

DANISH
FOREIGN POLICY
YEARBOOK
2006

EDITED BY NANNA HVIDT AND HANS MOURITZEN

DANISH INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

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SPEECH BY PRIME MINISTER
ANDERS FOGH RASMUSSEN
YAD VASHEM, JERUSALEM,
16 MARCH 2005

President Katsav, esteemed Heads of State, honoured colleagues; Ladies and gentlemen,

Standing here today, at Yad Vashem, I cannot but feel a sense of the enormity of the events which these surroundings commemorate. The suffering, the loss, the despair are almost impossible to imagine. But looking at these long lists of names we are only too aware that these things did happen and must never be forgotten.

Yesterday, when we dedicated the new museum, we committed ourselves not only to remembering the Holocaust but also to continuing the fight against anti-Semitism, racism and bigotry.

Soon, the last survivors and witnesses of the Holocaust will have passed away into history. Which makes the task of explaining its sombre significance to the youth of today, and tomorrow, all the more urgent.

Five years ago the Stockholm International Forum declared 27th January, the date of the liberation of Auschwitz in 1945, to be an annual day of remembrance. Denmark has since adopted this day as Auschwitz Day. A Danish government sponsored institute carries out public educational activities and research into events surrounding the Holocaust.

As the declaration adopted at the Stockholm Forum says, the unprecedented character of the Holocaust will always hold universal meaning.

But merely remembering is not enough. We must take an uncompromising stand against all present-day attitudes and statements that could lead the way to new crimes against humanity, to new victims sharing the fate of those whose memory we commemorate today.

And, regrettably, recent events show that we must never relax our vigilance. Anti-semitism is by no means extinct, even in enlightened Europe.

In my own country, Denmark, the situation is not perfect. We grapple with the integration of immigrants of many different cultures and religions. Instances of xenophobia do occur. Fortunately, without boiling over into violence or abuse. I am glad to say that, for Denmark, anti-semitism is not an issue.

But we have our own way of tackling problems. We have chosen open debate, not bans, to fight expressions of left or right wing extremism, of racism and bigotry. Our laws concerning Libel and Blasphemy, must be obeyed. But we see no benefit in driving the deniers of the Holocaust, neo-nazis and Islamic fundamentalists and their incitement to violence and hatred underground. When exposed to the light their case becomes weak.

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,

There is no Holocaust Museum in Denmark. Modern history fortunately spared us the need to build one. But last year, a new museum, designed by the renowned architect Daniel Libeskind and dedicated to our Jewish citizens, was opened at a central location in Copenhagen. It is a testimony to a small but living and vibrant community. Well integrated while not assimilated, since it retains its religious and cultural distinctiveness.

The relationship of the Danes to their Jewish fellow-citizens, is illustrated by the rescue of almost all of Denmark's Jews from Nazi persecution in October 1943. Our Swedish neighbours assisted by generously receiving thousands of refugees.

At the commemoration of the 60th anniversary of this event at the Copenhagen Synagoge, I said that the organised persecution and unprecedented systematic attempt to exterminate the Jewish people is a shameful and indelible stain on European history. I can only repeat this here at Yad Vashem today.

To all of you here today, I say that we have a common responsibility to do our utmost to prevent any such horrors recurring in any shape or form. Both now and in the future.

For, though we must move on, we must never forget.

Thank you for your attention.

**SPEECH BY MINISTER OF DEFENCE
SØREN GADE AT THE CONFERENCE
'HOMELAND SECURITY
– THE NORDIC CHALLENGES'
18 APRIL 2005**

Introduction

Thank you for the invitation. I'm pleased to be given this opportunity to speak to you about Homeland Security, seen from my point of view.

Homeland Security is a concept we've all grown very familiar with during the last couple of years. In face of the rising threat from terrorism, the protection of society has thus become an imminent focus for politicians, the media and society at large.

The threats and risks of today

The threat we face is diffuse and enormously varied. The possible targets are basically infinite, and the list of potential tools or weapons is close to endless as well. So, let there be no doubt – terrorism is a potent challenge.

Yet terrorism is by no means the only threat, we are faced with. Industrial accidents – such as the accident in fireworks storehouse in Kolding last year, natural disasters such as hurricanes, and unintentional breakdowns of one sort or the other are other very realistic and potentially just as harmful threats, which we need to be able to deal with.

As minister with responsibility for not just the military defence but also the rescue preparedness – and to top it off a coordinating role with regard to general preparedness in the civil sector in Denmark, I can assure you that Homeland Security and society's general resilience are items high on my agenda.

The vulnerability assessment

In January 2004 we issued a national vulnerability assessment. The report

offers an analysis of the balance between – on the one hand risks and vulnerabilities, – and on the other hand the preparedness in place in a number of crucial sectors of society. The analysis, for instance, looks into the areas of IT- and energy supply, transportation, the health sector and the emergency and crisis management structures.

The conclusion of the analysis is that Denmark has a well-functioning preparedness; yet it also concludes that the threat- and risk-landscape is radically different than earlier – and that it is in constant development.

As a result of the globalised and open society of today, the rapid technological development, the specialisation of services and the interdependencies between central sectors and systems – for instance the financial sectors dependency on the electricity sector – society's resilience to day depends on much more than just robust rescue preparedness, police and defence forces.

The various civil sectors and systems need their own preparedness structures, and we need an overview over the way the sectors depend on one another.

Furthermore, it is a fact that many risks and threats are today international in nature. The amount and speed of global internet exchange, and the amount of physical transportation of goods, services and people exemplify, why for instance the break-out of illnesses, the transportation of oil or the spreading of cyber viruses are international safety problems – rather than national or regional ones.

With regard to security treats, it is likewise a fact that they are international. Terrorism is for instance a general threat to the western world – and to the publics feeling of security all over the world.

This internationalisation of these security and safety issues underscores that the interdependency is not just between sectors in Denmark but indeed a cross- border dependency. This means that the factors, which secure the robustness of our society, are much more complex to day than earlier. It also means that the solutions are also in many instances international. With regard to homeland security issues, I want to mention that the EU Commission is for example working on creating a programme for the protection of cross border critical infrastructure. Cross border critical infrastructure is for instance transportation routes, electricity supply and the like. We have not yet seen the actual proposal, but it serves as an exam-

ple of how international cooperation may be instrumental in elevating national safety.

The conclusion of the vulnerability assessment from 2004 led to a series of recommendations, which we are now in the process of implementing. A central one is that we need to enable ourselves to monitor the development of risks and vulnerabilities facing the civil sectors much closer and what is more; we need a central overview over the cross sector risk-landscape.

The traditional intelligence services are useful and crucial, yet they need to be supplemented with information on other sorts of risks, and we thus need a capacity to gather these types of information.

So far, we've established a capacity in the Danish Emergency Management Agency. The tasks will be monitoring, assessment and counselling. The output will be yearly cross-sector vulnerability reports and focused counselling of specific actors.

One of the other central recommendations in the vulnerability assessment from January 2004 is that the cross-sector coordination needs to be better. This we've tried to accomplish by creating various forums. Firstly, we've set up a national coordinating forum, where all the central authorities will meet and coordinate the operative response to a given crisis or catastrophe.

Secondly, we've created a number of sector forums, where associated authorities and actors meet to be informed and inform each other on matters regarding preparedness and resilience. Thirdly, I will mention that we've gathered both the civil emergency management and the military defence under one ministry – the ministry of Defence. This is meant to create more coordination and synergy. The transfer happened about a year ago, and the preliminary results are good. With regard to both operative and strategic cooperation we've seen a positive development.

As an example, I could mention the huge amount of support and assistance from the military defence to the rescue preparedness during the accident in Kolding last year. I'm sure that the fact that the two systems are now under one ministry has helped pave the way for this joint effort, where the rescue preparedness received extensive assistance from the military and the home guard.

As minister, I'm pleased to see that both the military defence and the rescue preparedness have decided to engage in making the most of the new

partnership. Needless to say, we expect much more from the partnership in the coming years. A strong partnership combined with a close cooperation with the other central actors – not least the police – is definitely needed in order to successfully meet the challenges of the present and the future.

Now naturally, the good will and the organisational set-up help to promote cooperation and coordination, yet we also want to ensure a suitable technical platform for cooperation.

Technical challenges

Technically, there are demanding challenges ahead with regard to Homeland Security, which we have to address in order to create more cross-sector coordination, full situation awareness etc. Fortunately, however, technology is not only a problem; it is in many instances also part of the solution.

One of the most obvious technological challenges is the speed with which technology is developing. Today, technical performance is doubled every 18 months. Advances in communication technology are even faster. Even though the technology to process and disperse information in many cases will be available where needed, it takes a lot of effort to keep up with the speed of the development of especially communications technology.

Most nations tend to develop their own Command and Communication Information Systems (CCIS) using national industry. These projects are very often complicated and time consuming. Before the system meets the users, it is in many cases already technologically out of date. Therefore, I find it appropriate henceforward to use 'Commercial off the shelf products' to a greater extent – simply to be able to keep track with the technological development. These products may form a cost effective alternative to expensive, from scratch developed systems.

Furthermore, transmission capacity will in few, but important, cases remain an obstacle for many years. This is particularly true in situations such as responses to humanitarian crises, natural catastrophes, and of course military operations. For mobile communications another obstacle is the supply of electrical energy. Battery capacity does not increase nearly at the same rate as information and communications technology, but advances in the so-called 'fuel cell technology' may change that in a foreseeable future.

Networks and Network Based Operations

Another big technological challenge is to create and maintain networks that match the demands of today.

Networks have always been important for society. Think of railways, roads, pipelines, power grids and the like. But now they are perhaps more important than ever. In fact the technology based infrastructures are today so important for our lives and our safety that in stead of talking about an information society, or a post industrial society, we might just as well speak of a network society.

The fast development of information and communication technology leads to new vulnerabilities in society as a whole, and especially in the communication and IT infrastructure. As the infrastructure networks extend far beyond national borders, many of the networks of today are vulnerable to a knowledgeable, resourceful and determined opponent, and this is one of the challenges we have to address in the near future. However, by utilising progress in our understanding of these complex structures, and our knowledge of countermeasures it is possible in a foreseeable future to build robust, secure and flexible infrastructure networks that will serve as the backbone for security both nationally and internationally.

The military concept of 'Network Based Operations' that is focus on information and network centrality may be seen as a military response to the technological development in our societies. It is simply the application of information technology to increase mission effectiveness and efficiency. The whole idea is to create an information infrastructure that in principle allows all relevant parties to be connected to a network of networks. This allows for sharing of timely, relevant and trustworthy information. This same concept is of course also applicable to Homeland Security.

