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# The Cartoons Crisis

Address by the Danish Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen  
on the cartoons crisis at a meeting with the ambassadors to  
Denmark, Copenhagen, 3 February 2006

Ambassadors, Your Excellencies,

Thank you for coming at such short notice. As you are well aware Denmark has been faced with protests from the Muslim world concerning the publication of drawings of the Prophet Mohammad in the independent newspaper *Jyllands-Posten*. The Minister for Foreign Affairs and I have invited you today to inform you on the facts of the matter as well as the position of the Government of Denmark.

The drawings were brought in the newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* in late September 2005. In October I received from 11 ambassadors representing Muslim countries a letter in which they referred to the drawings and to other public statements. They requested a meeting and called on me to take action in the matter.

In my response to the 11 ambassadors I clarified the position of the Danish Government vis-à-vis the publications. I emphasised the need for mutual respect and tolerance between countries and religions. I also made it clear that the Government could not interfere with the media nor take any legal steps against them.

As you are well aware the cartoons caused a widespread public debate during the autumn. Therefore, I devoted a large part of my New Year's Speech to the very issue of ensuring a respectful dialogue and the principle of freedom of expression.

In the speech, I made it clear that I condemn any expression, action or indication that attempts to demonise groups of people on the basis of their religion or ethnic background. It is the sort of thing that does not belong in a society that is based on respect for the individual human being.

As you, Ambassadors, have witnessed during your stay in Denmark, the freedom of expression has a wide scope here. The Danes are known for presenting their views in a frank and straightforward manner. We also use

humour and satire, especially when questioning authorities. And in our culture of debate, we consider humour and satire a softening and mollifying way of expression. And certainly not an insulting way of expressing oneself.

However, as I pointed out in my New Year's Speech we should always use the freedom of expression with mutual respect and understanding.

At first, my call for respect and tolerance was well received among Muslim communities in Denmark and abroad.

However, the situation escalated a couple of weeks ago. It was indisputable that many Muslims have been hurt and offended by the drawings. At the same time, misinformation was starting to spread.

Therefore, I was pleased that the newspaper Jyllands-Posten three days ago apologized to the Muslim world for the offence caused by the drawings. I hope this will bring comfort to those people that have been hurt. I am deeply distressed that many Muslims have seen the drawings in the newspaper as a defamation of the Prophet Mohammad.

On Tuesday, I made a statement, where I made it clear that the Danish Government respects Islam as one of the world's major religions. I also emphasised that the government has no intention to insult Muslims and does not support such activities. I have also made it clear that personally I would never depict any religious figure in a way that could hurt other people's feelings.

Yesterday, I appeared on the Al Arabiya satellite TV channel to explain the situation directly to people in Saudi Arabia and other parts of the Arab world.

I sincerely hope that we have reached a point where we can return to a constructive dialogue between the people of Denmark and the Muslim world.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs will inform you on all the diplomatic measures being taken by Denmark. The Foreign Minister will also give you a broad outline of the Wider Middle East initiative launched by the government two years ago to strengthen the very dialogue with the Arab World.

Already now I want to thank all those that personally or on behalf of their governments have shown us solidarity and worked with us in a constructive way to solve this crisis. I want to emphasise that our gratitude goes to representatives of both Muslim and non-Muslim countries. It is my sin-

cere hope, that you will all take part in our endeavours to re-establish and strengthen the relations between our cultures.

We are faced with a problem, which can grow to a more global problem. The cartoons have now been reprinted in a number of newspapers all over Europe. And if the protests in the streets escalate further we may be faced with unpredictable repercussions in all the affected countries.

Therefore, I think we have a common interest in calming down feelings and in settling this affair.

As you know, the present situation has caused a heated debate in Denmark as well. I have called on all parties to abstain from any statement or action that will create further tension. I have called on representatives of the Muslim communities – including religious authorities – to convey the same message to fellow Muslims in Denmark and abroad. I have also asked the same people to help us correct the vast amount of misinformation that we have seen in the press in a number of countries.

On a final note allow me to look ahead. It may seem premature, as we do not know exactly how this will develop. Nevertheless, we do know that the debate on the very basic principles will continue. We are now witnessing a heated public debate here in Denmark and Europe as well as in Muslim countries. It is evident that we are dealing with core values in democracies and religious societies.

The real challenge is to avoid a clash of those values. We all have a responsibility to ensure that this does not happen. It is my firm belief that the only way ahead is a dialogue that allows us to strengthen our insight and understanding of each other.

Mutual understanding is a must in today's globalized world. For centuries, Denmark has been a firm supporter of free trade and exchange of ideas as a way to foster friendship and prosperity between all nations. Increasingly, the media, information technology and migration stimulate that development. It also makes us acutely aware of events taking place in far away countries. And it makes us sensitive to misinformation.

Freedom of expression and freedom of the press are the very cornerstones of any democratic society. I firmly believe that it is the very right to ques-

tion the status quo that allows a society to develop and prosper.

But freedom of expression should always be combined with freedom of religion and respect between religions and cultures. Those are fundamental values in the Danish society – and in many other societies.

The same basic values should guide the relations between our nations and cultures. I believe that the free exchange of goods and ideas while – at the same time – understanding and tolerating the view of other people and cultures, would allow us all to benefit from today's globalized world.

## The Cartoons Crisis

Address by the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs Per Stig Møller on the cartoons crisis at a meeting with the ambassadors to Denmark, Copenhagen, 3 February 2006

I would also like to thank you very much for coming here on such a short notice and even more I would like to thank our Muslim friends for coming here today on the day of the Friday prayer.

The essence of my diplomatic efforts has been not to widen the Mediterranean Sea, but to continue to build political, cultural and economical bridges.

In order to explain the Government's view we have had contacts with political and religious leaders as well as trade associations. We have tried to reach the "Arab Street" through interviews on satellite networks and the printed press in the Arab world.

We have also been in contact with important international leaders and organisations. In this week we have raised the issue with our EU partners, the US Secretary of State Rice, and the UN Secretary General Annan as well as several leaders in the Arab and Muslim world.

At this stage we will continue to pursue our efforts to normalize the relations with our neighbours in the Arab world. We must continue to do our utmost to stop the consumer driven boycott of Danish products in the Arab world. I am very happy that the boycott is not Government sponsored.

I highly appreciate the appeals - by for example the Grand Mufti in Jerusalem - for calm. The threat against Danish and other European citizens is utterly unacceptable, which was also made very clear at the EU Foreign Ministers' meeting early this week. Only the extremists would have anything to gain from hostility and unrest.

Unfortunately, there has been a lot of misinformation raising concern in the Muslim world. Let me make one thing very clear. It is unfounded. As an example there have in recent days been press reports on the burning of the Koran tomorrow. If somebody takes such a totally unacceptable and repulsive initiative it will be a criminal act and the police will of course intervene and prosecute any perpetrator. But the misinformation is also going the

other way. We have seen examples of references to the Danish Queen as being islamophobic. It is not worth even commenting on this.

I sincerely hope that we can get back to the long historic tradition of friendship and good relations that has always characterized the relations between Denmark and the Muslim world. Denmark highly appreciates the cooperation and the dialogue with several Muslim countries in the Arab world under the Programme for Partnership and Reform. Over the last years numerous good contacts between Danes and Arabs have been established. We hope that this cooperation and dialogue will grow stronger and we will get back to business as usual.

Denmark clearly sees no need for this dialogue and cooperation on reform to be stopped, postponed or the cancellation of specific activities. The recent events have clearly shown that there is a need for more dialogue and more mutual understanding, which are clear objectives of the Programme.

It is an essential part of the bilateral part of our programme that the reform processes supported by Denmark are based on the wishes of the governments, local authorities and civil societies. We co-operate closely in this work.

However, our Programme does not only have a bilateral track. One of the most important multilateral elements is the “Euro-Mediterranean Partnership” with the countries around the Mediterranean Sea, also called the EU Barcelona process. At the 10th Anniversary late last year the participating countries stressed the need for more political and economic reforms in the Mediterranean area as well as a need for enhanced dialogue. The Danish Government fully supports these political objectives.

Another recent initiative that Denmark fully supports and takes part in is the G8 initiative “Forum for the Future”. The objective is to maintain the international attention on reforms and democracy as well as to create economic growth in the whole Arab region. That Denmark was invited to participate in this initiative must be seen as recognition of the Danish efforts for peace and democracy in the Middle East.

Moreover, the peace process in the Middle East is a clear Danish priority. The Road Map for Peace – that we helped to facilitate – is still the foundation for this process and the goal is still clear: A two state solution with two states living side by side in peace and security.

After the recent expansion of the EU to the East and the South, the Arab countries are truly our new neighbours. We are looking forward to strengthening our ties with these countries in the coming years. I refuse to believe that the recent events will change this course. The broad people-to-people dialogue must lead to a better mutual cultural understanding and contribute to breaking down the many prejudices and misunderstandings so obviously still existing on both sides of what should be common Sea.

What we need across the Mediterranean is not antagonizing foes, but co-operating friends. What we need between the different cultures of the world is not animosity but generosity.

# Globalisation

Opening Remarks by the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs Per Stig Møller entitled “Challenges of Globalisation” at the first meeting of the Danish Advisory Board on Globalisation, Copenhagen, 31 March 2006

I am very pleased to welcome you to Copenhagen and to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs today. I know some of you have travelled far to be here. I would like to thank you all for joining the Advisory Board.

We believe, we are the first – or definitely among the very first – foreign services to launch such a study on the impact of globalisation and based on foreign and national expert advice and guidance. We know, however, that State Department and the UK Foreign Service are also thinking along some of the same lines, as I will mention later.

Obviously, globalisation is not a new phenomenon. The difference now – as compared to previous waves of globalisation – is that international prerogatives of national governments are being challenged by political globalisation.

Non-state actors are becoming more and more influential on the global scene. Because of globalisation, boundaries between domestic and foreign policy are fading. And because of globalisation, what may be seen as a domestic issue in one part of the world can trigger unintended actions in other parts of the world. In Denmark, we are currently learning our lesson – the hard way.

The global game has changed. To my mind, it is high time that we recognise that Foreign Ministries must change in order to effectively develop international policies and deliver on the global ambitions of their governments.

Personally, I have for a long time been thinking and writing about globalisation, when I had more time being in opposition. I have for a long time argued that globalisation ought to be furthered. But with international rules, and with the necessary changes of structure. Inside the nation state, we have long ago developed the rule of law. But today, the globe has become so small that we now need an international rule of law to be able to live peacefully with

each other in the future. We have come to live so close to each other that some drawings in Jutland are able to set our Embassies on fire on the other side of the globe. In the good old days, a trip from Copenhagen to the island of Funen took more time than a trip from Copenhagen to New York today.

Two months ago and not long after I launched the Danish globalisation analysis at my New Year's reception, the US Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice presented her guiding principles for the transformation of US Diplomacy. I am referring to her 'Transformational Diplomacy' speech at Georgetown University. It will be interesting to see how she will reposition and restructure the State Department. Beside the large shift of diplomatic personnel away from Cold War priorities, I believe that efforts to move diplomats away from their desks and into the field may serve as inspiration to us. Again, as we say during the Cartoons Crisis, our Ambassadors had to move in other circles than they traditionally have done. They had to be in contact with what we call 'the street'. Normally, governments talk to governments, but this no longer holds true. This is why we are formulating a new strategy on Public Diplomacy.

Earlier this week, the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) launched its White Paper on 'Active Diplomacy in a Changing World'. The paper identifies a number of global trends and establishes nine priorities. Many of these themes, including the broad security concept and the multi-lateral imperative, have also been inspirational for my team.

The White Paper seems to recognise that the core business of the FCO will not strictly be high politics in the future. As a consequence of globalisation, the challenge of delivering worldwide service to British nationals is established as a priority in its own right. This is also what we had to do as a consequence of the Tsunami.

This reflects the impressive growth in international travel – be it for business or leisure. According to our analysis, this is one of the megatrends that drives the globalisation of populations. By most estimates, the number of international travels is expected to increase from some 800 million per year in 2005 to more than one and a half billion by 2020. And they will all call on their embassies, if they are in trouble. A thing like that will have an impact on Foreign Ministries – and Foreign Ministers!

The US and British analyses of globalisation build on many thoughts and ideas similar to our own. But we should keep in mind that our challenges are also quite different.

As a small and open economy, Denmark is heavily dependent on relations with the rest of the world. To this end, we have to rely on soft power measures, as described by Professor Joseph Nye, who is also a member of this panel. We have to safeguard our reputation as well as the persuasiveness and integrity of our culture. We have to consistently defend our values and ideals. We are also heavily dependent on the international structural frameworks set up by the UN, the European Union, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the World Trade Organisation and others. If we want international rule of law, we have to create it through these organisations.

A key characteristic of the Danish Foreign Service is also its so-called 'inclusiveness'. It is a feature of the Danish Foreign Service that it includes most foreign policy tools namely traditional foreign policy, security policy, European policy, trade policy, export promotion, development aid, public diplomacy, and consular services. All these policies and services are in-house. The integrated service ensures that Denmark speaks with one voice internationally. We would not have been able to manage the recent so-called cartoons crisis – as far as we have managed it – without having all these tools effectively integrated into the Foreign Ministry and embassies.

In Denmark, the political debate on globalisation is alive and vibrant. Last year the Government established a Ministerial Task Force on Globalisation. The Task Force, chaired by the Prime Minister and guided by a panel of Danish business leaders and academics, is currently finalising some three hundred recommendations on how best to prepare Denmark for the challenges of globalisation. The strategy will be launched early next month. Some of its main elements will be a sharpening of Denmark's focus on Research and Development and an upgrade of our educational system.

The strengthening of the Foreign Service is also an integral part of the overall globalisation strategy, and I can tell you that the recommendations that you make will be taken directly into account, when we present our proposals for the Government, some time before the summer break, for the next budget year.

