealt with by the Security Council.

* The Government will implement a number of concrete initiatives to strengthen the international rule of law through universal approval and effective control mechanisms.

* The Government will use its membership of the Security Council in 2005-2006 to call for the Security Council's decisions to be backed up by credible and effective instruments.

* The Government will enhance its efforts to secure the prevention and settlement of violent conflicts, with focus on countries and regions where we possess special expertise due to our presence, development efforts or participation in peacekeeping operations. Denmark must be willing to take greater risks and be ready to assume the role of mediator in conflicts where we possess special expertise that may contribute to securing peaceful settlement.

The Fight Against Terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction

International terrorism is a threat to our peace and security, and can strike any country and any population group – including Denmark and the Danes. The terrorist attacks on the USA on 11 September 2001 have moved the boundaries. The attacks brutally underlined that the threats posed by international terrorist networks, and the fragile states where they find refuge, are genuine and concern us all. Access to weapons of mass destruction and the technologies behind them has become easier. It is absolutely vital that we actively fight terrorism, gain control of the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and implement stronger efforts to eradicate the causes of terrorism.

We must employ all foreign policy instruments in the fight against terrorism. It is imperative we use national, regional and global means in an effort that affects a broad range of policy areas. The goals are clear. We must prevent and forestall acts of terrorism. We must identify and destroy terrorist organisations as well as halt the flow of capital financing their activities. This places further demands on international cooperation in the area of law enforcement and intelligence. We must proliferate a system that ensures terrorists are brought to justice for their actions, no matter where such actions have been committed. Every state must therefore accede to the UN's anti-terrorist conventions and fully implement UN Security Council Resolution 1373. The fight against terrorism must be a cross-cutting issue in the cooperation with other countries. We must support those who wish to join in the fight, but who are unable to do so. Through technical assistance, we must help ensure not least that the Danish programme countries have the necessary instruments to fulfil UN Security Resolution 1373 and thereby prevent and combat terrorism. And we must exert pressure on those countries that fail to meet their international commitments. The EU will in partnership with the UN and the USA continue to be the central forum in the fight against terrorism. The Government will publish an annual report on terrorism describing the extent of the terrorist threat and the efforts being made to combat terrorism in Denmark and globally.

Increasingly more states possess the necessary technology to manufacture weapons of mass destruction. This increases the need for international rules and control measures. Strong international rule of law, whereby states can have confidence in existing agreements and the respect and enforcement of them, reduces the incentive to rearm, and therefore is a crucial prerequisite for preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction. Denmark should also promote measures designed to prevent existing weapons of mass destruction and associated materials from falling into the wrong hands.

The multilateral disarmament and non-proliferation regime anchored in the UN is the most important instrument. There is a need to modernise and streamline the myriad of incoherent international agreements as well as to conduct an ongoing expansion of the

basis for the agreement so that its clauses are always in tune with an ever-changing political and technological reality.

However, a number of the problems facing the disarmament and non-proliferation regime can hardly be effectively addressed within the existing frameworks. Development of missile defence is one of the new possibilities for meeting the threat presented by weapons of mass destruction. As a key element of the long-term strategy to meet the threat of terrorism, the Government will significantly enhance efforts to prevent the outbreak of conflicts, and to stabilise and consolidate peace, both bilaterally and multilaterally. Foreign policy's contribution to the fight for stability and security and against terrorism will focus on conflict prevention, mediation, peacemaking and peacekeeping efforts, as well as efforts to effectively combat both international terrorism and religious intolerance. International cooperation, and not least the role of the UN, is vital, both during and following wars and crisis situations. The Danish contribution to multilateral efforts in this area will be significantly enhanced with the aim of supporting the efforts of international organisations in this area. The efforts in this area will not be confined to the poorest developing countries either, but may be used strategically and geopolitically in all developing countries. Not least an effort to enhance the modernisation and democratisation process in the Arab countries.

We must acknowledge that international terrorism is closely tied to fundamentalist groups in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. An active effort to fight international terrorism should therefore focus on supporting those groups working to promote human rights, modernisation, as well as tolerance for other religions and human beings in these areas.

* The Government will combat the immediate threat of terrorism by contributing actively to enhanced international cooperation against terrorism and by strengthening its support especially for the participation of Danish programme countries in the international cooperation, among other things by providing them with technical assistance and the necessary tools to fulfil UN requirements.

* The Government will fight to eradicate the causes of terrorism through targeted development assistance in regions exposed to fundamentalism and radicalism and through special bilateral efforts in "fragile states".

* The Government will publish an annual report on the extent of the threat presented by international terrorism and the efforts to combat it.

* The Government will take the initiative to work for a streamlining and modernising of the myriad of international agreements regarding the spread of weapons of mass destruction in an effort to gain broad international endorsement as well as secure stronger commitments and more effective control mechanisms.

Human Rights, Democracy and Intercultural Dialogue

The development that has taken place in recent years has emphasised the necessity of securing respect for human rights, good governance and democratisation. Violations of human rights, lack of democratisation and poor governance typically hit the poor hardest and simultaneously breed instability and political extremism.

Denmark must be at the forefront of efforts to promote respect for human rights, democracy and good governance. The Government will intensify efforts markedly in this area. Development assistance must play a greater role in eradicating the seeds of radicalism and extremism that can lead to religious intolerance and terrorism. In addition, the interplay between the various aspects of Danish human rights policy must be strengthened.