Presently, we are in the Danish Defence working on extending the concept of 'Network Centric Warfare' to the Danish concept of Homeland security'. We are also in the process of considering how to form a Homeland Security network of networks, that includes emergency services (police, ambulance, fire fighting etc.) and military services.

Architecture and security

When talking about networks it is important to make sure that info-struc-

ture investments are not wasted. This could be done by creating and maintaining an architecture which identifies components and interfaces, and which allows us to acquire communications equipment that at a certain level is interoperable. To achieve this interoperability Command and Communication Information Systems (CCIS) must be based on 'plug and play' modules, which can easily be incorporated in the architecture. An increased cooperation with other nations must be established. It is in my opinion not necessary to reinvent the wheel, as other nations or companies have already developed an CCIS architecture and other communication solutions.

When connected to the network one may serve as a service provider – that is to put information at the disposal of other participants, or as a service consumer, the ultimate user of information or other services. Even though this service orientation is more flexible than the usual rigid 'push technology' used in many military and emergency communication setups, it never the less creates new vulnerabilities. First and foremost, because communications networks must be accessible to all the different players with relations to Homeland Security.

The safe transmittal of sensitive, and, in some cases, classified, information among a variety of parties requires the development and implementation of communication networks with adequate security.

This leaves us with one tough challenge: Can our desire for privacy and the needs of National Security be mutually satisfied, and is it possible to have a free exchange of information, while still maintaining the balance of secrecy required for National Security? It is in my opinion merely a question of time, before this is technical possible – if it isn't already possible today?

Interoperability

Different technological standards among operating systems, technical architecture, etc. for computers and within information technology make for big challenges with regard to interoperability.

The physical interoperability of radios has always been a problem, simply because different incompatible technologies serve different purposes. In Denmark we are working hard on solving this problem. We have for example recently formed a cross-sector Committee on radio communication

whose main task is to come up with a draft to a technical solution on radio communication for the actors in the preparedness in Denmark. The Committee must look at the new technology to find and investigate true multirole, multiband radios which are mutually compatible. In the future these software radios may be a host for many waveforms and frequencies and thus be an effective bridge between otherwise incompatible networks.

It is, however important to bear in mind, that the problem of interoperability is much more than a technological issue. It has also something to do with political will, resource allocation etc.

Way ahead

The technological challenges presented by Homeland Security are vast, multi-disciplined and multi-dimensional. Some of these tough challenges we are already addressing and have for some time, while others we are just starting to address.

However, we have – as I mentioned earlier – taken the first steps to being ‘Net Centric’, we are presently considering how to solve the problems of security and we are working on improving our ability to communicate by providing a new radio communications system to the actors of the preparedness in Denmark. So all in all, we are trying to meet the different challenges to the best of our ability and will keep on doing this in the foreseeable future.

These were some of my thoughts on homeland security issues.

I’m sure that homeland security will continue to be an area of development and focus in the coming years. I do, however, feel that we’ve taken some very important steps, and that we will be able to match the challenges of the future with appropriate solutions.

Thank you.

**SPEECH BY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
PER STIG MØLLER
AT THE THIRD SUMMIT
OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE
WARSAW, 16-17 MAY 2005**

Presidents, Prime Ministers, Distinguished Participants,

All over Europe we have just commemorated the 60th anniversary of the end of the Second World War. In those days 60 years ago, and in the years that followed, one thought prevailed in the minds of all European citizens: This must never happen again! Idealistic and innovative thinking arose out of the catastrophe. A number of the European and other international institutions which still serve us well were founded in that period – one of them being the Council of Europe. What was then regarded radical thinking, namely that internal matters in one state could be a legitimate concern for the International Community, is widely accepted today. So is the wisdom that one of the best guarantees for a state to live at peace with its neighbours is that also the neighbours are democratic states, ruled by law and respecting human rights.

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall these fundamental values enshrined in the Statute of the Council of Europe have truly become a common European heritage. Today's solemn reaffirmation of these values and the commitment to safeguard them by means of reinforced standard-setting and implementation activities are therefore key. Denmark remains committed to this work.

Of key importance is also the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and our commitment to ensure an efficiently functioning Court of Human Rights with its unique protection of the individual. We welcome the decision to establish a group of wise persons to look into the capacity problems of the Court, and we urge all states to rat-

ify Protocol 14, aimed at easing these problems, in order for it to enter into force as soon as possible.

The Council of Europe has done a remarkable job in promoting and consolidating democracy in the states that became members of the Council in the 1990's. Democracy is a dynamic process for all states, and we all face challenges from new developments. Looking at the Council of Europe's many activities in the field of democracy, we agree that there is a need for more coherence and probably also a more creative approach. We welcome the Council of Europe Forum for the Future of Democracy and believe that it can, in a non-bureaucratic way, stimulate the ongoing process of improving and safeguarding our democracies. It is important that the Forum will act in close co-operation with the Venice Commission, which in itself has proven to be an efficient instrument offering valuable advice, often under rather difficult political circumstances. Other Council of Europe institutions and activities with the aim to promote good governance should likewise be given our full support. The valuable work of the European Commission for the Efficiency of Justice (CEPEJ) is but one example.

The Council of Europe has proven to be able to adapt and define relevant responses to new challenges facing our societies. Good examples are the instruments drawn up in the field of countering international terrorism. It is satisfactory that the Council has been able to react quickly and to finalize in time for the Summit two new conventions in this field. These new instruments will make the Council of Europe a relevant partner in the worldwide anti-terrorism efforts under the leadership of the United Nations. We also welcome the opening for signature of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings.

Denmark supports the Council of Europe's increasing co-operation with other international organisations. The guidelines we adopt at this Summit will refocus the important relationship between the Council of Europe and the EU. We also move forward concerning enhanced co-operation between the Council of Europe and the OSCE, starting in four commonly identified areas of work. We must ensure better use of resources by building on the individual organisations' key competencies.

Seen through modern management glasses, Europe, with its many institutions for co-operation, may seem to be over-organized. History decided

this development. But time has proven the value of these institutions. We have a multifaceted European architecture with organisations mastering special competencies. Let us respect and nurse these important and relevant competencies and never lose sight of the overall context. Our organisations must co-operate and support each other, each one based on its field of speciality. We have come a long way already in getting rid of unnecessary duplication of work. Let's continue work in that direction. All European organisations will benefit from this! And it will be beneficial to all Europeans, who are better protected through the conventions which this Council has created over the years.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT BUSH'S VISIT TO DENMARK

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT BUSH AND PRIME MINISTER ANDERS FOGH RASMUSSEN (EXTRACT) AT THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICIAL RESIDENCE 'MARIENBORG' 6 JULY 2005

Prime Minister Rasmussen:

Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. I am delighted to be here today with my good friend, the President of the United States. Even more so because you chose to visit us, your friends in Denmark, on this very special day, your 59th birthday. So happy birthday, Mr. President. We have already celebrated the event in a small way with a traditional Danish birthday breakfast, together with our families.

Denmark and the United States have long been close friends and allies. We share the same fundamental goals and values. The close personal ties between the Danes and the Americans are highlighted every year when the biggest Fourth of July celebration outside the United States takes place here in Denmark. Thousands of Danish Americans gather in the Rebild Hills to manifest not just family ties, but also shared beliefs. It's our common desire to spread liberty and promote democracy. We do not accept the thesis that certain peoples and nations are not yet ready for democracy, and therefore, better suited for dictatorship. We share the belief that freedom is universal, and we share the belief that in the struggle between democracy and dictatorship, you cannot stay neutral.

This is why Denmark contributes with more than 500 troops in Iraq; why we make an active contribution to the joint allied effort in Afghanistan; why we wish to promote democracy and reform in the Middle East; and why we urge all parties to find a peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

On these and other global challenges, the United States needs the European Union as a strong and active partner. The present internal diffi-

culties must not distract the European Union from its global responsibilities.

Nobody needs a strong and generous Europe more than Africa. As other regions progress, Africa remains haunted by poverty, war and epidemics. I feel a strong obligation to focus more on Africa, and I'm going to pay an official visit to the region in October. The President and I share the view that the upcoming G8 summit should focus on how to make poverty history in Africa. I see five main challenges.

Firstly, Africa needs to overcome epidemic diseases. AIDS in Africa is a fully-blown disaster. The Copenhagen Consensus meeting last year concluded that combating AIDS should be the world's absolute top priority. It is a fight we must win. During the last four years, Denmark has increased funding for the combat of AIDS with more than 60 percent. I urge the G8 to make a similar extra effort.

Secondly, Africa needs trade. Free trade and better access to the world market provide the means to improve economic growth and fight poverty. When trade advances, poverty retreats. The European Union and the United States have already granted very generous access to their markets for the poorest African countries. We should go further, and dismantle trade distorting agricultural subsidies. I urge the G8 to do their part in creating a new, balanced and fair trade regime to benefit Africa.

Thirdly, Africa needs peace. No peace, no progress. Africans, themselves, must prevent conflicts and manage crisis. But we must help them to do this. That is why Denmark has developed a new African Program for Peace, to support the promising endeavors of the African Union. I urge the G8 to support this program and the peacekeeping efforts of the African Union.

Fourthly, Africa needs more aid – help to self-help. It, therefore, pleases me greatly that you, President Bush, has just announced your intention to double American assistance to Africa. Denmark is one of the most generous donors and we're going to focus even more on Africa in the future. In fact, if all G8 countries matched our effort, Africa would get \$90 billion a year, instead of only \$25 billion. I, therefore, urge all G8 countries to follow our good example.

And, finally, Africa needs better governance. All our aid will come to nothing if countries are ruled by corrupt dictators. When aid and trade are linked to good policies, more people are lifted out of poverty. We should

generously reward countries that fight corruption, ensure political liberty and economic freedom, invest in health and education of their people, and promote women's rights. And we should not be afraid to stop aid to dictators like Zimbabwe's Mugabe. I urge the G8 to make no compromise in the demand for good governance.

We must all join efforts to make poverty history. We must fight poverty because human decency requires it, because hope for each individual is essential for human dignity. We must take action so that despair and darkness can be replaced with hope and light for hundreds of millions of people. The ball is in our court. Let us not waste our chances. The G8 should not miss this golden opportunity.

President Bush:

Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister. Thanks for the birthday breakfast. I would strongly recommend the Danish birthday cake. (Laughter.) I am really honored to be here in Copenhagen. I appreciate your friendship, and I appreciate the friendship the Danish people have for my country, and vice versa.

Denmark is a close ally and a partner of the United States. Mr. Prime Minister, America values its longstanding relationship with Denmark, and that's why I've come. I've come to reaffirm my nation's respect for Denmark, and our ties that bind us forever, and the fact that we share common values. I've also come because I want to let the people know how much I admire your leadership and your character and your vision.