It is a clear objective of the Government that Denmark is to remain an active player on the international scene; ready to engage in the debates on global issues, eager to influence developments, and able to set our fingerprints, where needed. Therefore, we need an effective diplomatic service, ready to tackle the challenges of globalisation and to serve the Danish people. We have to be present bilaterally as well as in multilateral fora and international coalitions, where needed.

I trust that today's meeting will make a valuable contribution to the establishment of a solid analytical framework for how we see the globalised world and the Danish engagement in this world. It is an exciting, challenging and ground-breaking exercise.

I wish you the best of luck with your discussions and I am eagerly looking forward to your recommendations and conclusions today and hope to see you again at the next and concluding meeting in May here in Copenhagen.

Thank you.

# The Muslim World

Address by the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs  
Per Stig Møller entitled “Alliance of Civilizations and the  
EU’s relationship with Muslim countries” at the seminar  
“How to Strengthen Dialogue with the Muslim World?”  
arranged by the Danish Foreign Policy Society and the Danish  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Copenhagen, 3 April 2006

Thank you Klaus (Carsten Petersen). First of all, I would like to thank my friend and [Spanish] colleague Miguel Angel Moratinos for coming here today and to thank the Danish Foreign Policy Society for organizing this meeting. I value Miguel’s views immensely. Both in his capacity as foreign minister of a country whose history since the Middle Ages has been interlinked with the Muslim world - and in his personal capacity as a renowned specialist on all aspects of the Middle East. We worked closely together in 2002 when we in the quartet elaborated the Road Map. Today, we at least have the Map, albeit we don’t have started on the Road.

I am also happy to be given this opportunity to share my own views on a subject, which - you will not be surprised to hear - I have spent considerable time dealing with lately.

As we all know, Denmark and the world were faced with a serious crisis following the publication last September of 12 drawings of the Prophet Mohammad. It was a crisis that at the end of January moved well beyond these particular 12 drawings. The dramatic, even violent events must therefore be seen in the context of the growing gap between the West and the Muslim world.

The drawings appeared at a time of deep frustration in the wider Muslim world with the West. Frustrations based on perceived injustices and claimed double standards. A generalized sense of being collectively held responsible for the actions of a few terrorists. Combine this with growing populations of young people with few prospects of jobs and education and little direct influence on the politics of their countries, and you have a highly explosive mix.

Samuel P. Huntington has analysed this dangerous mix in his famous book on the Clash of Civilizations. I do not agree that a violent clash is inevi-

table, but that it is possible to prevent this clash. We as politicians have an obligation to take the necessary measures and initiatives. The goal should not just be peaceful co-existence, we should be far more ambitious and aim to realize the vision of a close and mutually enriching partnership, which we embarked upon in Barcelona 10 years ago.

But in order to succeed we must be aware of the risks and difficulties that we are faced with. Based on statistics material Huntington has pointed out how the population composition in a number of Muslim countries are characterized by what he calls a “youth bulge”, meaning that – at some stage in their demographic development – more than 20 % of the population is composed of 15 to 24 year olds. This is the case today in countries like Syria, Yemen, Pakistan and others.

According to Huntington as well as the French scholar Gilles Kepel, the potential support for revolutionary Islamist movements reside in this group – just as it did during the French and Russian revolutions.

Huntington further posits that Islamist militants typically are young, students or intellectuals from the lower middle-class, with first generation higher education and from small towns or rural areas.

Consequently, Huntington sees a revolutionary potential in the youth bulge – a potential that in a worst-case scenario could lead to, what the US National Intelligence Council’s 2020-project calls the “New Caliphate”.

At the same time, the societies of the Muslim world are – as we are – confronted with the consequences of rapid globalisation. Here and elsewhere, the dynamics inherent in globalisation means a perceived increase in the level of uncertainty for many people. Economic uncertainty often leads to unwillingness to change. A great number of people are understandably frightened and overwhelmed by the profound changes they are faced with on a daily basis.

Muslim political leaders and scholars are by no means unaware of these dramatic challenges. On the contrary already in 1988, then crown Prince, now King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia identified the rise of Islamic fundamentalism among the Saudi youth as the greatest threat to his country. Just last month King Abdullah condemned the idea of clashes between civilizations and called on replacing it by a constructive and peaceful coexistence between civilizations. This is also what the Danish government is working for.

The last years' Arab Human Development Reports from UNDP are written by Arabs themselves and highlight a number of social and economic issues of primary importance to the question of the population composition. The reports point out that no generation of young Arabs has been as large as that of today. Furthermore, a number of noticeable factors are emphasized including high rates of illiteracy among women and a surprisingly low rate of book translations and publications. In addition, a low number of scientists and engineers work in Arab countries compared to the rest of the world.

The magnitude of the challenges should not mesmerize us into inaction and defeatism. On the contrary we must act together in order to promote the desperately needed reforms and economic growth based on educational, social and demographic improvements and constructive and peaceful interaction as called for by King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia.

This is why Denmark has always strongly supported building and sustaining economic and political development. Denmark is among the countries with the highest per capita development assistance. And our efforts have not least been directed towards the Arab World. This is convincingly illustrated by Denmark's role in the birth of the Road Map for Peace in the Middle East as well the development of the Partnership for Progress and Reform, the so-called "Arab Initiative". Also, our substantial contribution to the G8's Forum for the Future, our membership of the Fund for the Future and our support for the Alliance of Civilizations serves to underline this fact.

In short - we do not wish to proselytise, but to help in the altruistic sense of the word.

What we need across the Mediterranean is not antagonizing foes - but cooperating friends. What we need between the different cultures of the world is not animosity - but generosity.

The response to this crisis must reflect the wide array of issues that we are confronted with. It must - in other words - be approached from a multi-lateral angle. Cooperation and dialogue at all levels with the Muslim world must be strengthened and expanded.

The EU has several useful and well-adapted tools to enhance dialogue with the countries in the Middle East. In particular the Euro-Mediterranean

Partnership – also known as the Barcelona-process. The Barcelona Process is very much a result of Spanish efforts. Just last year we celebrated the 10th anniversary of this essential forum for dialogue and cooperation. The EU Strategic Partnership with the Mediterranean and the Middle East – which also includes the Gulf countries – is yet another important policy instrument for engagement with the Arab world. Let me also underline the important role by the Anna Lindh-Foundation and the promising possibilities in the Alliance of Civilizations created by the UN, Turkey and Spain.

In this context, Spain has played a pivotal role as bridge-builder and conduit for dialogue between the Muslims countries and Europe.

I am very thankful for the support and the constructive suggestions we received from my colleague Moratinos [both today and] throughout our time of need. From day one of this crisis, Denmark and Spain were on the same page concerning our analysis of the causes. What were under attack were not specifically Denmark or Danish values, but European values. Values that see strength in diversity and pluralism, in liberal rights and freedoms and in universalism and tolerance.

Globalisation means that the world grows smaller every day. In this context, peoples and cultures need to learn to live together in full mutual respect and tolerance of our diversity and differences. In Europe, we value democracy and human rights, including a wide definition of freedom of expression. Through gradual reform these values are also slowly, but surely gaining ground in the Muslim world, where in parallel in many cases a deep sense of religiosity permeates all aspects of life.

If we do not learn to live together with our differences, the clash of civilizations remains a very real risk. If you don't look the worst-case scenario in the eyes, it will hit you in the neck! Centrifugal extremists on both sides are seeking this clash. They must be stopped. We should not see the differences of the cultures of the world as a threat to mankind, but as an asset. Globalisation does not mean the dominance of one culture over others. On the contrary. Just look at this small country. Those who feared that our Danish culture would be undermined by our EU-membership and Hollywood have been proven wrong. Never before have so many books been published in Danish, and never have Danish films been so successful on the world market.

There is room enough for everybody – also in a smaller world. Indeed the richness of humanity lies in its differences. This is why Denmark supports the initiative for an “Alliance of Civilizations”. It provides a clear direction for dialogue, as well as an intention that is both practical and concrete.

Denmark intends – very concretely – to contribute to advancing the concept behind the Alliance of Civilizations. In order to address the clash and strengthen mutual dialogue, we must in common address stereotypes and prejudices. Therefore we will organise a conference on this sensitive subject in Denmark later this year.

Let me conclude by summing up my message: If the cartoon crisis was a dress rehearsal of the clash of civilizations, let’s hope that everybody hated what they saw so much that the main show will be cancelled! We Danes are ready to do our part in transforming the potential clash into an alliance of civilisations. And I look forward to continue to work towards this goal in close collaboration with my friend Miguel.

# Africa

Speech by the Danish Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen entitled “Committed Together” at the “Copenhagen Conference on Africa” arranged by the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Copenhagen, 11 May 2006

Excellencies, distinguished guests,

Let me begin by thanking our guest speakers for their substantial and valuable presentations.

I can assure you that your contributions and our discussions during the last couple of days will play a prominent role when we review our comprehensive Danish Africa Partnership Strategy in the months to come.

Now that we are reaching the end of this conference, I would like to conclude this morning’s presentations by touching on some of the issues highlighted during the conference and mentioning some immediate action that Denmark intends to take to support Africa in its own endeavours.

But first of all I would like to emphasize that – when the idea of this conference was conceived last autumn during my visit to Africa – it was first of all on the basis of the encouragement from the positive development that I experienced in Africa. It was clear to me, that good governance and progress have taken hold on the continent. At the same time it was clear that Africa needs assistance in this process to succeed.

As it has been pointed out during today’s discussions we need optimistic language. While not forgetting the huge and real challenges that we face.

Now, my comments will relate mainly to two issues:

1. Regional integration and security
2. Women’s involvement in reconstruction and development.

However, before I get to the first of these issues, I would like to make some brief, general remarks related to the fundamental matter of good governance:

The basic rationale behind the Danish partnership with Africa is to com-

bat poverty. We shall continue to do so primarily in the nine so-called programme countries and in Niger and South Africa through long-term strategic partnerships.

Both my visit to Tanzania and Mozambique last autumn and our discussions here in Copenhagen have confirmed my belief that our basic concept of focusing our assistance is the right one. Strong African leadership based on democracy and good governance is essential for success in these partnerships. And, fortunately, it is gaining strength.

When it comes to democracy and good governance, Mozambique and Tanzania are among the more successful African nations. It is therefore no coincidence that these two countries are the prime recipients of Danish development assistance.

Good governance was also a decisive factor when Mali was recently selected as Denmark's 9th partner country in Africa.

Let me take this opportunity to commend Chairman Konaré for having established such a good track record for Mali in the fields of democracy and governance during his 10-year presidential tenure in Mali. And may I salute Mr. Konaré for continuing to pursue this on a Pan-African scale. Which brings me to my first issue:

### **Regional integration and security**

The mission of Mr. Konaré and the African Union is urgent and long called for. Some of the most pressing problems facing Africa occur outside the relatively well functioning African democracies – such as the Danish partnership countries. In failed and fragile states suffering has reached prodigious levels. But as emphasized by Mr. Konaré we should not forget the good news that many African countries are now in a post conflict situation.

More than 100 million people in Africa live in countries that are presently experiencing or have recently emerged from armed conflict. More than 16 million Africans are either refugees or internally displaced.

For those people the term “development” has a very narrow meaning. A mother will worry little about access to primary education for her children, about employment opportunities or credit schemes – if she does not know whether her family will survive yet another night.

The conflicts that produce such catastrophic living conditions must be

stopped. For the sake of those directly affected - and for the sake of Africa as a whole.

Meeting Millennium Development goals will remain an impossible task as long as the lives of millions of Africans are affected by instability and conflict. Such conflicts cripple production, cause mass migration, and create the burden of supporting thousands of refugees for neighbouring countries.

Responsibility for ending this suffering should primarily be shouldered by African governments and their people. Which is, of course, why we attach such great importance to the work of the African Union. However, the international community must also play its part. We have a responsibility to support the strong African leadership emerging at regional levels and to help ensure African solutions to African problems.

I foresee a strengthened Danish cooperation with the African Union. A strong support for AU's efforts to deal with conflicts and reconstruction. And also a strong support for the AU's important role in meeting other great challenges on the African continent - such as HIV/AIDS, women's involvement, and the promotion of economic growth.

All these endeavours merit our full support. In addition to the ongoing cooperation under the Danish Africa Programme for Peace, the Danish Government will set aside DKK 65 million to support the general programme of the AU.

When we talk of challenges and conflicts we cannot fail to name one of Africa's most urgent and complex challenges - that of Darfur. A conflict characterised by unimaginable suffering and a high risk of escalation.

The AU has assumed a strategic role leading the Darfur peace talks in Abuja, as well as in peacekeeping efforts on the ground. And I would like to congratulate you, Mr. Konaré on the recent peace agreement. The AU mission in Darfur, AMIS, is soon to be released by the UN after carrying out a commendable job under very difficult circumstances. I have had very fruitful discussions with Chairman Konaré and with his Commissioner for Peace and Security, Mr. Djinnit, about the challenges ahead.

I am pleased to reiterate to Mr. Konaré and to the UN Deputy Secretary-General Malloch Brown that Denmark will be ready to consider a contribution to an operation in Africa, if requested by the UN. The exact Danish contribution will depend on the results of the dialogue between the AU and the

UN-based on the peace agreement. According to the UN declaration the engagement in Darfur should have a strong African involvement and character. Furthermore, following a peace agreement, the Danish Government will earmark DKK 200 million for recovery and reconstruction in Darfur.

Today, most of the peacekeepers in Africa are African. And most of Africa's violent conflicts are on the road to settlement. But history has shown that there is a very high risk of resurgence of armed struggle – if post conflict reconstruction does not rapidly gain momentum. Which serves to underline the paramount importance of the UN's newly established Peace Building Commission. The main task is to ensure the successful transition from armed conflict to long-term and stable development. We must all join our efforts to this end.