In order to secure peaceful development and in the long-term remove the basis for terrorism and extremism, it is imperative that intercultural dialogue and religious tolerance are promoted. The dialogue must build on mutual respect, and cultural and religious differences must be acknowledged within the context of universal human rights. Religious and cultural values and traditions must never be used as an excuse to remove the individual human being its freedom or rights. Where extremism in any shape or form stands in the way of democracy and respect for human rights, Denmark must actively support forces that promote tolerance and respect for the individual human being.

This can be achieved not least through closer cooperation with the positive energies in the Arab world supporting modernisation and democratisation. Other target areas will include the fight against corruption, based on the new action plan against corruption, support for the preparation and implementation of free and fair elections, reforms of the legal sector, support for a free press and human rights organisations, both national, regional and international, as well as the strengthening of national parliaments and decentralisation. Such efforts will also be carried out in regions where Denmark and its partners have a special interest in tackling political and religious radicalism, for example in the new Iraq. Denmark will work for an effective and independent international system that monitors fulfilment of international commitments in the area of human rights. The UN Human Rights Commission is in principle a major player in the work for global human rights, but in order to properly fulfil this role, it must be reformed.

Modernisation and Development in the Arab World

The Government will work to ensure that modernisation and development in the Arab world is placed high on the agenda for the transatlantic dialogue and also work for a significantly greater prioritisation and enhancement of EU efforts in this area. The goal must be to promote democracy, justice and good governance throughout the region as well as strengthen intercultural dialogue.

The USA and Europe together must:

- * Strengthen education systems, particularly non-religious education.
- * Develop the private sector by opening markets and supporting small and medium-sized enterprises in the area.
- * Develop the social welfare sector.
- * Contribute to raising democratic standards and respect for human rights.
- * Reform the legal systems in a democratic direction.
- * Deter corruption.
- * Strengthen civil society.
- * Contribute to strengthening the role of women in society.

This means that on a European level Denmark must work to ensure:

- * The EU's significant assistance to Mediterranean countries is restructured, so that it more strongly promotes democracy and religious tolerance.
- * The Mediterranean dialogue is intensified and takes place more between people than institutions.
- * The EU adopts a more consistent policy and confronts regimes that violate fundamental international norms.
- * The initiation of a partnership for reform and progress in order to conduct a common, broad-spectrum effort towards terrorism.
- * The initiation of a permanent Conference between the EU and the Arab world.

The Government will itself develop closer bilateral cooperation with the positive energies in the Arab world supporting modernisation and democratisation. This may take the form of, for example:

- * Support for civil society and freedom of the press.
- * Development of the network of Danish cultural institutes in the Arab world as part of strengthened intercultural dialogue

that has the support of the populations affected. Only in this way is there a chance of success.

As part of Denmark's and the EU's stronger focus on the Arab world, the

Programme (UNDP), the population in Africa is projected to increase from 780 million to approx. 1,090 million by 2015 (approx. 39%); the population in North Africa will increase from 174 million to 220 million (26%); the population in Asia will increase from 3,670 million to approx. 4,360 million (19%); and the population in Latin America will increase from 516 million to approx. 626 million (21%).

According to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), over 70% of the world's refugees are to be found in developing countries. The presence of these very large groups of refugees in poor adjacent areas increasingly creates problems – particularly in the many places with prolonged conflicts. Refugees and internally displaced persons are far too often pawns in a game played by irresponsible rulers. The pressure on the EU's borders is growing as a result of illegal immigration and the cynical exploitation of people in need by smugglers of human beings. Women and children are often the most vulnerable group and they are in particular need of help. Helping refugees as close to their homes as possible will make it easier for them to return and also reduce the political problems arising in the host country.

* The Government will increase support to refugees, relief aid and efforts in adjacent areas. The strategy for adjacent areas must be further developed and among other thin

* The Government will contribute to financing a number of climate projects in developing countries and in Central and Eastern Europe. The projects will involve the transfer of capital and know-how to the countries and contribute to opening the market for greenhouse gas credits. The projects will be effective in helping to reduce the global emission of greenhouse gases and to combating global climate changes. The projects will also contribute to helping Denmark fulfil its obligations under the Kyoto Protocol.

* The Government will continue to contribute to maintaining the EU's global leadership in the environmental field.

Conclusion

With this report, the Government has presented its vision for the new key priorities for a focused Danish foreign policy based on a clear set of values. The aim is not to provide an overall picture of Danish foreign policy, but rather to describe the new key priorities for Danish foreign policy in the years ahead.

At the beginning of the 21st century Denmark faces new opportunities and challenges on the international scene. Through pursuing a new active foreign policy that has a European, a transatlantic and a global dimension, all closely integrated, we will be able to promote Danish interests and values in a changing world.

A clear goal for the Government is a strengthening of the EU and of the relationship with the USA. The EU must be made stronger both internally and as an actor on the global scene. EU membership is crucial for Denmark's ability to promote its values and interests. The transatlantic ties between Denmark and the USA, and between Europe and the USA, are key elements of our policy. More than ever there is a need for a combined effort in the world from Europe and the USA.

The international rule of law and respect for human rights must always remain a high priority. Our international involvement must be used to promote development towards a more just and well-ordered world. Denmark's candidature to the UN Security Council in 2005-2006 is one important aspect that must be exploited in this direction. Extremism in all its forms remains the greatest threat of our age. After 11 September 2001 and the war in Iraq, Denmark must take initiatives to defuse the tensions between the Western world and the Arab and Muslim world. Supporting moderate energies will enable us to promote common understanding and common values.

Denmark's foreign policy is the sum of our efforts in respect to the outside world, pursued through, among other things, European, development, security, defence and trade policies. Our efforts must be coordinated and coherent, so that we achieve the best possible results for Denmark, for Europe and for the World

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