I appreciate your nation's support in advancing freedom in Eastern Europe and the broader Middle East and around the world. We are grateful for your understanding, and the people's understanding, that freedom is a universal right, and that, as we promote freedom and democracy, we'll lay the foundation for peace for generations to come. Under your leadership, Mr. Prime Minister, your commitment has been steadfast and strong in the fight against terror.

You know, for some in Europe, September the 11th was a tragic date, a terrible moment. For me, and many in the American public, September the 11th was a change of attitude, a recognition that we're involved with a global war against ideological extremists who will kill the innocent in order to achieve their objectives.

I want to thank you very much for your steadfast support for freedom and peace in Afghanistan and Iraq. I particularly want to thank the loved ones, the family members of the troops stationed abroad for the sake of peace and freedom, for their sacrifice. I know many miss their loved ones, and I know how hard it is for families during times of deployment. And I appreciate them very much. I also want to thank you very much for being such a key contributor to our common security within NATO.

You know, one of the interesting initiatives that we worked together on, and I don't think a lot of people pay attention to, is what's called the Proliferation Security Initiative. It's a group of free nations that have bound together to help interdict the transport of weapons of mass destruction. One of the most harmful aspects of the war on terror could be if these killers were able to gain weapons of mass destruction, which in my mind – no doubt in my mind, they'd use on a moment's notice. And the Proliferation Security Initiative is an attempt by free countries to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction. And you've played a leading role.

We had a great discussion today. We talked about the upcoming G8 meeting. We talked about Africa and climate change. As well, we talked about Guantanamo. The Prime Minister is concerned about what the situation on Guantanamo says about America and our view of liberty. Let me tell you what I told him. I said, first, the prisoners are well-treated in Guantanamo. There's total transparency. The International Red Cross can inspect any time, any day. And you're welcome to go. The press, of course, is welcome to go down to Guantanamo.

Secondly, we have sent many home. These people were picked up on the battlefield. They didn't wear uniforms, they weren't associated with a government, but they were on the battlefield. And so we put them in Guantanamo. We wanted to find out as much as we could about what they knew about this war on terror in order to protect our citizens. Many, it turned out, were sent home.

Thirdly, I assured the Prime Minister there's got to be a way forward for people held in Guantanamo, and there will be. The reason why you haven't seen any adjudication of individuals is because our court system is determining where best to try people, whether it be in a military tribunal where a person would have all – lawyers and rights, or whether it be in the civilian

courts. And once the judicial branch of our government makes its decision, then we'll proceed forward with giving people fair and open trials.

I just want you to remember we are in a war against these terrorists. My most solemn obligation is to protect the American people from further attack. These people are being treated humanely. There's very few prison systems around the world that have seen such scrutiny as this one. And for those of you here on the continent of Europe who have doubt, I'd suggest buying an airplane ticket and going down and look – take a look for yourself.

We also talked about Africa. I told the Prime Minister I was proud of my country's tripling of aid to Africa since I've been the President. And as he mentioned, I proposed to double aid to Africa once again.

Our primary focus in Africa is going to be to focus efforts on solving people's problems. They've got a problem in HIV/AIDS, and we're leading the world when it comes to contributions – along with Denmark, by the way – in making sure antiretroviral drugs get to people who need help; and helping set up an infrastructure so that prevention programs begin to work; and follow up with programs that will help the orphans of HIV/AIDS families. Denmark has put a robust effort in place, as had the United States, and I'm proud of our efforts.

Over a million people die of malaria on the continent of Africa on an annual basis, most of whom are under five years old. This is a problem we can solve. I laid out an initiative the other day for \$1.2 billion to help eradicate the scourges of malaria on the continent of Africa. This is an area where we can work together. And I agree strongly with what the Prime Minister said: We expect there to be good governance on the continent of Africa. I don't know how we can look our taxpayers in the eye and say, this is a good deal to give money to countries that are corrupt. What we're interested in, in countries is helping people, and, therefore, we have said that we'll give aid, absolutely; we'll cancel debt, you bet – but we want to make sure that the governments invest in their people; invest in the health of their people, the education of their people; and fight corruption.

And then we talked about climate change, as well. I'm looking forward to going to the G8. Listen, I recognize that the surface of the Earth is warmer and that an increase in greenhouse gases caused by humans is contributing to the problem. Kyoto didn't work for the United States and it, frankly, did-

n't work for the world. The reason it didn't work for the world is many developing nations weren't included in Kyoto.

I've also told our friends in Europe that Kyoto would have wrecked our economy. I don't see how you can be President of the United States and sign and agree to an agreement that would have put a lot of people out of work. See, I think there's a better way forward. I would call it the post-Kyoto era, where we can work together to share technologies, to control greenhouse gases as best as possible.

Listen, the United States, for national security reasons and economic security reasons, needs to diversify away from fossil fuels. And so we've put out a strategy to do just that, and I can't wait to share with our G8 friends, just like I shared with the Prime Minister, our strategy. We spent about over \$20 billion last year on research and development on new technologies that we are willing to share with the world.

There's no doubt in my mind that we'll be driving a different kind of automobile within a reasonable period of time – one powered by hydrogen. And the Prime Minister is most interested in this subject, and I look forward to sharing technologies, not only with our G8 friends, but also with countries like India and China, who will be at the G8.

I want to thank you again, Mr. Prime Minister, for being such a steadfast person. You know, a lot of times people in politics chase opinion polls. I don't know if you poll this much in Denmark ... we poll way too much in America, seems like to me. (Laughter.) It's a growth industry. (Laughter.) What I appreciate is a leader who has a vision and the strength of character to do what he thinks is right. And that's what your Prime Minister has done. I'm proud to call him, friend. And thanks for hosting me today.

WORKING EVEN CLOSER: THE EU, THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE REFORM OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Article by Minister for Foreign Affairs Per Stig Møller
European View, Vol. 2, Autumn 2005

2005 is the year of review of the United Nations' Millennium Declaration and of dealing with reforms of the United Nations. 2005 is therefore also the year where the need for clear European Union positions on engagement in the United Nations' agenda is of obvious importance: for the European Union, for the United Nations and for the world. The European Union's size, its values and partnerships, and its foreign policy instruments all warrant a crucial role. The United Nations and the world community face unprecedented challenges, and the European Union is particularly well-equipped to handle them. The present cooperation between the two must therefore be intensified, and to this end we need stronger political will and courage within both the European Union and the United Nations.

In its Security Strategy, 'A Secure European Union in a Better World', from December 2003, the European Union presented the case for an international order based on effective multilateralism with a stronger United Nations as a key component: 'In a world of global threats, global markets and global media, our security and prosperity increasingly depend on an effective multilateral system (...) Strengthening the United Nations, equipping it to fulfil its responsibilities and to act effectively, is a European Union priority.'

Whether we strive to fight poverty, terrorism and crime or to prevent crises and stop conflicts, it is not a question of using the European Union at the expense of the United Nations – it is a question of strengthening both.

European Union – a global actor

With approximately 450 million citizens and the world's largest internal market, the European Union represents a quarter of the world's Gross National Product. Compared to other international actors, the European Union has a unique capacity to make its weight felt on the global stage through a broad spectrum of different policy instruments: aid, trade, political dialogue, diplomacy and crisis management, among other. The economic weight of the European Union's development aid and its share of global development aid underlines its potential role as a global political actor. The European Union and its Member States donate more than half of the world's development aid and earlier this year the European Union agreed to reach a collective goal of 0.56 per cent of GNP by 2010.

Despite being a superpower in terms of economy and development aid, the European Union is only slowly transforming itself into a global political player and, with its increasing political clout, it is gradually defining its role on the global scene. We need to speed up this process. The fate of the Constitutional Treaty does not change the need for European engagement on the global scene. Despite the two 'no-votes', the European Union can still be a driving force in many fields, such as the WTO negotiations and the ODA targets, and it must continue to play this role. We must continue to strengthen our ties across the Atlantic and with Asia in order to keep the focus on the long-term solutions to the present day and future challenges.

The need for Europe's involvement on the global scene is indisputable, but our cooperation is not always that simple and important differences still exist between the European Union Member States. It is therefore essential that we all genuinely seek to work together in an open, inclusive and transparent manner with a view to finding sustainable solutions. Such an approach not only reinforces European Union positions, but also safeguards the perception of the European Union as a serious and reliable international partner.

The present Treaties offer many opportunities for strengthening our global role, but the nature of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (unanimity) asks for strong will on the part of the Member States. This should not be too difficult, if we realise that everybody benefits from a strong European voice. When 25 States speak with one voice, our external relations

policies gather more strength than any Member State can mobilise alone. Furthermore, we gained firm evidence during the Iraqi crisis that the expectations of the Europeans for a unified European Union position are high. The fate of the Constitutional Treaty won't change that either. The European Union must mobilise the necessary will in order to live up to its potential and these expectations. It's the only way to move forward and strengthen our cooperation with and support of the United Nations.

Closer EU/UN cooperation

While growing into the role of a stronger global player, the European Union has taken on greater responsibility, and the following five areas show how the European Union, in concrete terms, may assist in further strengthening the work of the United Nations.

1. Strengthening the European Union's crisis management capacity is also a means to make the United Nations stronger. Over the last couple of years, important progress has been made in the European Union's capacity to engage in international peacekeeping operations. This progress has taken place within the framework of the European Union Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). In total, eight civil and military missions have been successfully launched since the beginning of 2003, and some have been launched after an explicit request from the United Nations Security Council.

At the same time it is clear that the European Union needs to strengthen its capacities further if the European Union is to carry out more intensive tasks for the United Nations. Here, the creation of European Union Battle Groups is central. The United Nations Secretary-General recently stated in his report, 'In larger freedom': 'Decisions by the European Union to create stand-by Battle Groups, for instance, and by the African Union to create African reserve capacities, are a valuable complement to our own efforts.' Quick action is often of crucial importance. A European Union Battle Group on stand-by is to be an important first choice in the time it takes to gather a traditional United Nations peacekeeping force.

In September 2003 the United Nations and the European Union agreed on a 'Joint Declaration on UN/EU Co-operation in Crisis Management' in order to deepen the cooperation in this area. The declaration describes further practical steps to be taken, building on the momentum of the positive

cooperation between the two partners. The idea behind the declaration is that in order for the United Nations to carry out its peacekeeping operations, it needs regional organisations and players to strengthen their capacity to carry out crisis management missions and, in turn, strengthen United Nations operations.