Denmark has worked closely with Tanzania and other partners to make the Commission a reality. We have already set aside DKK 50 million to support the work of the commission this year and I am pleased to announce today a further Danish contribution of DKK 50 million to the financial mechanism of the Peace Building Commission.

The Commission will predominantly work in Africa. I am convinced that the UN will stress the need for national ownership of any development and reconstruction process, as well as the vital and pivotal role of the AU.

When I stress the need for African ownership of – and responsibility for – the continent's reconstruction and development I mean all Africans – both men and women. This brings me to my second issue:

### **Women's involvement in reconstruction and development**

Women's rights. Women's economic opportunities and women's participation in all spheres of political life in Africa are issues that urgently need to be addressed. Primarily for the sake of the women themselves – but also because reconstruction and development is much more likely to succeed if women are able to realise their full potential in the fight against poverty, ignorance and disease.

And as pointed out by Prime Minister Diogo – women can and should play a crucial role in post conflict reconstruction focussed on reconciliation and resettlement.

Women play a key role in the economy. During my visit to Tanzania and

Mozambique last year, it became very clear to me that the women of Africa possess a tremendous potential for progress and change on the continent. I was deeply impressed by their entrepreneurship and ability to develop business – and to achieve remarkable results despite very limited access to funds.

It is obvious that economic development can be more readily realised if all those who are capable of making their contribution to the economy are free and are able to do so.

Denmark has long been at the forefront of promoting women's rights and participation. We have decided to redouble our efforts for the obvious reason that without special efforts to promote the rights and status of women and girls, Africa will fail to reach the Millennium Development Goals. I urge African leaders to accept their part of this responsibility.

The discussions we have had during the last couple of days have convinced me that there is a genuine commitment to address women's marginalisation in Africa. And I can assure you that we fully share this commitment.

So I am delighted to announce today that Denmark has allocated DKK 140 million for new initiatives to promote women's involvement in Africa's development. Allow me to conclude by pointing to four initiatives for focused Danish action:

Firstly: African leadership and ownership are essential to keeping gender equality at the centre of development efforts. We therefore plan to allocate DKK 40 million to support African organisations, think tanks and networks committed to promoting women's equal rights, equal access to resources and equal access to political influence. Among other things we will build on positive experiences from Mozambique, Tanzania and Benin and promote small credits tailored to the specific needs of women. As I said before African women are characterised by their entrepreneurial spirit and I think increased access to micro-finance is an efficient way of promoting women's economic empowerment, poverty reduction and economic development.

Secondly, we will increase our focus on female entrepreneurs. In our new partnership with Mali we will specifically promote women's opportunities for participating in economic development. This involves facilitating women's access to vocational training and micro-finance and the development of

their own small and medium sized enterprises. To this end we plan to allocate DKK 40 million.

Thirdly, violence against women is widespread. We plan to allocate DKK 40 million to strengthen our efforts to protect women's fundamental rights. And to increase our support to the extension of the so-called Thuthuzela Centres. These are centres developed by the Government of South Africa, UNICEF and Denmark that address the needs of victims of violence and sexual abuse by providing medical, psychological and legal assistance. All under one roof. This ensures not only improved assistance to the victims, it also increases the number of offenders brought to justice.

Finally, we plan to allocate DKK 20 million to support the protection and promotion of women's rights and involvement in all phases of conflict. For example, by supporting groups of women promoting information and knowledge sharing among women affected by conflict. We are currently doing this in Northern Uganda and the results are already promising. Experience from other conflicts has also taught us that this very basic type of engagement can contribute to a peaceful settlement of conflicts.

At the general level, we will ensure that all new programmes fully comply with our strong commitment to promote women's participation and gender equality.

Ladies and gentlemen, in conclusion, I would like to reiterate that Denmark remains committed to its partnership with Africa, both financially – by launching new initiatives in Africa amounting to around USD 100 million – including our efforts regarding HIV/AIDS – and by continuing to ensure that Africa stays high on the International Agenda.

Ladies and gentlemen,

I thank you for your attention and look forward to hearing your comments and answering any questions you may have.

# Denmark and China in the Globalised World

Speech by the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs Per Stig Møller entitled “New Challenges for China and Denmark in a Globalised World” at China Foreign Affairs University Beijing, 11 May 2006

Good morning. I'm very pleased to visit China and witness its amazing development first-hand. And I'm even more pleased to be here at the China Foreign Affairs University to speak and discuss with you.

You are the students that will bring your country into the future and will bring new ideas into society. And you are the ones who some day will take over future responsibilities in regard to global peace and prosperity.

The theme I have chosen is: “New challenges for China and Denmark in a globalised world”. It is obvious that China and Denmark in many respects are very different countries. China is the world's most populous country located in the centre of Asia. And is called the Middle Kingdom. While Denmark – a small country in Europe – is situated at the fringes of the Eurasian Continent. Yet, we share the challenges and opportunities that a globalised world provides us with.

Today, I would like to share my ideas and assessment of these common challenges. And highlight the values we need to promote for ensuring an international and responsible globalisation. This is a task for both China and Denmark.

Let me first give you some short central elements about Denmark and Danish foreign policy.

Denmark is based on democracy, rule of law, a welfare system, and an open and trade-oriented economy. We are an active contributor to and participant in the international system. Let me just mention EU, NATO, WTO, ASEM (the Asia-Europe Meeting), and the UN where we are members of the Security Council sitting side by side with China.

We firmly believe in the intrinsic value of a rule-based international society to the benefit of all – states and individuals.

We are committed to the Millennium Development Goals, and we provide 0.8 % of our GNP in development assistance.

We promote cooperative and sustainable policies to meet global challenges in areas as diverse such as energy, environment and health.

We follow a value-oriented foreign policy based on our belief in the open society, democracy, freedom, human rights, and justice.

Denmark works for the preservation of peace and strengthening of international security, in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter. And our soldiers and policemen are engaged widely around the globe in international missions.

To a large degree, we rely on “soft power” such as the persuasiveness and integrity of our ideas and values in these international settings. But when the situations require action – we are ready to shoulder our responsibility to ensure a better world. Hopefully, we demonstrate that small states can make a difference.

Denmark has a long-standing tradition of engagement with China. Both in the commercial, cultural, environmental, and political sphere. Letters were already exchanged between your Emperor Kangxi and our King Christian V in 1674 regarding possibilities for shipping and trade. This has continued.

And the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs has the prestigious address: Asiatic Place. It formerly housed the docking areas and warehouses for the Danish trade with Asia. It also shows our orientation towards Asia and China.

Our modern relations principally date back from establishment of diplomatic relations in 1950. Today, exactly, 56 years ago, Denmark and the People’s Republic of China established diplomatic relations. Denmark was among the first Western countries to do so. Since then, our relations are also strengthened through the EU and the strategic partnership with China.

Let’s now turn to the common challenges. Globalisation is the starting point. It is a concept that has entered into all national vocabularies. In Chinese you talk about “quanqiu hua”. Globalisation is a phenomenon that is currently changing the world. The way we produce, what we eat, what we learn and what we think. Globalisation is offering new possibilities and challenges for all countries.

How we deal with globalisation – and what values we embed it with – decides which future we will enter into.

Globalisation is not something essentially new. The difference is the intensity in the pace and scope of interaction in all fields and the rise of non-state actors. It is called “a force ... that will shape all the other major trends in the world”.

Economic globalisation is developing at a fast pace. And China is one of the front-runners.

The pace in economic globalisation has only been made possible by abolishing trade barriers and creating a rule-based system, which provides fairness.

But protectionism and non-compliance with international norms can halt economic globalisation. That is a danger and a challenge. For the viability of the multilateral trading system. And for all nations. Today, a new forceful protectionism is on the rise and can prevent us from harvesting the fruits of a fair globalisation process.

Therefore, it is essential that the on-going WTO-negotiations deliver results. And it is essential for global stability, that the developing countries gain from liberalisation and globalisation. The international community must demonstrate that we can come up with a negotiated WTO-compromise that ensures this objective. It is our common responsibility.

Quick economic growth also has its own specific set of challenges like demand for resource and energy provisions and the potential degradation of the environment. We should not repeat the environmental disasters, which in many places followed with industrialisation.

Economic growth demands energy and natural resources. Twenty years ago, China was East Asia’s largest oil exporter. Now it is the world’s second largest importer. This is only a natural evolution following the economic development.

Thus, energy security has become an increasingly important element in foreign policy-making. All over the world. We all share an interest in viable oil prices, secure sea-lanes, and a stable international environment. Otherwise, the global progress towards welfare and peace will be endangered. That is also reflected in the European energy strategy.

We have to develop new technologies to find alternative sources to meet the energy demands. Current high oil prices make it necessary to develop

alternative sources. And they will have to be cleaner and renewable to meet the challenges. Denmark already uses renewable energy sources such as wind, water, and biomass. We are a frontrunner in this area and we would like to share our experiences with China.

Environmental degradation is another challenge associated with high economic growth. Denmark, as well as China, aim at achieving sustainable growth. The challenge is immense. The way we handle it has long-term consequences. Every generation should hand over a better and safer world to the next. This is in the interest of themselves. Again, Denmark wishes to stay a partner with China equipped with our know-how in this field.

To continue to reap the benefits from economic globalisation we have to continuously work on improving the rules and regulations governing it. Therefore, a successful conclusion of the Doha Development Round, a solid agreement on a post-Kyoto framework, and delivering on the Millennium Development Goals are all parts of responsible and sustainable economic globalisation.

We all must contribute constructively to achieving these goals to ensure a world where more people prosper. A world where possibilities for future prosperity are not hampered by our quest for fast gains at others' expense. We must create a win-win situation.

Henry Kissinger once asked Premier and Foreign Minister Chou Enlai what he thought of the French revolution. "It is too early to say", was the answer. It is even more difficult to predict the outcome of globalisation where we only have entered the initial stage.

Political globalisation is not as well defined as economic globalisation. Political globalisation reflects the fact, that political changes or instability in one part of the world impact on developments in other parts of the interdependent world. It also encompasses the facts, that ideas travel fast, that news is immediately diffused through mass media and telecommunications from one end of the world to the other, that terrorism knows no borders, and that spread of weapons of mass destruction potentially affects us all.

This implies, that we cannot just look the other way in the face of conflicts and human suffering. We witness it all directly in our living rooms at our screens. Thus, the sufferings in Darfur are displayed in front of us. This

means, that the moral demands for action increase. We have to engage ourselves to promote a better world for all of us. This was also the aspiration of the Founding fathers of the UN. The global values embedded in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights – of freedom, open societies and human dignity are as valid as ever.

Political globalisation must be turned into a positive force that helps people realise human dignity, - ensuring influence on one's own life, progress and justice for all. There are many challenges before we have reached this goal.

I will elaborate upon the three challenges, I consider the most important at this juncture.

First: We are faced with the antagonism between civilisation and engagement versus terror and extremism. It is – in short – the political battle about civilization. A battle between progressive forces who want dynamic, open and democratic societies and those who want static and closed societies. This last group represents a strong anti-current to our globalised world. And they drift the wrong way towards totalitarianism. Towards the past and towards societal structures, which do not respect individual differences, and the personal freedom and which should not have any place in the modern framework.

The terrorism we face today is different from any other we have known previously. It combines global reach and global ambitions and to achieve their aims they use destruction on a massive scale. We have to confront terrorism and extremism through active policies. And we all have to contribute. There must be no hiding place for terrorists.

Our response must draw upon every instrument available. In the short term, success will be determined by intelligence, police and military instruments. But in the longer term we can only defeat terrorism if we effectively address the underlying factors, be they political, social or ideological. We have to combine “hard power” with “soft power”. Our belief in the crucial role of the UN in this context is reflected in Denmark's chairmanship of the Security Council's Committee on Counter-Terrorism and our efforts to create the new Peace-Building Commission and the new Human Rights Council.

Denmark contributes to the fight against terrorism – through all these means.

We must face the worst case-scenario. Otherwise, it will appear when we

are the least prepared. And it is better to act before the catastrophe strikes and before terrorism becomes a dominating and unmanageable trend in a globalised world.

This is also the rationale behind Denmark's strong engagement in preventing conflict, promoting freedom and sustained economic and political development. This is the thinking behind our strong tradition for development assistance. And it is the rationale for our engagements in so diverse countries such as Iraq, Afghanistan, and Burma/Myanmar.

In Iraq, the democratic process is fragile. Yet it is there. And growing. Three successful elections in 2005 speak for themselves. I welcome the recent nomination of a designated prime minister and hope for a speedy formation of a government of national unity encompassing all Iraq's major communities and political parties. Denmark remains committed to assisting the Iraqi people in creating a modern democratic Iraq. We will contribute as long as the Iraqis and the UN request our assistance and as long as we believe that our contribution makes a positive difference. Imagine the alternative: that the UN and the coalition withdrew and left the people of Iraq to the terrorists. Can we watch a collapse in Iraq? And will this not affect the whole region?

In Afghanistan gradually, stability and security are being extended to larger parts of the country. Gradually, democracy is being embedded in society. And gradually, the people of Afghanistan begin to harvest the benefits of peace and development. Those are the objectives the international community should support continuously.

And what about Burma/Myanmar? For how long time will a progressing Asia let the military rulers continue to destroy the economic possibilities and democratic ambitions of the people of that country?

The Danish efforts are also directed towards the Arab World. This is convincingly illustrated by Denmark's role in the birth of the Road Map for Peace in the Middle East, as well as the development of the Partnership for Progress and Reform, the so-called Danish "Arab initiative".

Consequently, in the Muslim world we should encourage the development and reform that is already taking place. The clash of civilisations is still not predominantly taking place between the civilisations, yet to a large degree inside the Muslim civilisation.

Secondly, we are faced with the antagonism between effective multilateralism and international anarchy. We need efficient and adequate international institutions ready to tackle the political challenges presented by a globalised world.

