



DANISH
FOREIGN POLICY
YEARBOOK
2006

EDITED BY NANNA HVIDT AND HANS MOURITZEN

DANISH INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

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Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook

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Preface

Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2006 is the tenth volume of the yearbook in its present form. This year, we have recruited and organized an 'Editorial Advisory Board' consisting of 17 distinguished experts, Danish and international, on the yearbook's topic (see table). Their task is to advise the editors regarding the selection of future academic topics and authors, as well as the refereeing of submitted drafts.

As previously, the volume focuses on Danish foreign policy and Denmark's position within an international and a transnational context – at the regional as well as the global level. Apart from the official outline of Denmark's 2005 foreign policy by the permanent secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ulrik Federspiel, we have included scholarly articles by Andrey Makarychev, Eric Einhorn, Thorsten Borring Olesen, and Hans Mouritzen, who represent only themselves and their academic expertise. The scholarly articles are abstracted, both in English and Danish, at the outset of chapter one.

Then follows a small selection of official documents which we consider to be pioneering or characteristic of Danish foreign policy during 2005. This is supplemented by essential statistics on Danish foreign policy, as well as some of the most relevant polls on the attitude of the Danish population on key foreign policy questions. A bibliography then offers a limited selection of scholarly books, articles, and chapters published in 2005 in English, German or French dealing with the yearbook's topic.

The editors of *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook* are director Nanna Hvidt and senior research fellow, dr.scient.pol. Hans Mouritzen. Morten Lihn Jørgensen and Ulla Rødgaard have provided editorial assistance for this volume. Robert Parkin has been our linguistic consultant.

The editors
DIIS, Copenhagen
May 2006

Chapter I

Articles

ABSTRACTS OF SCHOLARLY ARTICLES IN ENGLISH AND DANISH

The 'Big Other' and the 'Small Other': Discursive Asymmetries and Cleavages in Russian-Danish Relations

Andrey S. Makarychev

Russian-Danish relations are analysed from the viewpoint of a constructivist approach to the conduct of foreign policy, diplomacy and international relations. Two case studies are carried out: one regarding the concept of Europe, and one regarding security policy. Various differences notwithstanding regarding the concept of Europe, the comparison uncovers a surprisingly similar attachment to 'nation-stateness' in policy statements from the two sides. The section on security policy dissects the distinctive approaches of Denmark and Russia to terrorism and its security threats. Key policy makers in each country read the 'threat' in different ways and therefore prescribe different counter-measures. This has impacted directly and publicly upon bilateral relations. Nonetheless, the article argues that there are means by which the two sides may overcome their basic conceptual differences in developing a common language and approach.

De russisk-danske relationer analyseres med udgangspunkt i en konstruktivistisk tilgang til udenrigspolitik, diplomati og international politik. Der udføres to case-studier: en om landenes Europa-opfattelse og en om sikkerhedspolitik. En række forskelle ufor-

talt vedrørende Europa-opfattelse viser sammenligningen af udtalelser fra de to lande en overraskende lighed i bindingen til nationalstatstænkning. Studiet af sikkerhedspolitik undersøger Danmarks og Ruslands tilgange til terrorismen og dens sikkerheds-trusler. Noglebeslutningstagere i de to lande læser 'truslen' forskelligt og anbefaler derfor forskellige modforholdsregler. Dette har direkte og synligt påvirket de bilaterale relationer. Ikke desto mindre argumenterer artiklen for, at parterne kan overvinde deres grundlæggende forskellige opfattelser i udviklingen af en fælles begrebsramme og tilgang.

Social Defense and National Security: The Globalized Danish Welfare State

Eric S. Einhorn

The complex forces of interdependence and globalization have forced Denmark and other advanced welfare states to rethink the components of national security policy. In addition to concerns about traditional threats of force are the destabilizing effects of global economic, health, migrative and other developments. A traditionally broad concept of 'social defense' – of a strong society capable of full participation in European and world affairs – contributes to an appropriate multidimensional national security policy and to sustainable economic and social policies, despite the limitations on the resources and power of a small state. As illustrated by the 'cartoon crisis' of 2005-06, adjustment to a multiethnic and globalized society will be the security issue of the coming decade.