2. In this vein, Denmark and the European Union strongly support the establishment of the Peace-Building Commission (PBC), which is to remedy the absence of a body in the United Nations system to help countries through the difficult transition from war to lasting peace by coordinating the work of all relevant actors. The fact is that almost half of all countries that emerge from war lapse back into violence within five years. Consistent, coordinated and better-funded strategies for peace building are crucial to sustainable peace and long-term development. Denmark strongly supports filling-in this institutional gap in the United Nations system.

The PBC will provide advice on peace-building strategies for countries emerging from conflict. Notwithstanding this, it will be for other participants; international financial institutions, regional organisations etc., to use the conclusions of the PBC's discussions in adapting their own policies and activities towards the country in question.

3. The shared acceptance of and respect for international law is a prerequisite for strengthening peace and security on the global stage. The problem is not open disagreement about specific aspects of international law. Such disagreements have always existed and are completely normal in any legal system. But we must realise that the world has changed significantly in the last couple of decades, and that there is need to reaffirm the understanding and support for the existing basic principles of international law.

To this end, Denmark has initiated a number of national and international initiatives designed to promote the issue of strengthening international law. During the Danish Presidency of the Security Council in the second half of 2006 we intend to launch a debate on the need to reaffirm our commitment to fundamental principles and rules of international law, focusing on a number of key areas.

The European Union is a good starting point for reaffirming international law. One aspect of the international legal order – where the European Union already plays an important role – is the fight against impunity for

international crimes. European Union Member States were instrumental in the historic creation of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in 1998; a truly global, permanent judicial institution with a mandate to prosecute genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. Almost 100 States have ratified the ICC statute and the ICC has already started investigations into a number of cases. In April 2005, partly through strong lobbying by European Union Member States in the United Nations Security Council, the Council referred the horrific crimes committed in Darfur, Sudan, to the ICC; the first such referral ever to take place and a significant boost for the ICC.

4. In the area of counter-terrorism, the European Union is a privileged partner to the United Nations. They each have areas of comparative advantage and benefit vastly of the actions of the other partner. The United Nations provides the general framework for the international efforts to combat terrorism. This ensures that the fight against terrorism has global reach and legitimacy. The United Nations' actions are supported and supplemented by the European Union just as the European Union member states implement a large share of the United Nations obligations through European Union legislation. Moreover, the European Union Member States are often able to undertake stronger, more detailed commitments in their common implementation of the United Nations obligations than what is possible to find in the 'global' United Nations Security Council resolutions.

Another good illustration of the partnership between the United Nations and the European Union in counter-terrorism is the current work undertaken to ensure all countries have the adequate means to counter terrorist networks. A lot of this work springs from the Counter Terrorism Committee (CTC) under the Security Council. Denmark chairs this committee in 2005-6 and during our presidency, a key priority will be to facilitate technical assistance to those countries which lack the resources and know-how to fight terrorism effectively. An important task of the CTC is therefore to identify the need of these countries and relay the request for technical assistance to donors with the required know-how. Not least due to its first-hand experience with international terrorism, the European Union supports this work vigorously and offers its technical expertise, for instance in regard to border control or terrorist financing, to a number of the countries identified by CTC.

In this manner, the European Union's efforts to bolster third countries' capacities to combat terrorism make a valuable contribution to the work of the Counter Terrorism Committee and the United Nations. Consequently, the European Union is and will continue to be a strong partner for the United Nations in the fight against terrorism.

5. The European Union is founded upon the principles of liberty, democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. For many years, the European Union has continuously played a central role in the international efforts to promote and protect these principles worldwide. In these endeavours, the European Union bases itself on a comprehensive human rights policy developed and refined over time to become one of the priorities of its foreign and security policy.

The European Union welcomes the prominent place given to human rights in the process of United Nations reform. It unreservedly supports the proposal to replace the United Nations Human Rights Commission with a standing Human Rights Council, which should be able to meet whenever the need arises rather than as the calendar dictates.

The European Union strongly believes that the establishment of a Human Rights Council will contribute to a strengthening of the United Nations human rights mechanisms, thus reflecting the universality of human rights and their central position in the United Nations system. With a strong mandate, such a council would improve the ability of the international community to effectively address thematic issues and country-specific human rights issues as well as urgent human rights crises. A Human Rights Council would also contribute to the streamlining of human rights issues throughout the UN system.

It goes without saying that the replacement of the Human Rights Commission with a permanent Human Rights Council should go hand in hand with the strengthened role for the Office of the Commissioner for Human Rights, combined with the agreed doubling of its regular budget funding. The creation of a standing Human Rights Council is an idea that Denmark has promoted for some time and to which we attach major importance.

Reform of the United Nations Security Council

At the beginning of the 21st Century, the international community needs a

United Nations that is capable of handling the new challenges and threats the world is facing today. To this end, it is crucial that the Security Council continues to play a decisive role in maintaining international peace and security. The present composition of the Security Council reflects the balance of power of the world immediately after the Second World War – a world that no longer exists. A broader representation is therefore needed with a more balanced geographical representation. For this reason, a broad majority of the United Nations Member States have, over the last months, demonstrated clear support for reform and enlargement of the Security Council.

In Denmark's view, such enlargement should be enacted by increasing the number of permanent and non-permanent members and by including developing and developed countries as permanent members. The draft General Assembly resolution of the Group of Four (G4), which consists of Brazil, Germany, India and Japan, reflects this view. Denmark therefore supports the proposal and has offered its co-sponsorship. In addition, we have expressed our support to Germany and Japan as new permanent Security Council members.

With an enlarged Security Council as outlined in the draft resolution, voices representing the whole world will be much stronger and thereby enhance the legitimacy, credibility and effectiveness of Security Council decisions. Effectiveness in the sense that the collective pressure to adhere to Security Council decisions will increase. Broader representation will also enhance the Council's responsiveness to the views and needs of all Member States.

As this Security Council reform has already been on the agenda of the General Assembly for more than 12 years, it is now time to decide on the issue. The G4's draft resolution provides us with a unique opportunity to take action, and without reliable alternatives, a rejection would mean no to change, no to reform and yes to the status quo. In addition, a decision would be a great leap forward in our common effort to make progress on the comprehensive United Nations reform agenda. However, the reform of the Security Council must not develop into a prerequisite or an obstacle to our common ambition as to strengthening and modernising the entire United Nations system.

At the same time, adoption and implementation of the resolution will not mark a conclusion to the Security Council reform process, but rather the beginning of a new and reinvigorated debate. The envisaged review clause is an excellent mechanism to maintain a continued dialogue within the General Assembly on the Security Council reform issue. Hence, the performance of the new permanent members is to be appraised fifteen years after their admission to the Security Council. The review will also include the question of whether new permanent members should be granted a right to veto. Denmark opposes any such extension of the veto right as it would seriously hamper the effectiveness of the Security Council.

In a long-term perspective, Denmark favours a permanent seat for the European Union in the Security Council to represent the interests of all European Union Member States. Close European Union cooperation on Security Council affairs has already proven highly valuable and important to reach comprehensive peace solutions, e.g. as demonstrated during the process of adopting the three Security Council resolutions on Sudan in March 2005.

A European Union speaking with one voice in the Security Council would reinforce the normative and operational capacities of the Security Council, and increase the global importance of common European Union fundamental values such as democracy, rule of law, and human rights. As mentioned above, a key prerequisite would be strengthening the existing cooperation under the scope of the Common Foreign and Security Policy.

Conclusion

The European Union still punches below its weight on the global political scene. We have a great idea to sell and help implement – namely that integration promotes peace and stability. Peace and stability are on the top of the United Nations' agenda, and the European Union has an obligation to contribute through cooperation with the United Nations.

The cooperation between the two is close today and there is no shortage of ideas on how to intensify this cooperation. In order to do so, we need willpower within both the European Union and the United Nations – the will to make better use of the European Union's potential on the global

scene and the will to make the necessary reforms within the United Nations. Solid cooperation between the European Union and the United Nations can contribute to stability and progress in our unstable world.

SPEECH BY MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PER STIG MØLLER AT THE CONFERENCE 'A FREE MARKET VISION FOR EUROPE' CEPOS, COPENHAGEN, 9 SEPTEMBER 2005

Fellow speakers, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen,

Many thanks to Director Martin Ågerup and his staff at CEPOS for organising this timely and important debate. Europe finds itself at a crossroads, and we need a meeting of minds like this today to help push Europe in the right direction.

The British statesman, Edmund Burke, once said that change is necessary in order to preserve. The question today is: What kind of European Union do we want to preserve and why do we want to preserve it? The French and the Dutch referenda have reminded us that we urgently need to find a clear and straightforward answer to this question. That is the reason, why we have the reflection period.

The short version of the answer is that we need to preserve the basic features of the EU. That is the contractual and rule-based nature of a European co-operation that has served as an excellent framework for relations between Europe's independent nation states for more than fifty years. In other words, we need to preserve the community method.

Why? The answer to that question deserves to be put into a historical context.

The ancient Greek historian and geographer, Strabo, began his *Geographica* of the known world with Europe, because as he said 'it is both varied in form and admirably adapted by nature for the development of excellence in men and governments.' Flattering words. History has, however, shown that peace does not result from a common territory, a common religion or a common system of government, and not even from excellent men!

In fact, for the past millennium, countless wars over religion, territory and power have been waged in Europe. The period until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 was marked by religious wars between Catholics, Muslims and Protestants. That was followed by endless hostilities between European monarchs who often regarded war for territory as their own private enterprise. In the 20th century, Europe witnessed the much more bloody conflicts between nation states, which culminated in the biggest manslaughter of all time – the Second World War.

It was against this background that the dream of a peaceful and prosperous Europe was born. The ruins of Berlin, the carnage on the beaches of Normandy, and the unspeakable sight that met allied forces, when they opened the gates to Auschwitz, finally made European politicians say: enough is enough!

Of course, more visionary people in Europe had all along proposed various roadmaps for peace. In 1310, a German monk by the name of Engelbert of Admont suggested the creation of one European kingdom with one single leader. In 1464, King Podiebrad of Bohemia almost proposed a sort of EU in the form of a European league of princes with common coins and armies. Denmark was happy to join, France was not, and that was the end of it. In the 18th century, it became fashionable among intellectuals to write books about ‘the eternal peace’. But all the good intentions made no real difference.

Unfortunately, the ultimate wake-up call only came in 1945. It was clear that something new was required in order to avoid past failures like the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations. Understandably, there was little appetite for new ideological projects after such a hard fought victory over Hitler’s Neuropa. A completely different approach was therefore taken. One of piecemeal engineering and practical politics, starting with the European Coal and Steel Community.