We need an effective, functional and representative UN, which can undertake the actions required. The Security Council must reflect the world of today. It must be able to act, and its actions must be relevant in addressing the global challenges. Otherwise, the authority of the Security Council will be undermined little by little.

As mentioned, we have worked for the establishment of the Peace-Building Commission, which will help us bridge the current gap in the international system between short term post-conflict efforts and long term development assistance. Likewise, we have worked for the much needed establishment of the Human Rights Council.

Furthering respect for human rights is an essential component of the multilateral system. It is something every state should honour and every citizen should benefit from. Denmark is looking forward to the continued bilateral and EU-cooperation with China in this context and to the speedily ratification of the Convention on Civil and Political Rights. We fully agree with your President Hu when he stated at Yale the 21st of April: "Nothing is more valuable in the universe than human beings."

The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is another challenge to the multilateral system. It is in nobody's interest, that these weapons are in the hands of regimes, that may use these weapons against other countries. The outcome of the current standoff regarding Iran's nuclear programme will demonstrate if we fail or succeed. Here we need to act together. We need a united and strong reply to Iran from the international community.

The Democratic Republic of Korea is another case. The longer the DPRK nuclear problem remains unresolved, the more urgent the security concerns will become. China has an essential stake in the solution of these issues as a permanent Security Council member and as a mediator in the Six Party talks.

If unsuccessful in stopping proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction we step closer to international anarchy. Imagine the day when terrorist groups get hold of weapons of mass destruction. I barely dare to finish the thought. Do you?

The benefits from globalisation should be spread evenly. We must ensure that areas, countries or continents are not derailed from the economic and political globalisation.

The situation in Africa causes worry in that regard. That is why Denmark is engaged on the continent principally through our development assistance. China is a growing economic partner in Africa. This is positive in so far as trade is one of the preconditions of economic growth. But one needs also to help the African people create modern societies free from tyrants, corruption and strife. Otherwise, they will never harvest the fruits of globalisation.

In conclusion on this part: We need a strong multilateral system that is continuously modernized to effectively address challenges in a way, which benefits the many – and not only the few. A system based on effective multilateralism, that can demonstrate results. The alternative is international anarchy. In such a situation, nobody can feel safe, and everybody loses. Also the strongest.

And thirdly, we are faced with the antagonism between regional integration and excessive nationalism. Regional integration has played an essential role in the economic development we see today - in Europe as well as in Asia. But for regional co-operation to be effective, it must go beyond trade and investment. It must provide security and stability in relations.

I will start with an example from Europe regarding regional integration. The European Union is the blossoming flower of a desire to bring lasting peace to the continent after centuries of war culminating in the two World Wars ravaging the continent. Rampant nationalism was one of the driving forces.

Now the situation is different. War among European nations seems impossible today. All European nations are firmly anchored in a web of organisations like EU, NATO, OSCE, Council of Europe where we negotiate and move forward together instead of fighting and obstructing each other.

Today, regional economic integration is expanding fast in East Asia. We see a need for strengthened security structures in Northeast Asia to bind the countries together in cooperation. And, it is important that the major players of Northeast Asia collaborate to promote harmonious and co-operative relations.

The Chinese news Agency Xinhua last year described China-Japan rela-

tions as at their nadir (lowest point) since establishment of diplomatic ties in 1972. Political leaders on both sides should build on the excellent economic relations to establish better political relations and to lead their respective public opinions away from competitive nationalism and towards relations defined in terms of shared interests. Without good relations, the chances of effective regional action to address global challenges will be significantly reduced.

EU and Denmark strongly support further regional integration in Asia, be it in ASEAN, ASEAN regional Forum (ARF) or ASEM. We would like to cooperate with Asian Partners to promote peace and conciliation to all corners of Asia. The EU-ASEAN mission, which monitors the peace process in Aceh, is a testimony to this active policy.

As we can see, the globalised world offers many challenges. What to do then?

In enhanced cooperation we must sustain a value-based globalisation and make sure that the political globalisation is given as much direction as the economic globalisation.

That sums up to six concluding shared objectives for small and large countries alike:

1. We must work together to ensure that neo-protectionism does not set the agenda for economic globalisation.
2. We must cooperate in ensuring that extremism and terror do not set the agenda for political globalisation.
3. We must sustain effective multilateralism and strengthen its institutions. They are our security guarantee and embodiment of our common will and values.
4. We must support regional integration and cooperation in Asia
5. We must cooperate in conflict resolution and negotiated international solutions notably with regards to Iran, North Korea, the Middle East, and Africa.
6. We must continue to expand the Asia-European cooperation both economically, politically, culturally, and educationally. ASEM is one of the necessary essential bridges between us.

China is increasingly influential in the effort to achieve these vital, global objectives. Already today, China has huge responsibilities in world affairs and when you, Chinese students, take over, your responsibilities will be even greater.

Already back in the beginning of the 80's, the Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping said "If our country develops and becomes more prosperous, we will play a larger role in international affairs".

Deng was a prophetic man. Both came true. China developed and China is playing a larger role in global affairs.

And it should. The policy choices of China, now emerging as a global player, are of growing importance.

Napoleon was also a prophetic man. When once asked about China, he said: "China is a sleeping giant. Let her sleep, for when she wakes she will shake the world". China is truly awoken and Denmark and the EU welcome China's emergence. And China must not make the world shake, but live in it both as a responsible stakeholder and as a constructive partner.

If we handle the challenges of globalisation correctly, it will benefit the future of both giants and dwarfs – Asians and Europeans – Chinese and Danes – alike. That is our mutual responsibility.

## The Muslim World

Opening speech by the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs  
Per Stig Møller on stereotypes in education and media in the  
Western and Muslim societies at the meeting “Moving Beyond  
Stereotypes” arranged by the Danish Centre for Culture and  
Development and the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs,  
Copenhagen, 16 May 2006

Distinguished participants, ladies and gentlemen, thank you very much for this opportunity to address you at the opening of this conference. I am pleased to have this possibility to share my views on a subject which – you will not be surprised to hear – I have had ample reason to reflect upon lately.

Indeed, the recent controversy over the publication last September of a number of drawings of the Prophet Mohammad strongly underlined the role that mutual stereotypes play, both in Western and Muslim societies.

During the crisis the brand of “Denmark” most likely moved from being a positive stereotype among Muslims – an image of the friendly Scandinavian Welfare State – to being more firmly associated with a negative stereotype of the “West”.

But let me assure you, Denmark is still the same country – a small, tolerant, liberal Welfare State, member of the EU, member of NATO and a good ally of the United States. Denmark is still one of the Worlds largest per capita contributors of Official Development Assistance, including to the Palestinians, and a strong supporter of international law. We are definitely not the nation of xenophobic, islamophobic Quran-burning, morally corrupted heathens that part of international and Arabic media has portrayed us like over the past few months.

The changes we have seen, can partly be attributed to the new channels of communication, including satellite television working 24/7 as a key element in the globalization of information – but not least to the way internet, chat rooms and text messages on mobile phones are used. Those who wish to spread negative images and thus fuel a confrontation based on stereotypes now have easy, immediate and direct access to a global audience – without the normal checks and balances of international media.

The world is becoming smaller, and access to information and images of each other has increased manifold over the past 10 years. But our comprehension and understanding of “the other” seems to be lacking behind. Stereotypes are in some instances being reinforced these years, rather than broken down.

The magnitude of the challenges should not mesmerize us into inaction and defeatism. On the contrary, we must act together based on respect for each other’s differences and backgrounds. There is room enough for everybody – also in a smaller world. Indeed the richness of humanity lies in its differences.

If we do not learn to live together with our differences, Samuel Huntington’s clash of civilizations remains a very real risk. Centrifugal extremists on both sides are seeking this clash, both between the Islamic countries and the West, and – maybe even more – within our societies. As the British Prime Minister Tony Blair said recently, the clash is taking place within rather than between civilizations. These extremists must be stopped. We should not see the differences of the cultures of the world as a threat to mankind, but as an asset.

In Europe, we value democracy and human rights, including a wide definition of freedom of expression. All research shows that in the Arab world the popular support for these values is extensive. Through gradual reform, these universal values are also slowly, but surely gaining ground in Arab countries, in parallel with – and not in contradiction to – the deep sense of religiosity, which for many people permeates all aspects of their life.

As it is stressed in the founding documents of the “Alliance of Civilizations” – the laudable UN-initiative sponsored by a growing number of states and other international actors – we need to overcome “prejudice, misconceptions, misperceptions, and polarization”. This is what the Danish Government is working for – and why we have decided to support the “Alliance of Civilizations”. The initiative in our view provides a clear direction for dialogue in a way that is both practical and concrete. It is my hope that the results of this conference will be a valuable and appreciated contribution to this initiative.

Denmark supports this conference dealing with mutual stereotypes in education and media in order to illustrate that the way forward lies in mutu-

ally respectful dialogue. What we need across the Mediterranean is not antagonizing foes – but cooperating friends. We need dialogue, not for the sake of dialogue, but dialogue on issues and dialogue with clear objectives.

Better understanding the underlying and often unconscious use of and reference to cultural and religious stereotypes is a prerequisite to a genuinely conducted conversation across cultures and barriers and across the Mediterranean.

Our aim is to improve the ability in our societies to counter stereotyping and prejudice. In order to do so we must recognize their existence and importance, identify and dissect them into their constituent parts and finally systematically and dispassionately expose them to the harsh light of reality and truth. Once that happens, it is possible to overcome stereotypes and – as the title of this conference encourages us – to move beyond them.

Your task in the coming days is to advance our understanding of how we – with better knowledge and good faith – can counter the spread of stereotypes in all societies. It is an important – indeed crucial – work. I wish you success in this endeavour.

Thank you.

# The European Union

Speech by the Danish Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen  
at the EU-Commission's annual "Europe Conference"  
in Frederiksdal, Denmark, 19 May 2006

President of the Commission, ladies and gentlemen,

Thank you for inviting me to speak here today at the Commission's annual conference.

This conference comes at a time when we are faced with a number of important issues on the European agenda. Much is at stake. It is a time when we must reflect on the future of the EU. Where do we want to go? How do we get there?

There are decisions to be made that will affect us all for the foreseeable future. We must tackle the thorny questions of the future of the Constitutional Treaty, further enlargement and, not least, how we can get the people of Europe to feel that the EU is their project and not only a matter of interest to distant politicians and European bureaucrats.

As the principal driving force behind European integration for half a century, the Commission plays a crucial role. It defends the basic principles of the European Community and is the guardian of our common European interests when national interests otherwise divide member states.

Denmark certainly owes a lot to the European Commission – particularly as a small member state. The Commission:

- engineered the Internal Market, from which we all benefit hugely today,
- enforces the Union's competition policy with great efficiency and integrity,
- handles our common European trade policy with the rest of the world,
- has initiated a great deal of European legislation, benefiting citizens throughout Europe – not least in the areas of environment and consumer protection.

In a Union of 25 – soon 27 – the Commission will play a vital role. It must be not only the driving force but also the cohesive force. We need a strong Commission to act as an honest broker and to enforce and defend the acquis and the basic principles of the Community. So the role of the Commission will be more important than ever before.

And I am confident that the Commission will continue to carry out its functions excellently under the leadership of president Barroso. In fact, after reading the recent Commission communication “Delivering results for Europe” I knew that my confidence was well-placed. To a great extent it could just as well have been drafted in Copenhagen.

I am in full agreement with the Commission’s approach. The European Union must focus its attention on delivering results for its citizens.

As I see it, Europe faces two main challenges. One is how Europe is to tackle globalisation in the broadest sense. The other is what I would call the people challenge. How do we ensure that the people of Europe support the development of European cooperation and feel that the EU is of benefit to them as individuals?

The two challenges are inextricably bound together. An EU that delivers results in relation to the challenges presented to us by globalisation is a precondition for popular support.

During the last few decades, the EU has been greatly preoccupied with its own development. Five new treaties in less than 20 years. And from 12 to 25 – soon to be 27 – Member States in the same period of time. A success by any criteria.

But, in looking for the way forward for Europe, we seem to have lost our way. At least if we are to judge by the feeling of alienation felt by many of our citizens. As far as they are concerned, the EU is characterized by institutions, procedures and articles. They fail to see what all this has to do with them. Our preoccupation with new treaties and stronger institutions appears to some to have become and end in itself.

We know that is not the case. The purpose of European cooperation is to improve the livelihood and welfare of our citizens and to ensure the peace and stability of our continent. New treaties, stronger institutions, and better decision-making processes are a means to that end.

But how do we get this across to our citizens?

Perhaps we should shift our focus. Rather than grand political projects we must aim to achieve specific results that meet their concerns.

I believe that the EU is faced with three major tasks.

Firstly, we need to enable Europe to promote growth and employment - and thus social security. One main task would be to further develop the internal market in such areas as services, energy, and research and development. We must combat economic nationalism and protectionism. We must ease the administrative burdens of enterprises - old and new. And we must increase our investments in education, research and development.

The second task is to ensure the safety and security of our citizens, vis-à-vis transnational problems. Combating terrorism, organised crime and illegal immigration, ensuring food safety, protecting the environment and facing up to the problem of climate change. The Union can, and must, do more to prove its worth to its citizens in all of these areas.

The third main task is to strengthen the ability of the EU to pursue the interests of Europeans on the international stage. More decisions must be made by a majority vote in common foreign and security policies. The Commission has any number of foreign policy tools - we just need to utilise them. Coordination between Mr Solana and the Commission must become more effective. As must be the use of the Commission delegations throughout the World. I should like to see us move towards a common foreign service capable of providing the EU with common face - a European face.

Some critics find that focusing on specifics is neither visionary nor ambitious. They seem to prefer grand institutional schemes to the specifics of consumer policy, research and development or consular cooperation. But I disagree.