Interdependensens og globaliseringens komplekse kræfter har tvunget Danmark og andre fremstående velfærdsstater til at gentænke den nationale sikkerhedspolitik. I tillæg til trusler om traditionel magtanvendelse er kommet de destabiliserende virkninger af global økonomi, sundhedstilstand, migration m.v. Et traditionelt bredt begreb om 'samfundsmæssigt forsvar' – et stærkt samfund, der er i stand til at deltage fuldt ud i europæiske og globale anliggender – bidrager til en hensigtsmæssig flerdimensional national sikkerhedspolitik og til bærbare økonomiske og sociale politikker, trods de ressource- og magtbegrænsninger som en småstat er bundet af. Som illustreret af 'tegningskrisen' 2005-06 vil tilpasning til et multiethnisk og globalt samfund blive det næste tiårs overordnede sikkerhedsproblem.

Truth on Demand: Denmark and the Cold War

Thorsten Borring Olesen

The article is structured in two layers. The outer layer demonstrates, how the intense fight over the interpretation of the Cold War has elicited a series of government sponsored investigations into various aspects of Danish Cold War history, but also documents that this process has been accompanied by intensified and manifest attempts to mastermind and exploit these investigations for (party)political ends. The inner layer focuses on the four volume white book *Danmark under den Kolde Krig* [*Denmark during the Cold War*] produced by a research team at the 'Danish Institute for International Studies' and published in the summer of 2005. The findings of the white book are presented and discussed, and so is the heated debate which has followed in the wake of its publication.

Artiklen er struktureret i to lag. Det ydre lag demonstrerer, hvordan den intense kamp om tolkningen af den Kolde Krig har ført til nedsættelsen af adskillige kommissioner og undersøgelses- og forskningsgrupper med den opgave at kulegrave forskellige aspekter af den danske koldkrigshistorie. Denne proces har været ledsaget af åbenlyse forsøg på at påvirke og tilrettelægge undersøgelser og forskning efter (parti)politiske hensyn. Det indre lag fokuserer på den fire binds hvidbog 'Danmark under den Kolde Krig', som en forskergruppe ved DIIS fremlagde i sommeren 2005. Hvidbogen og dens konklusioner præsenteres og diskuteres, ligesom den efterfølgende, ganske ophedede, debat om rapporten behandles.

A Hundred Years of Danish Action Space

Hans Mouritzen

Facilitated by a recent publication explosion on the history of Danish foreign policy, as well by the constellation theory of state behaviour, this article investigates the ups and downs of Danish foreign policy action space. Specifically, the focus is directed at nine episodes within the last 100 years, in which it became obvious that Danish external action space had changed markedly, either for the better or the worse. What methods did decision-makers use to learn about these changes, and could they themselves expand

action space? This is supplemented by an analysis of governments' *internal* action space (vis-à-vis domestic opposition) in the episodes. The golden age for Danish foreign policy action space was the period 1990-2005. Over the last 100 years, overcautiousness seems to have been more frequent than the overplaying of Denmark's hand.

Artiklen, der udforsker op- og nedture i dansk udenrigspolitisk handlefrihed, bygger på konstellationsteorien om statsadfærd og drager nytte af den publiceringsekspllosion om dansk udenrigspolitisk historie, der har fundet sted i de senere år. Fokus er specielt rettet mod ni episoder inden for de sidste 100 år, hvor dansk udenrigspolitisk handlefrihed forandrede sig markant – enten til det bedre eller værre. Hvordan bar beslutningstagerne sig ad med at erfare de stedfundne ændringer? Kunne de selv bidrage til at udvide handlefriheden? Dette suppleres med en analyse af de skiftende regerings interne handlefrihed (over for hjemlig modstand) i episoderne. Guldalderen for dansk udenrigspolitisk handlefrihed var årene 1990-2005. Set over de sidste 100 år synes overforsigtighed at have været hyppigere end det modsatte.