There is no doubt that the extraordinary development from this humble beginning in 1952 to the enlarged European Union today was helped along by some key historical events. Most notably the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union. But the fundamental objective remained the same. To build a peaceful, secure and prosperous Europe. Placed in a historical context, the past fifty years in Europe have therefore been an unbe-

lievable success story and the EU has been the most important factor underpinning it.

With the enlargement with 8 Central and East European countries, which used to be under Soviet rule, the bloody history of the 20th century has ended. A whole and free Europe has emerged. The Constitutional Treaty should have been the crowning achievement of this European co-operation. It was supposed to help us achieve the necessary momentum to continue our political and economic progress in the globalized world of the 21st century.

But something went wrong! It appears that for many European citizens, the EU has somehow lost its purpose. Why?

The analysis of the French 'Non' and the Dutch 'Nee' to the Constitutional Treaty suggests a mixed bag of reasons. Economic concerns, disaffection with political leaders, lack of information, opposition to further enlargement and fear of losing national sovereignty were among the main reasons.

In the bigger picture, however, I believe that the public dissatisfaction with Europe today stems from the death of a great narrative. The narrative about the EU as a common project for peace between the nation states of Europe. The one I have just outlined for you. One can say that the European Union today suffers from a 'postmodern condition', where the great narrative has disintegrated or rather been deconstructed into a hotchpotch of different stories that do not inspire people or evoke any solidarity.

I heard a French farmer put this in simple terms after the referendum. He had voted for the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, because he believed in the EU as peacemaker, but against the Constitutional Treaty, because he considered peace a certainty. What mattered for him now was his own economic interests. He was afraid that the new treaty would lead to a loss in income and allow more competition from abroad.

This change of heart by the French farmer points towards what I would call tomorrow's Europe of realism in contrast to yesterday's Europe of idealism. People in Europe today take peace and security for granted. Increasingly, they focus on how the EU can benefit their daily life. What's in it for me, they ask!

Fortunately, the answer to that question is – a great deal! The benefits of

the single market influence our lives in many ways. Thanks to the EU, we enjoy safer and cheaper food, a European health insurance, better environmental protection, cheaper airline tickets, higher safety standards at work, more mobility for students and retired people, cheaper phone calls, a coordinated fight against cross-border crime and the list goes on. And the single market has for the last fifty years had an unparalleled ability to generate jobs.

Jacques Delors once said: 'You can't fall in love with the single market'. But looking at the numbers, you must be a rather cold-hearted person not to like what you see. According to the European Commission, the single market has created 2.5 million new jobs since 1993 and generated more than 800 billion euro of additional wealth.

Like the stock market, many Europeans are, however, less preoccupied with the present and more focused on the future. They are concerned about the challenges of globalisation and what that will mean for them. Anxiety about outsourcing and competition from low-cost countries like China and India prevail among many voters. Where is my job tomorrow? Taken by a Polish plumber, they ask in France.

The threat from international terrorism, drug trafficking and illegal immigration add to a sense of insecurity among many Europeans. And they do not view the European Union as an instrument to help them against the negative consequences of globalisation.

The governments in Member States together with the Commission have a crucial job to do in this respect. We need to communicate much better with the public about EU issues and what kind of results European co-operation actually provides for ordinary citizens. It is essential to achieve stronger public support for the European project. The politicians in EU capitals should also resist the temptation of putting the blame on Brussels for something negative, and monopolizing the reward when something goes down well with the public. If politicians criticize Brussels six days a week, it is hard to imagine their voters saying yes to the EU come Sunday.

At the EU summit in June, we acknowledged the importance of this job in front of us. We decided therefore to begin a period of reflection in order to carry out a thorough debate about the EU at the national level. During 2006, EU-leaders will evaluate the results of the various national EU-debates

and decide on the next steps ahead. France and the Netherlands have a special responsibility in the reflection period. I would expect them next year to present some ideas on how they believe the EU can move on.

What about the Constitutional Treaty in this process? Is it dead, on permanent life support, or is it just in a temporary state of coma? The situation is that 13 member states have ratified it, while 2 member states have rejected it.

Does this mean that France and the Netherlands will ratify in the end? Will there be some sort of renegotiation or additional protocols to convince the French and the Dutch? Will there be an effort to salvage some key elements in the treaty like the double majority or the EU foreign minister? Will we just go on with the Nice Treaty or some sort of Nice Treaty+? Nobody knows, and I doubt whether it is worth while at this early stage to engage in such speculation, when there are so many ifs and buts.

What is important now, is to make active use of the reflection period. In Denmark, we intend to do just that in the coming months. The European Affairs Committee in the Parliament has been charged with organising an open and inclusive debate about the EU. There will probably be two tracks in the debate – a formal one with participation of the political parties – and a parallel track, which will include a wide range of organisations and actors from civil society. Later on, the European Affairs Committee aims to submit a report to Parliament, which in turn might adopt a resolution on the debate in Denmark before the EU summit next year.

Denmark has an important role to play in the reflection period. As European champion in EU referenda – a total of six since 1972 – Denmark has something to offer when it comes to engaging with the public on EU issues. The aim is to discuss how we can achieve a European co-operation in the future, which is more in line with people's expectations. We need an effective EU that provides added value to people's lives. And we need a democratic EU that is in constant dialogue with European citizens.

To this end, Denmark will continue to push an EU agenda focused on more transparency, better involvement of national parliaments and stronger interaction between the various EU-institutions and the individual citizen. We believe in change in order to preserve.

Only a tiny minority in Denmark actually wants us to leave the EU alto-

gether. The Danish People's Party for example would like to preserve the EU, but only as a free trade area. I disagree with such a position. I believe that the European success story for the past fifty years depends on the EU being something more than just a free trade area. There is no doubt in my mind that the contractual and rule-based nature of EU co-operation has played a fundamental part in maintaining a peaceful Europe during this period.

And here I return to my initial question about why we need to preserve the EU-institutions and the community method. It is simply in defiance of history to believe that peace and prosperity in Europe are just self-sustaining entities that will go on forever. European history clearly shows that peace and prosperity need to be underpinned by a firm set of rules and common obligations between independent nation states. That is why we need the Council, the Commission, the European Parliament and the European Court of Justice as well as many of the common policies that we have been able to agree on over the years.

We must learn from history in order not to repeat it. To know the past, is to see the future, but as we don't like this past, we have to change our political behaviour. And we do that through the construction and development of the EU.

The EU ensures the absence of the traditional great power politics in Europe. It ensures that we will not return to the familiar zero-sum game of the past, where big military powers carved up Europe into different spheres of influence. The smaller European states often became the biggest losers in this game, as they were dominated or subdued by larger neighbours. The small countries were in principle sovereign states, but they dared not do, what their neighbours did not like!

This is why we need to preserve the EU.

Let me conclude by saying that the European Union has gone through many crises before. There is nothing new to that. Some might remember the crisis in '65, when France refused to participate in the meetings in Brussels, because of displeasure with the direction of the co-operation. Or the crisis in '84, when Mrs. Thatcher wanted her money back from the EU budget. Now we haggle over the British rebate, but we will manage to find a solution sooner or later. The necessity of a close and contractual co-operation across national borders in Europe has always made member states find a compro-

mise and move on.

On the other hand, we must not lean back and take European co-operation for granted. Contrary to what many euro-sceptics believe, the EU is a fragile creature, which needs attentive care. It is an irony of history that the enlargement with ten new Member States has taken place in a situation, where the two biggest economies on the continent, Germany and France, are going through a rough patch. That is simply an unfortunate coincidence. And allegations about the EU being a European Superstate or a grand ideological scheme to remake Europe in a certain way could not be further off the mark.

If we don't make a common effort to change the EU in order to preserve it, we might end up in the same situation, which Ivan Krylov, who is often referred to as Russia's Hans Christian Andersen, has described in his fable about a crayfish, a swan and a pike.

It goes like this:

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

Thank you.

**SPEECH BY PRIME MINISTER
ANDERS FOGH RASMUSSEN
AT THE SUMMIT MEETING
OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL
14 SEPTEMBER 2005**

Thank you, Mr. Chairman,

Our discussion here is timely and relevant. Terror attacks in several countries during the last years have underlined our obligation to joint, efficient action against this major scourge of our generation.

Let me be very clear: Terrorism can never be justified. Terrorism is never a legitimate weapon. The targeting and deliberate killing of civilians is unacceptable. Full stop.

I therefore find it appalling that today, four years after two passenger planes created havoc in this very city, a few countries are still blocking agreement on a common definition of terrorism.

There ought to be absolutely no doubt or ambiguity about the obligation of each and every Government to destroy terror-networks, to dismantle training facilities and to cut off the supply of money and recruits.

It must be made completely clear to our citizens what is acceptable and what is not.

Freedom of speech and expression is the very foundation of any modern, democratic society. But it must never be an excuse for inciting terrorism and fostering hatred.

I see a major role for the United Nations in this battle. And I welcome the Secretary General's outline of a counter terrorism strategy. But this is not enough. We need to empower the United Nations so that it can fulfil its obligation to ensure security for all in the age of global terrorism.

All Member States need to sign, ratify and implement the UN terrorism conventions. All countries must incorporate the relevant provisions into

their national legislations in order to hamper the terrorists' room of manoeuvre.

And the UN should constantly monitor that Member States fulfil their obligations.

Countries that lack the necessary capacity to enforce the new legislation deserve our full and generous assistance. Countries that lack the necessary political will deserve our wrath.

The threat of terrorists or irresponsible dictators armed with weapons of mass destruction is a shared nightmare for all mankind. This Council has the obligation to ensure that the nightmare will never materialize.

The nuclear programmes of Iran and North Korea are a particular and urgent concern. We shall be ready to deal with them here at this table, if other avenues fail. Acquiring nuclear weapons does not enhance the security of any state – it only decreases it for us all.

Mr. Chairman,

70 percent of all conflicts discussed by this Council take place in Africa. The impact on civilians on this continent is particularly devastating: Africa alone has around 20 million refugees and internally displaced people.

For that reason, the draft resolution put forward here today by the Council's three African members is an important one. I hope that the adoption of this resolution will enable the international community to better prevent international disputes and internal crises from spilling over into armed conflicts – in particular in Africa.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN
ELEVEN MUSLIM AMBASSADORS/
REPRESENTATIVES AND
PRIME MINISTER ANDERS FOGH RASMUSSEN
12 AND 21 OCTOBER 2005

12 October 2005

His Excellency
Mr. Anders Fogh Rasmussen
Prime Minister
Kingdom of Denmark

Excellency,

The undersigned ambassadors, Cd'a.i. and Head of Palestinian General Delegation accredited to Denmark take this opportunity to draw your attention to an urgent matter.