I would argue, in fact, that focusing on specifics is not at all new. It is precisely the practical, common sense approach taken by Jean Monnet more than half a century ago. His vision was that of a Europe of peace and prosperity - an interdependent Europe with common institutions. His method was practical and specific. It was about cooperation in areas of common interest. And it is this approach that is going to bring European cooperation forward, with the support of its citizens, in the years to come.

So I am delighted to note that there seems to be an emerging consensus

in Europe that we must turn our attention to delivering results to the benefit of our citizens. Yes, there is quite a bit of work to be done. But much of it can be done on the basis of the existing treaty. There is really no excuse not to meet these challenges head on.

Which is what the Commission does in its recent communication. And what my government has also attempted to do in its recent work programme entitled "Achieving Europe", a "Europe of Results".

The results of the Danish debate during the pause for reflection confirm that solving specific problems tops our citizens' agenda.

As for the main challenges to which the EU should give priority, the Danes believe them to be:

- environmental problems,
- terrorism, and
- research and development.

Within the EU, the Danes are particularly concerned about:

- complicated working and decision-making procedures,
- insufficient financial control of community funds, and
- lack of reform of the Common Agricultural Policy.

These priorities are, in fact, reflected in Danish EU policy and I know that they rank high on the agenda of the Commission and most member states. We have already achieved significant break-throughs in these areas. But there is clearly more to be done.

Another issue of great interest to citizens is that of further enlargement. They appear to have a very balanced view on relationships with the neighbouring countries of the EU and the further enlargement process.

So far, the enlargements of the EU have been a resounding success. Democracy, economic progress, and stability have spread all over Europe to the benefit of both old and new member states.

The most recent enlargement with new 10 Member States was nothing less than historic. I feel pride in the active part played by Denmark in this success.

There is no doubt that the enlargement process should continue. It is important for our neighbouring countries in Europe to have a European perspective. And, naturally, we must deliver on the promises we have made.

Having said that, however, it is also obvious that there are limits as to how swiftly and how far the EU can be enlarged if the cooperation within the EU is to maintain its ability to provide solutions to those challenges facing Europe.

Naturally, the question of the external borders of the EU is becoming more urgent. I do not believe that it is possible, once and for all, to draw a line across Europe and say, "that's it!"

However, we will have to give far more serious consideration to the ability of the EU to include new members. In terms of the Union's decision-making powers, its common policies, and the support of its citizens.

We will therefore have to make a much greater effort to develop an attractive neighbourhood policy. A policy that offers instruments for reform to countries that may not be considered for membership of the EU in the immediate term.

I envisage that we, over time, will be moving towards a true pan-European economic area. An area of free trade and economic cooperation between the EU and its neighbouring countries.

A pan-European economic area would also require a strengthening of its neighbourhood policy. We must ensure that the neighbouring countries:

- may, to some extent, gain access to the Internal Market,
- may participate in a number of EU programmes, for example exchange programmes for students, research programmes,
- may receive considerable economic support for reforms – for example for the fight against corruption, border controls and reforms of their legal systems.

As we gradually approach a pan-European economic area, we will also have to consider whether these countries should be given the opportunity to come closer to the EU decision-making process in some delimited areas.

I hope that, together with the Commission, we will be able to work on these ideas in the not-too-distant future.

Talking about the not-too-distant future, I can hardly omit to say at least a few words about the Constitutional Treaty, the very reason for the present pause for reflection.

The fate of the Constitutional Treaty remains in the balance. My bid is that we will not see any clarification of the situation for the time being. In fact, I expect that at the Summit in June this period for reflection will be prolonged.

Personally, I find the present situation very unfortunate. The Constitutional Treaty is very good – from a Danish point of view. It contains specific progress in relation to the challenges and tasks facing the EU. I would, therefore, have been delighted to see the Treaty ratified.

However, we must respect the results of the referenda in France and the Netherlands. The fact is that as long as France and the Netherlands cannot approve the Treaty, it will remain on the shelf.

It would be premature to say how this situation could be clarified and what this could lead to. The ball is in these two countries' court.

But, regardless of how this particular problem is resolved, the basic challenges facing the EU remain the same. The enlarged EU must be able to function effectively and attend to the interests of the people of Europe. Which is why many of the proposals of the Constitutional Treaty are so obviously right.

The discussion about the fate of the Constitutional Treaty will not just go away. At some point, we will need clarification.

But lack of clarification with regard to the Treaty should not keep us from focusing on what European cooperation is all about: real political issues and close and committing cooperation that delivers results for the benefit of our fellow Europeans.

And I am sure that you all believe the same.

Thank you for your attention.

# Transatlantic Relations

Speech by the Danish Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen entitled “Partnership in a Globalized World: A Declaration of Interdependence” at the University of California, Berkeley, 12 June 2006

Vice-chancellor, dear students, ladies and gentlemen,

It is an honour and a privilege to speak at this prestigious university. Thank you for inviting me. And a special thanks to director John Zysman from Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy (BRIE) and director Shanlar Sastry from CITRIS (Center for Information Technology in the Interest of Society) for arranging this event.

I have been looking very much forward to this visit. I am very happy that close relations have been established between UC Berkeley and University of Copenhagen.

Globalization brings new opportunities and challenges for governments, companies and citizens throughout the world. Political, economic and cultural ties across borders are maturing and becoming stronger. The world is becoming more open.

Globalization holds opportunities to increase prosperity, to ensure better jobs and to take active part in international developments. As students at this advanced university you are at the very edge in formulating strategies that make it possible to benefit from globalization.

There are some who look at globalization as a threat. They look at the impressive growth rates of China and India and worry about outsourcing of jobs. They look at the rapid exchange of people, goods and services as a threat to the world they know. They question whether we can preserve our national identity and way of life. There are even some, who believe in resurrecting trade barriers and working to maintain status quo.

I believe they take the wrong approach. Globalization is a fact and we have to embrace it by going on the offensive both nationally and through international cooperation.

Nationally, each country has to prepare itself for the global competition.

Thus, my government recently launched a comprehensive strategy to prepare Denmark for the future. The aim is to maintain Denmark's position as one of the world's richest countries, but without destroying the social fabric. We want to avoid a fragmented society, where those who are not equipped for the labour market of the future fall by the wayside.

The aim of the strategy is to achieve the combination of competitive power and strong cohesion that is at the very core of The Danish Model. We must continue to put people first and to develop the quality of our human resources. It entails extensive reforms of education and training, research and entrepreneurship as well as substantial improvements in the framework conditions for growth and innovation in all areas of society. Copies of the strategy on preparing for globalization are available in the room.

International action is needed to allow us to benefit fully from the opportunities that emanates from globalization as well as to cope with the challenges and threats that characterize a globalized world. I will make the argument that such international action is contingent on close cooperation between Europe and the United States. A strong Transatlantic Partnership.

## Interdependence

Ladies and Gentlemen, first on interdependence.

Globalization has brought all countries closer together, but no one closer than the United States and Europe. We have built our societies based on shared respect for freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law. We share common values. Our values are the main driving force behind globalization.

At the same time, these very values are being challenged by forces that do not want free, open and democratic societies, let alone the rule of law. But even in the face of these challenges we are united in our continued defence of our common values and our determined promotion of these values globally.

We share more than ideas and values across the Atlantic: Our economies are far more interdependent than those of any other part of the world. The EU and the United States are each other's main trading partners. Even more significant the level of mutual investment is the highest between two major economies.

On the political side the North Atlantic Treaty has been the pivot of transatlantic security. The Alliance itself is the embodiment of the undivided security that has been evident for more than half a century. Together, we managed to put an end to Communism, to unite a Europe divided by the Berlin wall and to bring peace in the Balkans, where ethnic conflicts followed the end of the Cold War.

The facts speak for themselves. The United States and Europe are strongly interdependent. The big question then is how do we act on this interdependence?

In 1962, President Kennedy called for a Declaration of Interdependence. The background for his speech was the very early stages of European integration that was envisioned as a first step towards a United States of Europe. Well, we didn't exactly make it that far in Europe, but I find it illuminating to recapture what President Kennedy envisioned as the outcome of closer cooperation with a unified Europe. In his words:

“Acting on our own, by ourselves, we cannot establish justice throughout the world; we cannot insure its domestic tranquility, or provide for its common defense, or promote its general welfare, or secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity. But joined with other free nations, we can do all this and more. We can assist the developing nations to throw off the yoke of poverty. We can balance our worldwide trade and payments at the highest possible level of growth. We can mount a deterrent powerful enough to deter any aggression. And ultimately we can help to achieve a world of law and free choice, banishing the world of war and coercion.”

And he continued:

“For the Atlantic partnership of which I speak would not look inward only, preoccupied with its own welfare and advancement. It must look outward to cooperate with all nations in meeting their common concern. It would serve as a nucleus for the eventual union of all free men - those who are now free and those who are vowing that some day they will be free”.

This was a vision presented 44 years ago, but I believe that the very premise of the vision still holds true. A Transatlantic Partnership should not be inward looking. Instead, while working towards strengthened cooperation within the Euro-Atlantic area, the main object of a Transatlantic Partnership should be a joint approach to the global issues outside the

Euro-Atlantic area. That is my vision of a Transatlantic Partnership for the 21st century.

### **Common possibilities, challenges and threats**

I see four key areas for transatlantic cooperation where we should focus our efforts on concrete initiatives:

- Firstly, the creation of a Transatlantic Marketplace, which will not only benefit the transatlantic economy but the world economy as such.
- Secondly, the reform of the North Atlantic Alliance to meet the new security challenges.
- Thirdly, the support of reform and progress in the Broader Middle East.
- Finally, sustainable development, which would include both joint efforts to combat poverty especially in Africa and efforts to ensure the supply of energy.

First, the vision of a Transatlantic Marketplace without barriers to trade and investment. It is true that much of the discussion today is focussed on emerging economies such as China and India. They do have impressive growth rates. They have achieved significant economic results. They are becoming important players in the global economy and competitors to both the EU and the United States.

However, let us not forget that the EU and the United States are responsible for two fifths of world trade. We are each other's largest trading and investment partners.

The overall "transatlantic workforce" is estimated at 12 to 14 million, of which roughly half are Americans who owe their jobs directly or indirectly to EU companies. In fact, I am pleased that a number of executives from Danish companies working in California are accompanying me today. It is also worth noting that 85 per cent of US global investments in professional, scientific and technical services are placed in the EU.

Achieving the vision of a Transatlantic Marketplace will of course take time. Within Europe we have spent the last 50 years building an internal

market. The elimination of barriers to trade has at times been difficult and is the result of a determined effort and strong political resolve.

It has been a gradual approach. Today, we have free movement of goods in Europe. We have liberalized financial services. And a few weeks ago we agreed on the liberalisation of services in general.

Some countries have been hesitant to give up what they perceived as legitimate national interests. But today we see the results. Since 1992 the internal market has created more than 2 1/2 million new jobs in Europe and added more than 800 billion euros to European wealth.

It is my hope that we together can make the same determined political effort to create a Transatlantic Marketplace – the largest in the world – where we can benefit from developing the transatlantic economic integration to the fullest, spur innovation and job creation, and realise the full competitive potential of our economies and companies.

Our economic and trade relations affect not only our own prosperity and development, but also that of third countries and regions. We have a responsibility to contribute effectively to international economic stability and growth and to broaden our bilateral economic dialogue. Together with partners first and foremost in Asia and Latin America we can make globalization work for all.

A Transatlantic Marketplace is not an exclusive club for the rich countries. It will benefit all.

I do believe that the creation of a Transatlantic Marketplace could be a powerful driving force in our endeavours to liberalize the world trade in general. And it should of course be combined with a determined effort to make the WTO negotiations a success.

Secondly, the reform of the North Atlantic Alliance to meet the new security threats. Terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, fragile states – and not least the nexus between them – have become greater threats in today's globalized world.

For instance terrorists use and misuse the very means of globalization: the media, information technology, the Internet and the mobility of people and goods. And threats to our security more often than not originate in countries and regions far away from the Euro-Atlantic area.

But these issues are very different from the circumstances that lead to

the foundation of NATO in 1949. NATO is a true child of the cold war. For half a century a shared concern for a military threat to European security was at the heart of the transatlantic agenda. Today, the old transatlantic agenda that focussed on European security has largely played out.

The fact that the role of the Alliance has not been played out demonstrates its ability to adapt to the new threats to security. In this new security environment many expected NATO to stagnate. Instead it stood up to the plate becoming what it is today – a very flexible and effective instrument for promoting stability in the world. But the Alliance still needs to continue its development.

NATO should be capable of engaging wherever and whenever needed. The operations in Afghanistan and Sudan are the most striking examples of this. But also NATO's support to Pakistan in the wake of the earthquake and even NATO's support to the United States after hurricane Katrina bears witness to the global nature of NATO. That is why I support an Alliance engaged in global partnerships with countries like Australia, New Zealand and Japan that can and are willing to defend our common values.

Likewise, NATO must develop its capabilities to win the peace once we have won the war. For some time it was fashion to portray the United States as the hard power being over-reliant on military force and the Europeans as the soft power being hesitant to deploy its armed forces outside Europe. Maybe the stereotypes were not completely false, but today there is a strong mutual understanding for the need of both hard and soft power to solve the most complex security challenges of today, namely terrorism.

In order to win the peace, we must improve our ability and capability in nation-building. That is why the Alliance should further develop the concept of civil-military cooperation. That is why the alliance should work much closer together with other international organisations and NGO's. Only by using all the instruments available to us will we be able to solve daunting tasks like Afghanistan.

The third key area of transatlantic cooperation is the broader Middle East.

Globalization has the potential not only to stimulate economic development but also to strengthen individual freedom. Modern information and communication technology expands people's opportunities to share ideas

and acquire knowledge. The mobility of people allows for networking and broadening of horizons.

Nevertheless, there are still strong obstacles standing in the way of such a development in the Middle East, and the result is an acute deficit of freedom. Combined with economic stagnation and rapid demographic changes it is a source of frustration that can play into the hand of extremists and terrorists. Therefore, we share a common interest to make the peoples of the Middle East benefit from globalization.