This pertains to on-going smearing campaign in Danish public circles and media against Islam and Muslims. Radio Holger's remarks for which it was indicted, DF MP and Mayoral candidate Louise Frevert's derogatory remarks, Culture Minister Brian Mikkelsen's statement on war against Muslims and Daily Jyllands-Posten's cultural page inviting people to draw sketches of Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) are some recent examples.

We strongly feel that casting aspersions on Islam as a religion and publishing demeaning caricatures of Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) goes against the spirit of Danish values of tolerance and civil society. This is on the whole a very discriminatory tendency and does not bode well with the high human rights standards of Denmark. We may underline that it can also cause reactions in Muslim countries and among Muslim communities in Europe.

In your speech at the opening of Danish Parliament, Your Excellency rightly underlined that terrorists should not be allowed to abuse Islam for their crimes. In the same token, Danish press and public representatives should not be allowed to abuse Islam in the name of Democracy, freedom of expression and human rights, the values that we all share.

We deplore these statements and publications and urge Your Excellency's government to take all those responsible to task under law of the land in the interest of inter-faith harmony, better integration and Denmark's overall relations with Muslim world. We rest assured that you will take all steps necessary.

Given the sensitive nature of the matter, we request an urgent meeting at Your convenience. An early response would be greatly appreciated.

Please accept, Excellency, best wishes and assurances of our highest consideration.

(signed by eleven Ambassadors/Representatives)

CC: H.E. Mr. Per Stig Møller, Foreign Minister, Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Copenhagen, Denmark.

(Seal) THE PRIME MINISTER
Copenhagen, 21 October 2005
List of recipients attached

Your Excellencies

Thank you very much for your letter of 12 October 2005.

The Danish society is based on respect for the freedom of expression, on religious tolerance and on equal standards for all religions. The freedom of expression is the very foundation of the Danish democracy. The freedom of expression has a wide scope and the Danish government has no means of influencing the press. However, Danish legislation prohibits acts or expressions of a blasphemous or discriminatory nature. The offended party may bring such acts or expressions to court, and it is for the courts to decide in individual cases.

I share your view that dialogue between cultures and religions needs to be based on mutual respect and understanding. There is indeed room for increasing mutual understanding between different cultures and religions.

In this regard, I have personally taken the initiative to enter into a dialogue with representatives from the Muslim communities in Denmark.

Furthermore, I would like to see the dialogue between Denmark and the Muslim world strengthened. Indeed, one of the principal objectives of the initiative 'Partnership for Progress and Reform', launched by the Danish Government in 2003, is to stimulate the dialogue between Denmark, the EU and countries in North Africa and the Middle East. The initiative explicitly aims to engage a broad spectrum of Danish institutions and organisations in partnerships with their sister organisations in the Arab world and Iran. The Partnership will in this way nurture institutional and personal friendships among our societies and increase mutual understanding of the values on which we base our societies.

Yours sincerely,
(sign) Anders Fogh Rasmussen

SPEECH BY MINISTER FOR THE ENVIRONMENT CONNIE HEDEGAARD AT A UN CONFERENCE IN MONTREAL, 7 DECEMBER 2005

Mr. President, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Why are we all here?

Why have around 10.000 people from all over the world come to this place?

Well, we are all here with a hope to contribute to tackle one of the most urgent environmental challenges of our generation: To combat climate change – and every single one of us has a responsibility. A common but differentiated responsibility.

Developed countries of course do have a historical responsibility to take the lead in the global emissions reduction efforts. And by implementing the Kyoto Protocol the first step is being taken.

Denmark intends to fully comply with our substantial reduction commitments of 21 %. We have already implemented comprehensive policies and measures, and we will continue to do so.

But we all need to initiate a fundamental shift towards a low carbon economy. This will require substantial efforts from all parts of society. However, I firmly believe that these efforts will entail long-term economical and environmental benefits.

The informal ministerial dialogue that Denmark initiated in Greenland this summer showed the readiness of key ministers from all over the world to engage in an open-minded discussion on the future climate regime.

In Greenland we concluded that the world cannot afford inaction. The choice we face is only between various different courses of action. We also recommended that a process for the future should be established here in Montreal.

In order to accomplish our common goal we need to recognise that a major share of the world emissions are not covered by the commitments by Annex 1 Parties to the Kyoto Protocol. And this share is likely to increase in the future, not least because of the legitimate economical development in developing countries.

We look forward to engage in a discussion with all Parties, including the US and major developing countries such as China and India, with the aim of preparing further credible steps towards reaching the ultimate objective of the Convention. And we need decisions to be taken in good time before 2012 as we need to decide on a time table.

Current and future globally leading countries – economically and politically – have an obligation to take on responsibility – they also need to show the way.

Luckily there are movements in the right direction. And on behalf of the Danish government I would like to thank developing countries such as Argentina, Brazil, South Africa, Mexico and China for positive messages it is of great importance to the future process.

A few days ago a Danish film director addressed the notion of urgency here. How to make the world act according to the urgency? And used a picture: 'If', he said, 'we knew that the globe would explode tomorrow unless we all turned off the light, all of us would rush to do so immediately'.

Now, to avoid devastating effects of climate change, there is an urgent need to act now and in the years and decades to come. If not, consequences will be devastating for generations to come.

The globe is not 'exploding' tomorrow – but the role of you and me as politicians is clear. We are the ones to take leadership. We are the ones to act according to the urgency.

Because climate change is here – it is not a theoretical threat, some of us saw it at first hand in Greenland and we experience it all over. We cannot afford to hesitate.

So let us unite in a forward looking vision that we can all be proud of.

I thank you very much for your attention.

SPEECH BY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS PER STIG MØLLER AT THE HONG KONG WTO MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE 16 DECEMBER 2005

Speaking on behalf of the Kingdom of Denmark including Greenland and the Faeroe Islands, I would like to thank the Authorities of Hong Kong for hosting this conference.

In a little more than 48 hours our meeting will be over. We must all work hard to get a positive result. People and enterprises all over the world stand to gain – in particular in developing countries. And concluding this Round would strengthen the multilateral trading system – strengthen the WTO as one of the cornerstones of the international political scene, contributing to a more peaceful and stable world.

In short: The Doha Development Round is a historic opportunity for embracing globalisation, which is easy to do in theory, but much harder to do in practise. This goes for both developed and developing countries. Thus, this ministerial is being conducted against a changing world landscape, with neo-protectionism looming – and with unequal opportunities for reaping the benefits of globalisation.

The answer is not resorting to protectionism because: Protectionism impedes growth, stifles competition and innovation – and is simply a short-term unfair solution, which in the end leads to no positive result.

The answer is to grasp the new opportunities, which free and fair trade will give. We must use the development package to secure that also the least developed countries will profit from these new opportunities of free and fair trade.

Obviously, to many developing countries protectionism is not even an option. In fact, some of these countries barely have anything to protect.

Therefore, in order to lift the world out of poverty and as we strive for the Millennium Goals, we must make sure this Round becomes a true development round contributing to a reduction of inequality among states. We must decide already at this meeting on a substantial development package, which can assist governments in developing trade capacity and in combating poverty and, where necessary, ensure the relevant compensations.

Such a package should include a decision on duty and quota free market access for all Least Developed Countries – as the EU has already offered in its Everything But Arms initiative. Not least because of this initiative, the EU is today by far the biggest importer of products from the LDCs. We would like to see all developed countries too commit themselves here in Hong Kong to a similar undertaking, including all products and all LDC's.

Another important element of a Hong Kong Development package should be a commitment from developed countries on more and a better coordinated trade related technical assistance. Without such assistance, in particular many LDCs might not be able to exploit better market opportunities and truly integrate into the global economy.

However, agreeing on such a development package would not be enough. We need to see a clear Roadmap for further negotiations on all issues, including environment and sustainable development in fisheries, and other sectors, which must be concluded next year. We would also like to see further progress on the dialogue between the WTO and the ILO on workers' rights.

On agriculture, we must strike a balance between the diverse interests of all WTO members. The European Union has put forward a very substantial proposal, in order to ensure a much more liberal world trade in agricultural products.

However, modern societies do not only consist of agriculture. Industry and in particular services are becoming more and more important sectors in our economies. A free world trade must therefore also deal with NAMA and services, but on NAMA and services in particular, negotiations have not yet progressed sufficiently. A final agreement on the Doha round should also lead to an intensified South-South trade and to trade facilitation in general.

The aim of this conference is not to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. The aim is to secure that everybody benefits and poverty is reduced.

According to some economists, the Uruguay Round added around 400 billion USD to world GDP. A successful Doha Round could achieve increase in global incomes of more than 500 billion USD. Here in Hong Kong, we have a possibility to work for a rise in common welfare and a common cause. Let us not close this window of opportunity.

Thank you for your attention.

Chapter 3

Danish Foreign Policy in Figures

Danish Official Development Assistance

Danish ODA · 200

Danish ODA (by category, gross) · 200

Danish Bilateral Assistance (by country category) · 200

Assistance to Eastern Europe

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DANISH OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

Danish Official Development Assistance (ODA) 2002-2005

(Current prices – million DKK)	2002	2003	2004	2005
ODA net disbursement	10,621.8	10,453.2	10,349.3	10,973.5

Danish ODA – by category (gross): The Finance Act 2005

	Million DKK	Percentage
Bilateral assistance	6,379.2	59.6
Multilateral assistance	4,329.1	40.4
Administration costs	-	-
Total	10,708.3	100

Danish Bilateral Assistance (by country category) 2002-2005

		2002	2003	2004	2005
Least developed Countries	Million DKK	2,772.7	2,838.4	2,861.4	3,088.4
	Per cent	47.2%	49.0%	47.3%	42.7%
Low income Countries	Million DKK	1,532.6	1,585.5	1,823.0	2,329.2
	Per cent	26.1%	27.4%	30.1%	32.2%
Other developing Countries	Million DKK	713.0	531.4	730.7	285.0
	Per cent	14.3%	9.2%	12.1%	3.9%
Other	Million DKK	858.1	834.7	639.7	1,527.3
	Per cent	14.6%	14.4%	10.5%	21.2%
Total	Million DKK	5,876.4	5,789.9	6,054.8	7,229.9
	Per cent	100.0%	100%	100%	100.0%

NOTE: From the fiscal year of 2005 onward, extraordinary humanitarian assistance is included in the bilateral assistance.

Source: Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs

ASSISTANCE TO EASTERN EUROPE

Danish Official Development Assistance to Eastern Europe (by country)

Disbursements 2005

Recipient Country	DKK	Percentage
Albania	2.033.742	2.0%
Belarus	4.766.365	4.8%
Bosnia-Herzegovina	6.813.011	6.9%
Croatia	3.917.215	3.9%
FYROM	96.637	0.1%
Georgia	2.647.560	2.7%
Moldova	5.462.628	5.5%
Serbia-Montenegro	47.556.116	47.8%
Turkey	6.718.865	6.8%
Ukraine	19.444.887	19.6%
Total	99.457.026	100.0%

Source: *Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs*

The figures do not include development assistance administered by parts of the Neighbourhood Programme outside the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

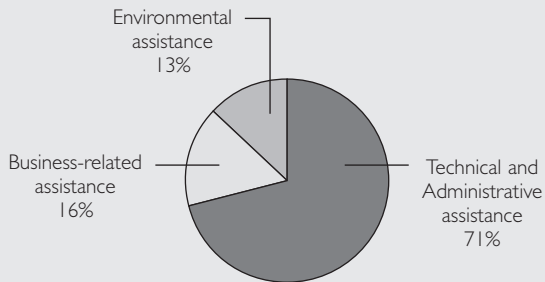
ASSISTANCE TO EASTERN EUROPE

Danish Official Development Assistance to Eastern Europe (by main sector)

Disbursements 2005

Of this:	DKK
Environmental assistance	12.754.554
Business-related assistance	15.640.193
Technical and Administrative assistance	71.062.279
Total bilateral assistance	99.457.026

Percentage



Source: Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The figures do not include development assistance administered by parts of the Neighbourhood Programme outside the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

DEFENCE

Defence Expenditures to International Missions

Disbursements 2005

(This year's prices – million DKK)	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Participation in UN, OSCE, NATO and other multilateral missions ¹	1.045,2	1.090,4	1.009,6	900	914,4
NATO ²	650,8	726,0	717,9	772,4	714,2
International Security Cooperation ³	104,2	92,5	124,3	90	85,8
International expenditures in total	1.800,20	1.908,90	1.851,80	1.762,40	1.714,40

Notes:

1. From 2005 only additional expenditures are included in the figures, excluding notably basic salaries;
2. Includes 'special expenditures regarding NATO' plus expenditures for NATO staff (net).
3. The 2004 figure includes budget figures and accumulated reserves from previous years. For 2002-2004 account numbers have been used. For 2005-2006 budget numbers have been used.

Source: The Danish Ministry of Defence

EU

Financing of the EU Budget 2006 (official exchange rate)

	Billion euro	Percentage
Austria	2,381	2.15%
Belgium	4,442	4.01%
Cyprus	0,171	0.16%
Czech Republic	1,132	1.02%
Denmark	2,225	2.01%
Estonia	0,112	0.10%
Finland	1,638	1.48%
France	18,185	16.43%
Germany	22,755	20.56%
Greece	2,039	1.84%
Hungary	1,002	0.91%
Ireland	1,528	1.38%
Italy	15,155	13.69%
Latvia	0,144	0.13%
Lithuania	0,238	0.22%
Luxembourg	0,262	0.24%
Malta	0,054	0.05%
Netherlands	5,757	5.20%
Poland	2,595	2.34%
Portugal	1,501	1.36%
Slovakia	0,424	0.38%
Slovenia	0,315	0.29%
Spain	9,888	8.93%
Sweden	3,008	2.72%
United Kingdom	13,706	12.38%
Total	110,671	100%

Source: *EU-Tidende*

Chapter 4

Opinion Polls

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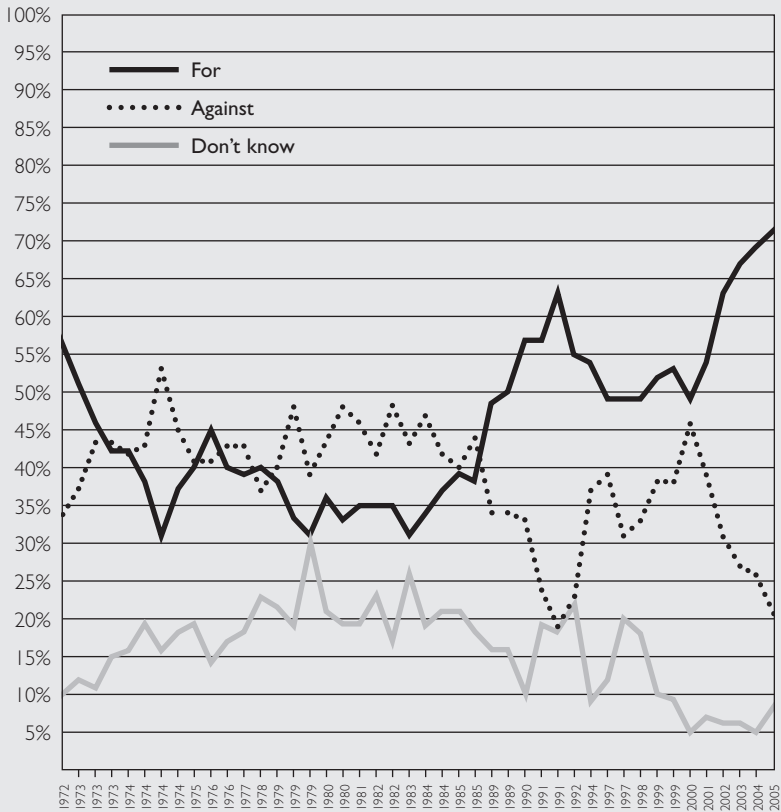
Danish Foreign Policy and the US · 218

EU

Since 1972, *Gallup* in cooperation with *Berlingske Tidende* has polled a representative sample of the Danish population (717 respondents aged 18 or older in 2005) concerning their attitude towards Danish membership of the EC/EU. The latest opinion poll was undertaken during the period 1-3 March 2005.

Question:

Are you for or against Danish membership of the European Union?



Source: *Gallup* for *Berlingske Tidende*

THE CONSTITUTIONAL TREATY (I)

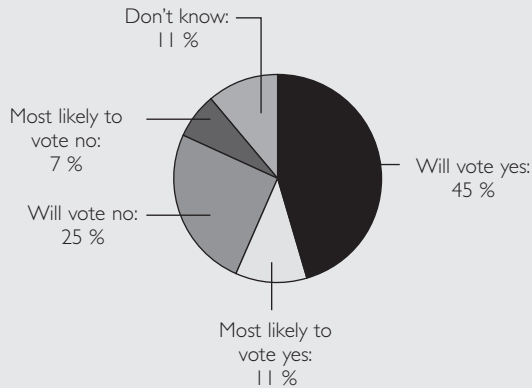
During the period 26 April - 18 May 2005, *Gallup* in cooperation with *Berlingske Tidende* polled a representative sample of the Danish population (3023 people aged 18 or older) concerning their attitude towards the EU Constitutional Treaty.

Question 1:

On the 27th of September 2005 a referendum is held concerning Denmark's accession to the treaty on the EU Constitution. Will you vote yes or no for Denmark acceding to the Treaty on the EU Constitution?

Question 2 [to voters who answered 'Don't know']:

Even though you don't know whether you will vote yes or no, is it possible for you to say whether it is most likely that you will vote yes or no?



THE CONSTITUTIONAL TREATY (2)

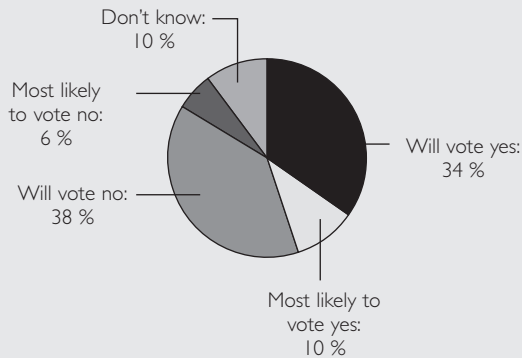
During the period 31 May - 2 June 2005, *Gallup* in cooperation with *Berlingske Tidende* polled a representative sample of the Danish population (984 people aged 18 or older) concerning their attitude towards the EU Constitutional Treaty after the French no.

Question 1:

On the 27th of September 2005 a referendum is held concerning Denmark's accession to the treaty on the EU Constitution. Will you vote yes or no for Denmark acceding to the Treaty on the EU Constitution?

Question 2 [to voters who answered 'Don't know']:

Even though you don't know whether you will vote yes or no, is it possible for you to say whether it is most likely that you will vote yes or no?

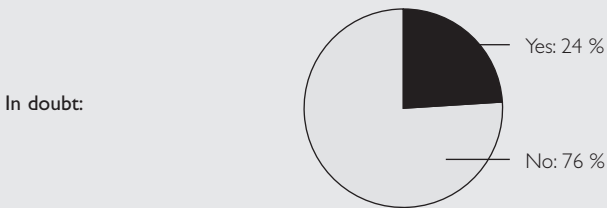
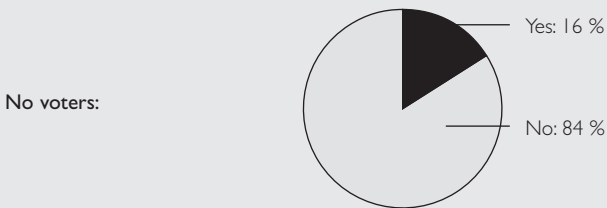
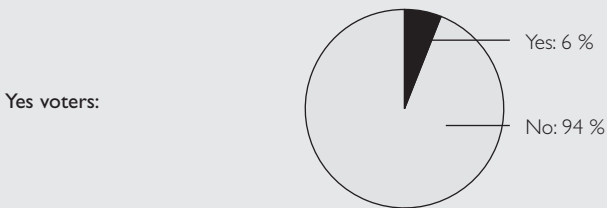
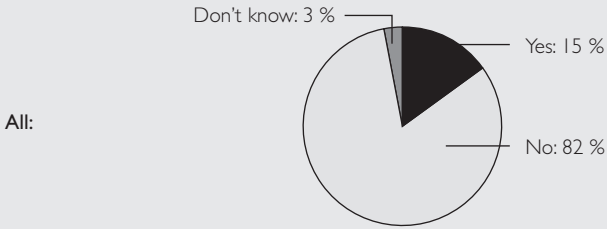


THE CONSTITUTIONAL TREATY (3)

Question 3:

Sunday, May the 29th, a majority of the French voters rejected the EU-constitution.

Has this result influenced your opinion about the EU-constitution?



THE PERIOD OF REFLECTION (I)

In December 2005, *Catinét* in cooperation with *Rizgau* polled a representative sample of the Danish population (1052 people aged 18 or older) concerning their attitude towards a new Constitutional Treaty.

Question:

Do you think the EU needs a new Constitutional Treaty?