And indeed, the desire for change and democracy is widespread throughout the Middle East – as also the recent elections in Iraq demonstrated. Distinguished experts from the region have set out to analyze why there is such a lack of progress in the Middle East. They present their analysis in the UNDP's "Arab Human Development Reports", which demonstrate the profound need for reform in the region.

Both Europe and the United States have a strong interest in supporting this quest for reform and progress in the broader Middle East. I see three areas where we need to focus:

- Firstly, on promotion of freedom and democracy,
- Secondly, on free trade and
- Thirdly, on regional cooperation

First on freedom and democracy. According to the Arab Human Development Report the political restrictions on development are the most stubborn. They point to three major deficits concerning:

- Freedom and good governance,
- Knowledge acquisition and,
- Women's empowerment.

The point is that the people in the region themselves want to address those deficits. All surveys show that the people in the Arab world favour democracy and human rights. Actually, when compared to other regions the Arab world tops the list of those agreeing that "democracy is better than any other form of governance". So there is a strong desire for change, and Europe and

the United States should continue their efforts to support the moderate forces that strive for reforms.

Denmark has launched a "Program for Progress and Reform" in the Arab world. In this program, Denmark offers partnership and cooperation on specific reform processes aimed at reducing the three deficits in dialogue with recipients, primarily in the civil society. Recent events involving Denmark, burning flags and embassies and violent protest have served to strengthen our conviction and resolve in this regard.

Secondly, on free trade. The Middle East economies are to a high degree detached from the global economy, and the result in recent years has been slow economic growth. That combined with growing populations have led to unemployment and poverty in the region.

Europe and the United States have a strong role to play in opening up to trade with the Middle East. The European Union has already signed association treaties removing barriers to trade with a number of the countries in the region.

Thirdly, on regional cooperation. The Middle East is one of few regions that does not have an organizational framework for regional cooperation. This has a negative impact on the region in relation to economic development, security and the environment. It also has a negative impact on the world outside the region, especially in relation to security and stability.

I strongly believe that the transatlantic experience and cooperation should help facilitate a process towards stronger regional cooperation.

In Europe we learned the hard way that lack of confidence in your neighbour leads to instability, conflict and even war. Therefore, together with the United States, we launched a process of building confidence between countries and peoples – the so called Conference on Security Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Similarly, I think we need a Conference on Security Cooperation in the Middle East.

Together with Canada, Denmark is promoting an initiative aimed at enhancing Middle Eastern security cooperation. It has strong participation – so far on an informal basis – from all the major players in the region. I am confident that this process in the future can move to the formal, intergovernmental level, although some governments are still sceptic.

It takes time to overcome decades of mistrust and lack of confidence in

your neighbours. But I think that the current situation with Iran's nuclear program may remind responsible leaders in the region of the dire prospects for peace and stability, if you do not establish regional and international cooperation to counter such threats to stability.

### **Sustainable development**

The final key area of cooperation is the challenge to ensure sustainable development.

Let me first turn to Africa. Last year I travelled to Africa. I saw the poverty. I saw the victims of HIV/Aids. But I also saw something else. I saw the will and the determination of ordinary Africans and that of key African leaders to change this to the better.

Earlier this year I met with a number of prominent African leaders in Copenhagen. Again, I was reinforced in my belief that Africa is not a continent lost. It is a continent on the brink of a new beginning. Indeed, Africa is ready to move forward and become an active player in the globalized world. However, Africa needs assistance from both the EU and the United States.

Globalization can give Africa opportunities for progress and growth, but focused action is called for. The most important of all is greater international trade. Often the focus is on giving the poor countries access to our markets, and indeed we must. That is why we need a global agreement in the WTO-negotiations.

But first and foremost the developing countries need to open their markets to each other by removing the tariff and trade barriers separating them. In Africa, there are high tariff rates, requirements for import licences, protracted customs handling and complicated procedures.

There is a lot to be gained if the developing countries open up their economies and promote free trade among each other. According to the World Bank, the developing countries will be able to gain approximately USD 142 billion by implementing full liberalisation of international agricultural trade. By far the largest share of this gain, approximately USD 114 billion, may be achieved through reforms in the developing countries themselves.

In our approach to Africa we should bear in mind that we are not only assisting. We are investing in what could soon be a dynamic African market. And like Asia before it – an important part of the global market. Those

investments should be directed at the very infrastructures necessary to promote free trade and sustainable development in the region.

Let me turn to another topical element dealing with sustainable development: Energy.

Both the United States and Europe are for different reasons facing the challenge of reducing our dependency on fossil fuels. 1) Because it is becoming too expensive, 2) To reduce our dependency on foreign suppliers, 3) In order to effectively reduce climate change.

The challenge poses the question whether or not it is possible to combine economic growth and the use of alternative energy sources. In fact the Danish experience shows that a clear focus on renewable energy need not be to the detriment of economic growth. Taught by the experiences of the oil crises of the 1970s Denmark has for decades focused on measures to increase the use of renewable energy and to increase energy efficiency. During the last 25 years Denmark's economy has grown by more than 50 percent – without any increase in the consumption of energy. And at the same time many international benchmarks rank Denmark as one of the most competitive countries globally.

This has not been achieved overnight. It is a result of a massive effort focussing on a wide range of initiatives – regulatory as well as tax-related. Today, Denmark is in the forefront on many of these issues: 21 percent of all electric power consumed in Denmark is produced by windmills. Bio-energy now composes 11 percent of total energy consumption. Later today, I will visit some of the Danish companies that are active here in California.

The United States and Europe must cooperate closely on the energy dossier. Let me point to three possible areas for cooperation:

- Firstly, the development of new energy technologies. We are already cooperating on the development of environmental technologies, most importantly in a project to develop fusion energy. But we should go even further.
- Secondly, we should work to increase the use of alternative sources of energy. We should develop and use cost effective wind energy, bio-energy and solar-energy.
- Thirdly, we must do more in relation to energy-efficiency.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have outlined my vision of a Transatlantic Partnership for the 21st century and pointed out four key areas for strengthened cooperation.

I started out quoting President Kennedy. He was not only right to point out the need for a Transatlantic Partnership that was outward looking. He was also right to point out the need for strong European cooperation to allow for such a partnership with the United States.

There is a need for a strengthened Transatlantic Partnership to ensure prosperity and security in a globalized world.

The challenges we are facing in the globalized world are demanding. However, by facing them together and by sharing a common responsibility we can take advantage of the opportunities provided by globalization. We can make globalization a success to the benefit of all peoples in the world.

Thank you.

# The United Nations

Statement by the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs  
Per Stig Møller at the United Nations 61st General Assembly,  
New York, 22 September 2006

Mr. Secretary-General, Madam President, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen,

The global game has changed. Interdependence or globalisation takes place at an unprecedented speed. With globalisation, the concept of national sovereignty has changed. The international order based on the nation state and established in 1648 with the Peace of Westphalia is being challenged. Non-state actors are becoming more and more influential on the global scene: Private militias and transnational criminal movements are increasingly responsible for conflicts that used to be between state actors and undermining agreements entered between - and adhered to by - states.

Boundaries between domestic and foreign policy are changing. Developments in one part of the world often trigger unintended actions in other parts of the world. If we look the other way when faced with conflicts and human suffering, problems will grow, not disappear. To meet the goals and challenges confronting the global community, we need more than ever a dynamic and proactive United Nations.

The United Nations has to proactively address the agenda set by globalisation. And the UN must be able to change in order to effectively meet and deliver on the new challenges. It is in everybody's interest to have an efficient UN. This organisation adds legitimacy and moral force to the international community's actions in a globalised world. An effective UN can alleviate the negative effects of globalisation and turn it into a positive force. All have to work for necessary reform steps to be initiated.

Madam President,

The Summit last September set an ambitious agenda for the United Nations and the General Assembly. I am pleased that we have achieved considerable results. Prominent examples are: The Human Rights Council, the Peacebuilding Commission and the Central Emergency Response Fund.

The two new organs represent a long overdue institutional modernisation of the United Nations that, if used as intended, will help the United Nations in addressing the new challenges. That is why Denmark has put so much effort into helping fostering the Human Rights Council and the Peacebuilding Commission.

With Burundi and Sierra Leone on the agenda, the Peacebuilding Commission has chosen two nations in need, but also two nations willing to join forces with the international community in their endeavour to build their nations.

As it should, the Human Rights Council allows for closer scrutiny by the international community in domestic affairs. Not because we wish to punish, but because we wish to help improve. Such scrutiny is a desirable monitoring mechanism to ensure protection of people from abuse by their government.

Let us avoid politicising the work of this new body, and instead, in a spirit of cooperation, ensure that the Human Rights Council is successful in meeting the objectives laid down by the General Assembly.

In this context, I would like also to draw attention to the decision by the Human Rights Council to recommend to this 61st General Assembly, the adoption of the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Work on the Declaration has been under way for more than 20 years. It is high time that we – the Governments – approve this landmark instrument aimed at furthering the rights and aspirations of the World's indigenous populations.

In June, as president of the Security Council, Denmark sought to highlight the importance to strengthen International Law. We picked up the torch from the 2005 Summit by calling a special meeting on the critical role of international law in fostering stability and order in international relations. The Security Council spoke out clearly in favour of international law both in general terms and on specific topics such as delisting. Denmark will continue to pursue these topics and call on all Member States to join us.

Madam President,

The reform agenda is far from exhausted.

The Security Council should be reformed to better reflect the world of today.

Furthermore, we need to make substantial progress on mandate review and management reform in this session of the General Assembly. Otherwise, we cannot meet the new challenges.

Member States should not micro manage the UN, but build a strong and fast responding organisation to meet the new challenges. The UN must play a strong role in order to secure positive gains for developing countries of globalisation. Denmark awaits with eagerness the recommendation of the High Level Panel on System Wide Coherence. Our aim is to enhance the efficiency and impact on the ground of the UN's development cooperation.

Madam President,

It is a cause for concern that we have witnessed the resurgence of the notion of respect for national sovereignty as a justification for inaction and paralysis in international affairs. There is of course no denying that nation states remain the constituent part of the international system and of this very organisation. But respect for sovereignty can never become an excuse for accepting massive human rights violations. That was the key message from the Summit last year, when Heads of State pronounced their support for the notion of Responsibility to Protect.

The Security Council has consistently worked to uphold the sovereignty of Lebanon since 2004. In August of this year the Council intervened to stop the war between Hezbollah and Israel and decided to send thousands of peacekeepers to help the Lebanese government extend its authority to all parts of the country. We call on all regional players to work constructively towards that goal. Resolution 1701 must be fully respected by all parties. Denmark is actively considering ways to promote the implementation of Resolution 1701, including assisting the Secretary-General in his endeavours to find ways forward on the political aspects.

The war between Hezbollah and Israel proves the volatility of the Middle East. For decades the international community has sought to address the Arab-Israeli conflict that continues to breed hatred and fanaticism. We must support the moderate reform forces and empower them to stand up against centrifugal tendencies. We need to redouble our efforts to finally achieve a comprehensive and lasting two-state solution to this tragic conflict. It is in nobody's interest that the instability in the Middle East continues.

The same goes for the Sudan. The Council's decision last month to continue preparations for a UN peacekeeping force to relieve the African Union force and stop the senseless carnage of civilians in Darfur drew sharp criticism from the Government of Sudan and was denounced as neo-colonialism and a violation of its sovereign rights. But whose rights are really being violated here? Rather than the Government of Sudan, I submit that it is the right of the population of Darfur to get protection that is being violated. And it is incumbent on the international community to act, if a government fails to fulfil this responsibility. I call upon the Government of Sudan to work with us, not against us, in protecting the population in Darfur.

Therefore, the United States and Denmark are hosting a meeting later today on the Darfur crisis.

In Afghanistan, the security situation continues to be of great concern. We are – individually and collectively – tested on our commitment to assist the Afghan people in their path towards a just and prosperous future. Warlords, financed by opium trade, threaten the democratic rights of the people. The UN must continue to support the remarkable transformation process undertaken by the Afghan people and their Government.

We wish to see a stronger role for the UN in Iraq in order to contribute to a peaceful and democratic development. A necessary precondition for improving the situation is better living conditions for all in Iraq. Needless to say, it is our common interest to assist the Iraqi people in their struggle to reform and build their country. It must not fall victim to sectarianism and terrorism. If this happens the whole region will become destabilised.

Madam president,

The most serious danger of globalisation is the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The Security Council reacted in unity to deplore the launch of several missiles by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea action on the 4th of July. We call on Pyongyang to return to the six party talks. Iran has failed to respond to the demands from the Security Council. We call on Teheran to suspend enrichment activities and accept negotiations on the generous package.

Weapons of mass destruction and terrorism represent a deadly combination. Terrorism is already in itself one of the major threats to internatio-

nal peace and stability. We all remember the tragedies here in the United States five years ago, and the terrorist attacks in London, Madrid, Amman, Bali, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Turkey. I am very pleased that the UN Global Counter Terrorism Strategy has now been adopted by the General Assembly. It brings renewed hope that we may also conclude the negotiations on the Comprehensive Convention this year. I call upon all States to seriously attempt to bridge the different views on the Convention.

As Chairman of the Counter Terrorism Committee under the Security Council, Denmark is working for a strengthening of the international fight against terrorism through an improved cooperation between the Council and the Member States.

Madam President,

Let me conclude my statement by expressing Denmark's sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General Kofi Annan for his tireless efforts to promote a more just, prosperous, and peaceful world, and for his leadership of the United Nations. For almost ten years he has served in an office where expectations for action are not always matched by the requisite powers and means to act. He has impressively carried a heavy burden through troubled times, and even recently he has undertaken new challenges in the Middle East and in the world at large. His act will be difficult to follow. Let his heritage be that the stones, he lifted, do not roll back down the mountain.