	A Social Democrats	B Social Liberals	C Conservative Party	F Socialist People's Party	O Danish People's Party	V Liberal Party	Ø Red-Green Alliance	Other answers	Total
Yes	43.8 %	58.7 %	53.3 %	54.7 %	45.3 %	45.4 %	31.3 %	37.3 %	46.1 %
No	21.4 %	20.8 %	12.8 %	25.8 %	31.3 %	24.7 %	48.6 %	26.9 %	23.9 %
Don't know	34.8 %	20.6 %	33.8 %	19.5 %	23.4 %	29.9 %	20.1 %	35.8 %	30.1 %

THE PERIOD OF REFLECTION (2)

Question:

Question: Do you think a new Constitutional Treaty will ...

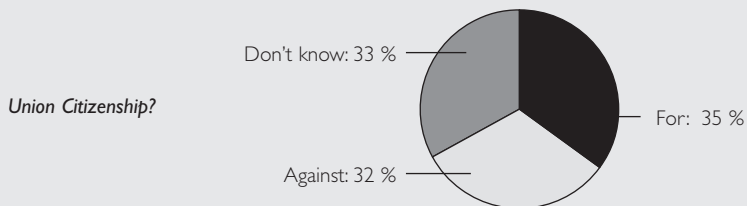
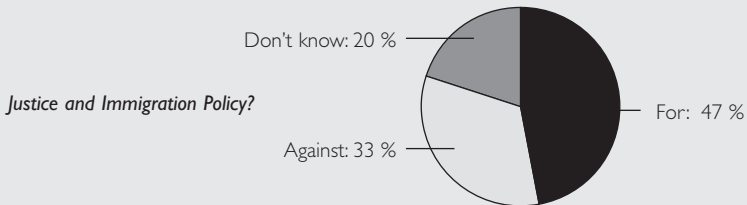
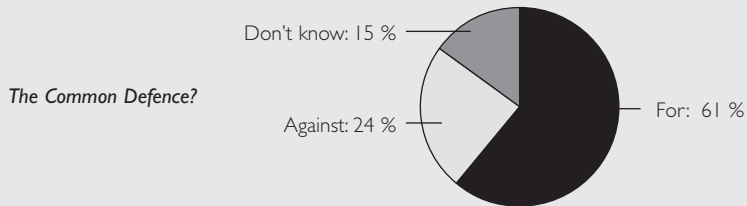
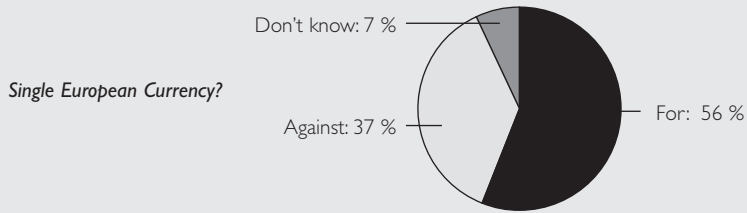
	A Social Democrats	B Social Liberals	C Conservative Party	F Socialist People's Party	O Danish People's Party	V Liberal Party	Ø Red-Green Alliance	Other answers	Total
Strengthen Denmark in the EU	2.10 %	28.4 %	29.1 %	22.3 %	18.3 %	27.5 %	18.1 %	15.3 %	23.0 %
Weaken Denmark in the EU	18.9 %	9.7 %	12.7 %	29.1 %	27.5 %	16.4 %	47.1 %	13.8 %	18.0 %
Neither nor	39.5 %	50.6 %	37.8 %	33.3 %	31.8 %	40.6 %	34.8 %	38.6 %	39.2 %
Don't know	20.7 %	11.3 %	20.4 %	15.3 %	22.4 %	15.5 %	-	32.3 %	19.8 %

THE DANISH EU OPT-OUTS

During the period 1-3 March 2005, Gallup in cooperation with Berlingske Tidende polled a representative sample of the Danish population (717 people aged 18 or older) concerning their attitudes towards the four Danish opt-outs ...

Question:

Are you for or against Denmark's participation in the ...



ENLARGEMENT OF THE EU

In September 2005, *Catinét*, in cooperation with *Ritzau*, polled a representative sample of the Danish population (1063 people aged 18 or older) concerning their attitudes towards the European Union's membership negotiations with Turkey.ew Constitutional Treaty.

Question:

Do you think the European Union the on 3 October shall start negotiations with Turkey on accession to the EU?

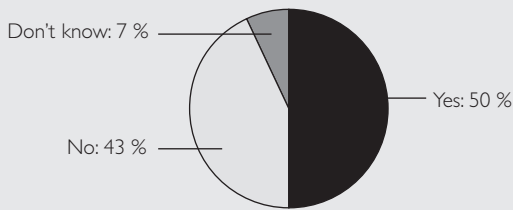
	A Social Democrats	B Social Liberals	C Conservative Party	F Socialist People's Party	O Danish People's Party	V Liberal Party	Ø Red-Green Alliance	Other answers	Total
Yes	33.6 %	64.0 %	38.9 %	46.4 %	12.0 %	29.3 %	55.2 %	24.8 %	33.1 %
No	54.4 %	23.6 %	45.6 %	43.4 %	79.2 %	55.6 %	42.5 %	56.0 %	52.4 %
Don't know	12.0 %	12.5 %	15.6 %	10.2 %	8.9 %	15.1 %	2.3 %	19.2 %	14.5 %

IRAQ

During the period 8-10 July 2005, Gallup in cooperation with *Berlingske Tidende* polled a representative sample of the Danish population (1004 people aged 18 or older) concerning their attitudes towards the situation in Iraq.

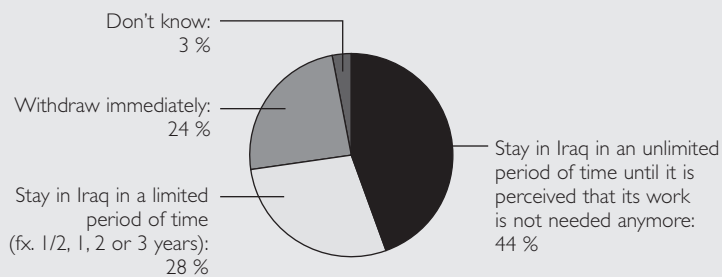
Question:

Do you think it was the right decision to participate actively in the war against Iraq with soldiers and materials?



Question:

Do you think it was the right decision to participate actively in the war against Iraq with soldiers and materials?



Source: Gallup for *Berlingske Tidende*

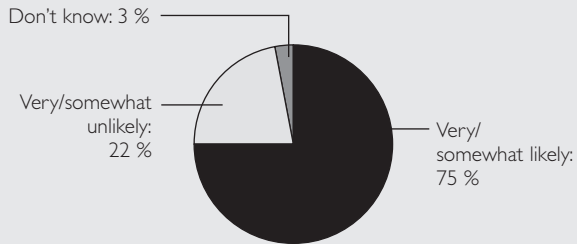
TERRORISM (I)

During the period 8-10 July 2005, *Gallup* in cooperation with *Berlingske Tidende* polled a representative sample of the Danish population (1004 persons aged 18 or older) concerning their attitudes towards terror.

Denmark as a target for terrorist acts

Question:

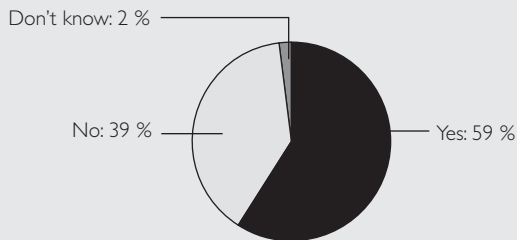
How likely do you think it is that Denmark will be a target for terrorist acts conducted by fundamentalist, Islamic groups within the next couple of years?



Denmark as a target for terrorist acts

Question:

How likely do you think it is that Denmark will be a target for terrorist acts conducted by fundamentalist, Islamic groups within the next couple of years?

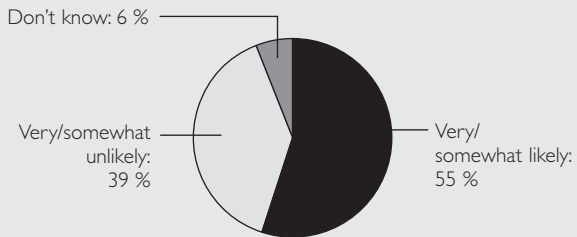


TERRORISM (2)

The scope of the conflict

Question:

Question: How likely do you think it is that the conflict between parts of the western world and fundamentalist Islamic groups develops into a global crisis with war in more areas than today?



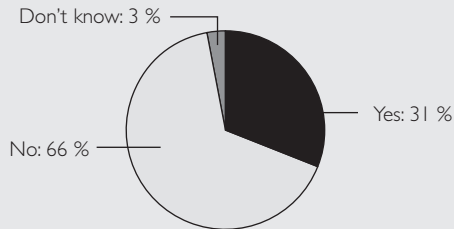
PRESIDENT BUSH VISITING DENMARK

During the period 8-10 July 2005, *Gallup* in cooperation with *Berlingske Tidende* polled a representative sample of the Danish population (1004 persons aged 18 or older) concerning their attitudes towards the visit to Denmark by President Bush.

Terror

Question:

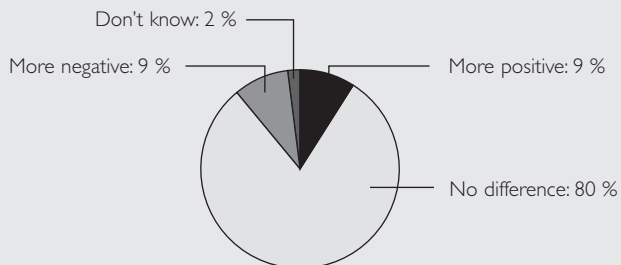
Do you think that the chance of Denmark being hit by terrorist acts has grown because of the visit to Denmark by President Bush earlier this week?



The feelings towards President Bush

Question:

Did you become more positive or more negative towards President Bush after his visit to Denmark

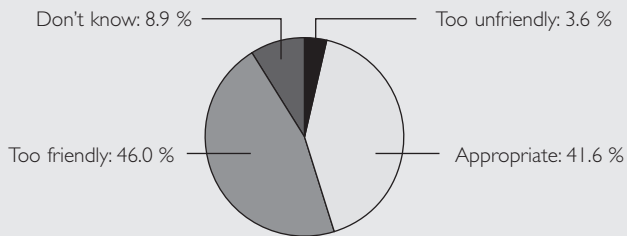


DANISH FOREIGN POLICY AND THE US

In June 2005, *Catinét* in cooperation with *Ritzau* polled a representative sample of the Danish population (1020 persons aged 15 or older) concerning their attitudes regarding Danish foreign policy towards the US.

Question:

What is your opinion on Denmark's foreign policy towards USA?



Chapter 5

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