Thank you.

# Climate Change

Entry by the Danish Minister for Environment Connie Hedegaard on climate change in the Arctic at a meeting in the Arctic Council, Salekhard, 26 October 2006

Mr. Chairman,

## The role of the Arctic Council

Denmark, Greenland and the Faroe Islands had high hopes for the Arctic Council, when it was created 10 years ago. The Council has developed into a forum for focused and constructive dialogue between the Arctic nations and its peoples, and the Arctic is no longer considered a remote place of the Earth.

It is of critical importance that the Arctic Council continues to address the many issues faced by the Arctic communities and produce tangible progress towards sustainable development in their fragile environments.

## Climate Change

Many changes in the Arctic have global significance.

Standing on the edge of the World's most productive glacier - the view over the Ilulissat Ice-fjord in Greenland is simply breathtaking! Icebergs the size of skyscrapers are launched from the calving glacier at an unprecedented rate. But - in less than 5 years - the glacier front has retreated nearly 10 miles. This year in August, one of the World's leading glaciologists, Professor Dorthe Dahl-Jensen from the University of Copenhagen, voiced her deep concern: "As scientists, we are shocked by this development," she told Senator John McCain and a group of senators from the US, who were invited by Greenland and Denmark to visit this spectacular place and witness the effect of global warming for themselves.

An Inuit saying goes: "If you hide a ghost, it will continue to grow". It is our responsibility to make sure that the international community is made aware of the effects of climate change in the Arctic. And it is our responsibility to act decisively on that knowledge.

The Arctic Climate Impact Assessment and more recent evidence tell us

a story of escalating melting of the Greenland ice cap; and NASA reports of a 16 percent shrinking of the ice-cover of the Polar Sea. Climate change is happening much faster than was anticipated by the experts just a few years ago.

To NOT act upon this knowledge is not an option, and the Arctic Council must continue to address all the aspects of global warming – its regional consequences as well as its global impacts.

What we – as Arctic nations – can do to enhance global climate policies and mitigate global warming, and what we can do and should do in the Arctic to allow the Arctic Peoples to adapt to its inevitable consequences should all be addressed in this forum. Concrete policy responses are urgently needed, – in the international negotiations as well as in our own countries. The Arctic Council should be used to exchange experience and to help each other in finding a way forward.

Our countries are responsible for a large part of the global emissions of greenhouse gases and we have a special responsibility to respond to the findings of the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment and all of the other evidence on the consequences of man-made climate change.

Greenland is already striving to cope with the effects of climate change and yet we have only seen the very early signs of global warming. We need effective policy responses and we need them now.

### **Pollution of the Arctic Environment**

Persistent toxic substances are a serious threat to the health and well-being of Arctic people. The pollutants are accumulating in the food chain and they end up in fish, birds and mammals – important sources of food in the Arctic communities. Studies from the Faroe Islands have shown alarming negative effects of mercury in pregnant women on the neural development of unborn children, with measurable effects on their mental development after birth.

Arctic citizens can hardly defend themselves from pollution coming from thousands of miles away – of course. We need concerted, global action – such as the Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants – to deal with issues of this kind.

The burning of coal is one of the major sources of mercury emissions – globally as well as in the Arctic. Rapid economic development in the Far East and corresponding rise in the use of energy – based on coal to a large degree

– makes it imperative to create a global, legally binding instrument on mercury, and I would very much like to see the Arctic Council make its voice heard on that issue.

### **Continued monitoring**

The finding of PCB, DDT and other poisons in the breast milk of mothers in the Arctic and problems of reproduction in Polar bears and damages to their liver, kidneys, bones and immune-system have helped in making the case, that heavy metals and POPs are truly global problems.

Such findings demonstrate the need to continue the monitoring of contamination in the Arctic and its consequences in order to promote responsible chemicals management throughout the World.

### **Sustainable Development**

The Kingdom of Denmark is keenly aware of the social issues confronting the Arctic peoples.

The “Survey of Living Conditions in the Arctic” – initiated by the Arctic Council and lead by Greenland - has given us valuable insight in how we can enhance the social, cultural and economic conditions in the Arctic. I very much hope, that the partnerships between indigenous peoples and experts that has been established in this project can be continued and provide us with knowledge and ideas for the future.

### **Biodiversity**

It is evident that wildlife of the Arctic and the protection of biodiversity has my attention.

The sustainable use of living resources is a precondition for the Greenland and Faroe societies, and as many of the animals of the Arctic are migratory the protection of biodiversity of the Arctic has global implications.

This underlines the importance of the work of the CAFF (Conservation of Flora and Fauna of the Arctic) working group, and we look forward to chair this group.

Mr. Chairman,

The Arctic Region faces many challenges. Sustainable development to the benefit of its inhabitants is the core issue. The environmental problems brought about by the global community have to be dealt with. We need to keep all of this in focus in the Arctic Council.

Thank you to our Russian chairmanship for a job well done over the past two years, and for your commitment to the task. Also I would like to thank for the hospitality with which we have been welcomed to Salekhard.

Thank you also to the working groups of the Council for their dedication, enthusiasm and hard work.

Looking ahead, it is my firm belief that the Council has an important role to play in promoting sustainable development and environmental protection in the Arctic.

Therefore, we must continue to bring all the knowledge we have and the lessons we have learned to the attention of the people in the Arctic as well as the rest of the world.

Thank you for your attention.

# Transatlantic Relations

Speech by the Danish Minister of Defence Søren Gade entitled “Beyond the Trans-Atlantic Relationship” at the conference “Global NATO: Overdue or overstretch?” arranged by Security & Defence Agenda and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Brussels, 6 November 2006

First of all I want to thank you for this opportunity to share with you some of my thoughts on where NATO is heading.

NATO is the cornerstone for Denmark’s security and defence policy. For decades during the Cold War, NATO ensured the peace and security of Denmark.

Today, NATO constitutes an important framework for Denmark’s contribution to global peace and security. And, not least, NATO is the central forum for trans-Atlantic dialogue and co-operation on security and defence issues.

Denmark attaches great importance to the trans-Atlantic relationship. NATO is the place where Europeans and North-Americans meet on a daily basis to discuss security issues. In my view the political dialogue in NATO could be strengthened even further.

Also issues where no direct NATO engagement is foreseen should be discussed to a greater extent in NATO – issues like Iran, North Korea and the situation in the Middle East. We share common values and we should therefore also share our thoughts on common problems and challenges.

Europe needs the United States of America. Not only because the armed forces of the United States are the only truly global armed forces and the United States have the necessary capacity to ensure international peace and stability. But also because we stand together in the global fight between democracy and dictatorship, between freedom and suppression.

And the United States need Europe because lasting solutions to the global challenge of fighting terrorism, to the crisis in the Middle East, in Asia and Africa require our common efforts. We, Europeans, should also be ready to take our part of the responsibility.

NATO has maintained its strong role as the focal point for the trans-

Atlantic relationship because it has been able to adapt to the changing global environment. NATO has transformed. But transformation has no clear defined end. Transformation is a process, and NATO must continue to transform to keep its relevance.

One of the issues that we are going to discuss today, is whether NATO should go global. To me there is only one answer to that question: Yes, of course. In fact, NATO has already for some time been a global player.

During the last decade NATO has been through two rounds of enlargement. NATO has increased its relations with the Mediterranean countries. NATO has started developing relations with the countries in the Broader Middle East. NATO has troops deployed to Afghanistan and Iraq, and staff deployed to Adis Abeba (Ethiopia).

All these developments prove that NATO has become an organisation working globally.

As NATO has evolved into an organisation with global reach the need for strengthening its relations with new partners has also increased. That is why we should consider how to further strengthening NATO's relationship also with countries like Australia, New Zealand, Japan etc. Countries that all share the same values as we do, and some of them also take part in NATO operations.

And the Alliance should also strengthen its relations with other international and regional organisations be it the United Nations, the European Union, the African Union, OSCE or non-governmental organisations.

More often than not many of these organisations are involved where NATO has forces deployed. However the cooperation and coordination that takes place is often ad hoc based.

I believe, and I think that most of you will agree with me on this, that the conflicts of today can not be won by military means alone. The situation in Afghanistan is perhaps the most striking example. If we want to succeed here and in future operations it is essential that all international actors involved in a mission area carry out their work in a more coordinated and planned manner.

It is like a football team. Everyone does what he is best at. But not all can play as centre forward – or as goalkeeper. So before the match starts – and during the match - there needs to be some co-ordination on who does what.

Otherwise the risk of loosing the match increases significantly.

Now, does this mean that NATO should be the captain of the football team? Certainly not.

When Denmark in the framework of NATO has promoted the notion of Concerted Planning and Action – or just CPA as we have come to call it – we have strongly stressed that coordination and cooperation with other international organisations and NGOs should take place on a voluntary basis and on an equal footing. NATO shall not coordinate the work of other actors – but NATO should be better to coordinate with other actors in a mission area.

Furthermore the aim is not for NATO to develop its own civil capabilities. Others already have these capabilities and the aim is not to duplicate these capabilities. That would be a waste of resources.

No, the aim of CPA is very basic and very simple:

- To work better alongside and together with the rest of the international community both in the planning phase and in the actual operations.
- And also in NATO's own planning for operations to be better at taking into account the activities of other actors.

As I said it all sounds very simple. The difficult part is to make it work in practice.

Denmark has already made a number of concrete proposals to this respect. Let me mention two:

In *Afghanistan*, we should strengthen the set-up of the Senior Civilian Representative and COMISAF in order to ensure that consultation and coordination with other actors can be executed efficiently also after the Southern and Eastern expansion of ISAF.

And in *Kosovo* we should agree to set up appropriate arrangements for exchange of information and coordination of efforts on the ground and at institutional level.

It is thus my firm belief that increased co-operation and co-ordination between military and civilian actors is crucial for achieving lasting peace and security.

In Afghanistan the Alliance has committed itself to assisting the Afghan government and people in building a free, democratic and peaceful society. Afghanistan will be a key issue at the summit in Riga. At the summit the member states should confirm their commitment to the operation in Afghanistan. It is a matter of NATO's credibility. We must put all necessary effort into the operation to ensure a successful outcome.

To achieve success is not an easy task. There will be a need for our assistance for many years. We must be patient – not least we politicians and decision-makers. In Kosovo and Bosnia there is still international military presence more than 10 years after the end of hostilities. But if we stay focussed, we will succeed.

To sum up it is my hope that NATO at the *Summit in Riga* can send a clear message that NATO is ready to strengthen and evolve its relationships with current and new partners – be they countries or organisations. A message that NATO is ready to work closely and in concert with all other actors in our areas of operations to achieve a successful outcome.

Thank you.

# Chapter 3

## Danish Foreign Policy in Figures

### Danish Official Development Assistance · 180

*Danish ODA*

*Danish ODA (by category, net disbursement)*

*Danish Bilateral ODA (by country category)*

### Assistance under the Neighbourhood Programme · 181

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

### Defence · 182

*Defence Expenditures to International Missions*

### The EU · 183

*Financing of the EU Budget*

## DANISH OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE (ODA) 2003-2006

### Danish Official Development Assistance (ODA) 2003-2006

(Current prices – million DKK)	2003	2004	2005	2006
ODA net disbursement	11,496.93	12,197.48	12,645.28	13,276.65

### Danish ODA – by category (net disbursement) 2006

	Million DKK	Percentage
Bilateral assistance	8,693.94	65.5 %
Multilateral assistance	4,582.71	34.5 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>13,276.65</b>	<b>100 %</b>

### Danish Bilateral Assistance (by country category) 2003-2006

		2003	2004	2005	2006
Least developed countries	Million DKK	2,946.5	2,954.9	3,317.1	3,508.2
	Per cent	43.4 %	41.1 %	40.8 %	40.4 %
Low income countries	Million DKK	1,292.2	2,082.5	2,464.9	2,970.1
	Per cent	19.1 %	28.9 %	30.3 %	34.2 %
Other developing countries	Million DKK	207.7	252.4	181.4	211.4
	Per cent	3.0 %	3.5 %	2.2 %	2.3 %
Other	Million DKK	2,337.9	1,907.6	2,176.2	2,004.2
	Per cent	34.5 %	26.5 %	26.7 %	23.1 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>Million DKK</b>	<b>6,784.3</b>	<b>7,197.4</b>	<b>8,139.6</b>	<b>8,693.9</b>
	<b>Per cent</b>	<b>100.0 %</b>	<b>100.0 %</b>	<b>100.0 %</b>	<b>100.0 %</b>

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

Source: Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs

## ASSISTANCE UNDER THE NEIGHBOURHOOD PROGRAMME

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

### Disbursements 2006

Recipient Country	DKK	Percentage
Albania	713,389	0.57
Belarus	3,703,270	2.94
Bosnia-Herzegovina	4,544,807	3.61
Bulgaria	461,922	0.37
Caucasus, the (Armenia, Azerbaïdian, Georgia)	9,066,298	7.20
Croatia	3,446,495	2.74
Macedonia	1,150,430	0.91
Moldova	751,563	0.60
Neighbourhood countries, regional contributions	50,112,021	39.81
Rumania	2,538,965	2.02
Russia	18,181,680	14.45
Serbia-Montenegro, including Kosovo	17,033,380	13.53
Turkey	2,795,530	2.22
Ukraine	11,367,525	9.03
<b>Total</b>	<b>125,867,275</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Further information on [www.neighbourhoodprogramme.um.dk](http://www.neighbourhoodprogramme.um.dk).

## DEFENCE

### Defence Expenditures to International Missions

(This year's prices – million DKK)	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Participation in UN, OSCE, NATO and other multilateral missions <sup>1</sup>	1,090,4	1,009,6	837,1	914,3	936,3
NATO <sup>2</sup>	726,0	717,9	696,2	658,4	709,2
International Security Cooperation <sup>3</sup>	92,5	124,3	94,7	80,1	72,0
<b>International expenditures in total</b>	<b>1,908,9</b>	<b>1,851,8</b>	<b>1,628,0</b>	<b>1,652,8</b>	<b>1,717,5</b>

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 2003-2006 account numbers have been used. For 2007 budget numbers have been used.

Source: *The Danish Ministry of Defence*

## THE EU

### Financing of the EU Budget 2007 (official exchange rate)

	Billion Euro	Percentage
Austria	2,371	2.26 %
Belgium	4,474	3.00 %
Bulgaria	0,320	0.24 %
Cyprus	0,177	0.14 %
Czech Republic	1,208	1.05 %
<b>Denmark</b>	<b>2,327</b>	<b>2.06 %</b>
Estonia	0,137	0.12 %
Finland	1,647	1.56 %
France	18,200	17.39 %
Germany	22,288	19.89 %
Greece	2,089	1.93 %
Hungary	0,922	0.81 %
Ireland	1,664	1.48 %
Italy	14,493	13.39 %
Latvia	0,187	0.16 %
Lithuania	0,268	0.22 %
Luxembourg	0,256	0.25 %
Malta	0,057	0.05 %
Netherlands	6,338	4.69 %
Poland	2,727	2.49 %
Portugal	1,540	1.47 %
Romania	1,060	0.93 %
Slovakia	0,457	0.41 %
Slovenia	0,318	0.29 %
Spain	10,753	9.56 %
Sweden	2,999	2.68 %
United Kingdom	14,124	11.49 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>113,401</b>	<b>100.00 %</b>

Source: EU-Tidende

# Chapter 4

## Opinion Polls

A Future EU Treaty · 186

The Danish EU Opt-Outs · 187

The Mohammad Drawings · 188

Iraq · 191

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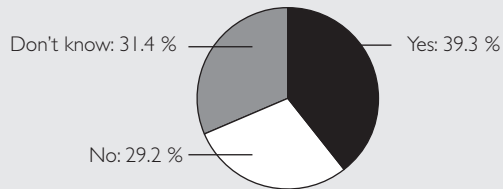
Terrorism · 193

## A FUTURE EU TREATY

In June 2006, *Catinét*, in cooperation with the Danish newsagency *Ritzau*, polled a representative sample of the Danish population (1012 persons aged 18 or older) concerning their attitude towards a future EU Treaty.

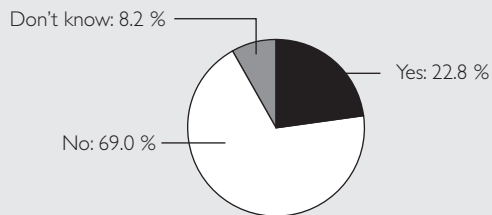
### Question 1:

*Do you support a minor treaty amendment from consensus to majority decision making in some areas, as for example in the area of Justice and Home Affairs?*



### Question 2:

*Would it be acceptable to you if the Danish parliament ratified a future treaty amendment without a popular vote?*

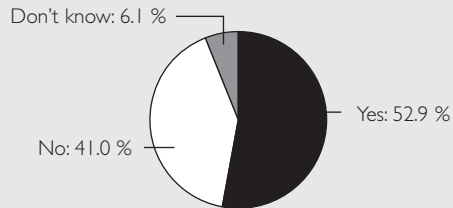


## THE DANISH EU OPT-OUTS

In November 2006, Greens, in cooperation with the Danish newspaper *Børsen*, polled a representative sample of the Danish population (1012 persons aged 18 or older) concerning their attitude towards the Danish EU opt-outs.

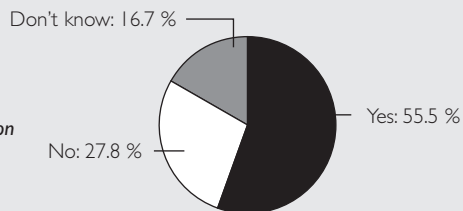
### Question 1:

*How would you vote in a referendum on Danish participation in the Single European Currency?*



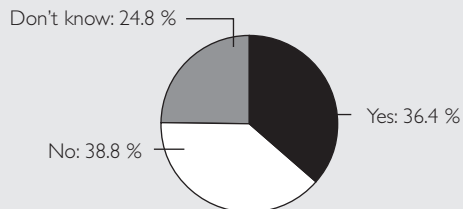
### Question 2:

*How would you vote in a referendum on Danish participation in the Common Defence?*



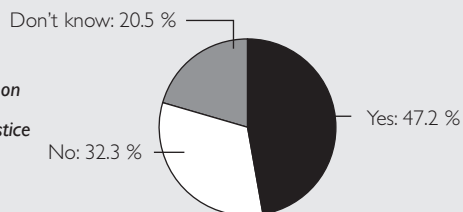
### Question 3:

*How would you vote in a referendum on Danish participation in the Union Citizenship?*



### Question 4:

*How would you vote in a referendum on Danish participation in the area of Justice and Home affairs?*

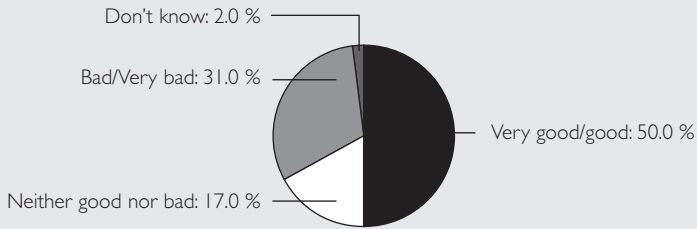


## THE MOHAMMAD DRAWINGS

In February 2006, *Gallup*, in cooperation with the Danish newspaper *Berlingske Tidende*, polled a representative sample of the Danish population (1006 persons aged 18 or older) concerning their attitude towards the Mohammad drawings.

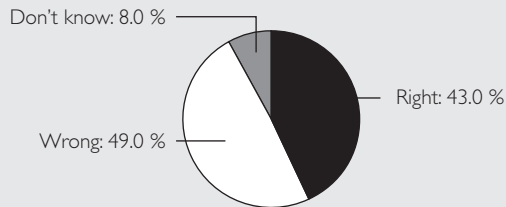
### Question 1:

*How well do you think the government handled the situation arising from the Mohammad drawings?*



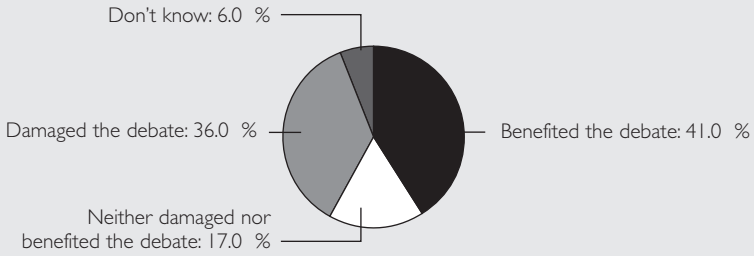
### Question 2:

*Do you think Jyllands-Posten was right or wrong in publishing the satirical drawings of the prophet Mohammad?*



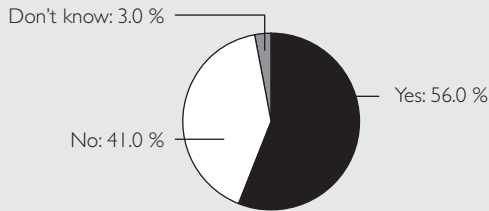
**Question 3:**

*Did the publishing of the drawings in your opinion damage or benefit the debate about freedom of speech?*



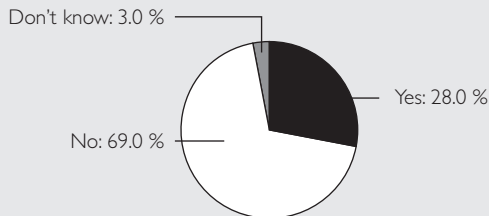
**Question 4:**

*Do you understand that Moslems all over the world feel offended by the drawings?*



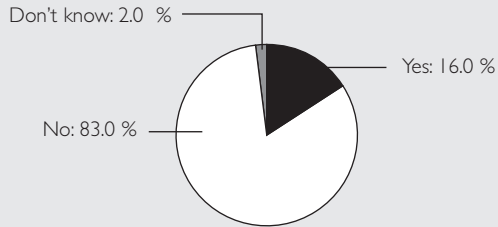
**Question 5:**

*Did the debate about the Mohammad drawings give you personally a more nuanced perspective on the religion Islam?*

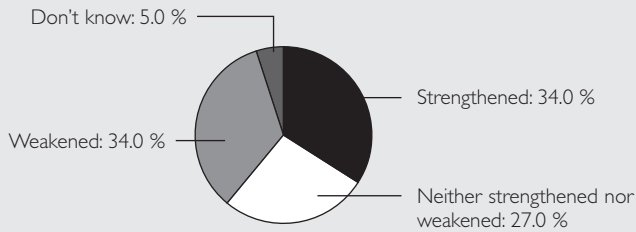


**Question 6:**

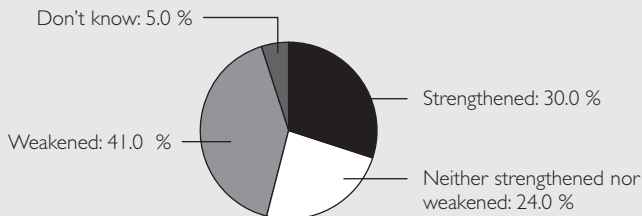
*Will the debate about the Mohammad drawings make you work towards a better understanding of the religion?*

**Question 7:**

*Do you think that freedom of speech in general will be strengthened or weakened in the aftermath of the debate about the Mohammad drawings*

**Question 8:**

*Do you think that Denmark as a nation will be strengthened or weakened in the aftermath of the debate about the Mohammad drawings?*

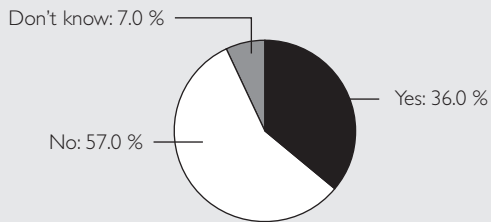


## IRAQ

In October 2006, *Gallup*, in cooperation with the Danish newspaper *Berlingske Tidende*, polled a representative sample of the Danish population (996 persons aged 18 or older) concerning their attitude towards the war in Iraq and the Danish military engagement.

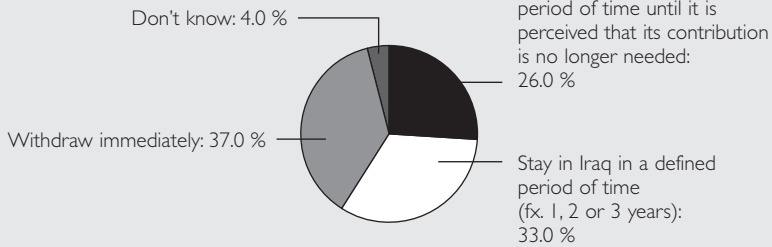
### Question 1:

*Do you think Denmark's active participation with soldiers and materials in the war in Iraq was the right decision?*



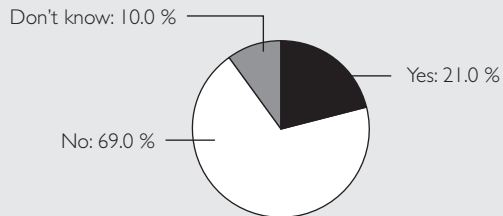
### Question 2:

*Do you think the Danish force in Iraq should ...?*



### Question 3:

*Do you think the foundation for the war in Iraq is still solid?*



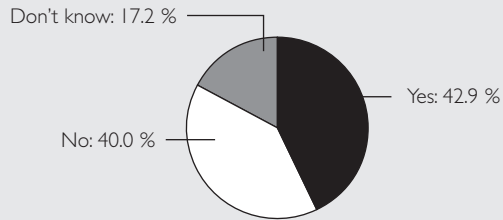
## AFGHANISTAN

In October 2006, *Catinét*, in cooperation with the Danish newsagency *Ritzau*, polled a representative sample of the Danish population (1021 persons aged 18 or older) concerning their attitude towards the Danish military engagement in Afghanistan.

### Question 1:

*Currently Denmark has 300 soldiers in Afghanistan.*

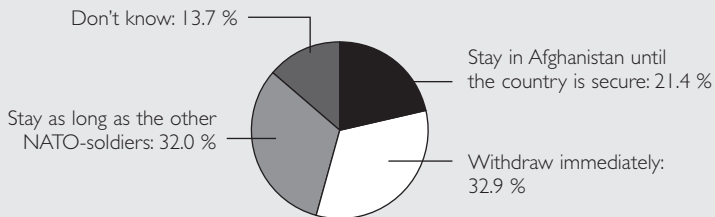
*Do you think sending Danish soldiers to Afghanistan was the right decision?*



### Question 2:

*What do you think should happen to the Danish military force?*

*Do you think the Danish military force should ...?*

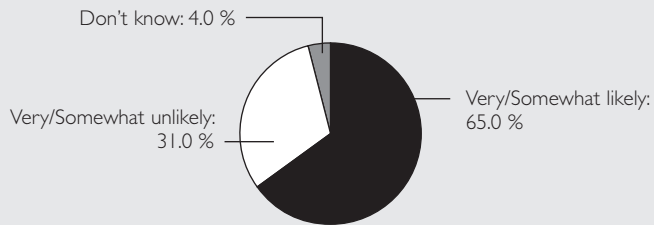


## TERRORISM

In February 2006, *Gallup*, in cooperation with the Danish newspaper *Berlingske Tidende*, polled a representative sample of the Danish population (1006 persons aged 18 or older) concerning terrorism.

### Question 1:

*How likely do you think it is that Denmark will become a target for terrorist acts carried out by fundamentalist Islamic groups in the forthcoming years?*



# Chapter 5

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