DANISH FOREIGN POLICY YEARBOOK 2005

EDITED BY PER CARLSEN AND HANS MOURITZEN

DANISH INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

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Preface

Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2005 is the ninth volume of the yearbook in its present form. It is the third year that it is being published by DIIS, the Danish Institute for International Studies.

As previously, the volume focuses on Danish foreign policy and Denmark's position within an international and a transnational context – at the regional as well as the global level. However, we have broadened the scope of the yearbook somewhat in accordance with the widening focus of the Institute. Apart from the official outline of Denmark's 2004 foreign policy by the permanent secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Friis Arne, we have included scholarly articles by Dan Hamilton and Mikkel Vedby, who represent only themselves and their academic expertise. The third scholarly article by Uffe Østergård is written both in the author's expert capacity and from his position as Head of "Holocaust and Genocide Studies" at DIIS. The scholarly articles are abstracted, both in English and Danish, at the outset of chapter one.

Then follows a small selection of official documents which we consider to be pioneering or characteristic of Danish foreign policy during the year. This is supplemented by essential statistics on Danish foreign policy, as well as some of the most relevant polls on the attitude of the Danish population on key foreign policy questions. A bibliography then offers a limited selection of scholarly books, articles, and chapters published in 2004 in English, German or French dealing with the yearbook's topic.

The editors of *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook* are director Per Carlsen and senior research fellow, dr.scient.pol. Hans Mouritzen. Line Juul Bay, Line Selmer Friborg, Martin Jakobsen, Morten Lihn Jørgensen, and Sofie Schrøder have provided editorial and technical assistance for this volume. Robert Parkin has been our linguistic consultant.

The editors
Copenhagen, May 2005

CHAPTER 1
Articles

ABSTRACTS OF SCHOLARLY ARTICLES (IN ENGLISH AND DANISH)

Transforming Wider Europe: Ten Lessons from Transatlantic-Nordic-Baltic Cooperation
Daniel Hamilton

For half a century the primary agenda of European-American relations has been to work towards a Europe that is whole, free and at peace with itself. Our common challenge now is to reconcile a new stage of European integration with a strategic transformation of transatlantic relations. The task today is to extend the projection of stability and democracy to include the countries of Wider Europe, from Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean to Eurasia. Ten lessons for this process from transatlantic-Nordic-Baltic cooperation in the post-Cold War era are delineated and discussed in this article. To emphasize a single example, there is great scope for current EU and NATO members to 'mentor' non-member partners.

I et halvt århundrede har den primære dagsorden for det europæisk-amerikanske forhold været at arbejde for et helt, frit og fredeligt Europa. Den fælles udfordring er nu at forene en ny fase i den europæiske integration med en strategisk ændring af det atlantiske forhold. Opgaven i dag er at udvide projiceringen af stabilitet og demokrati til også at omfatte lande i et bredere Europa, fra Østeuropa og Middelhavet til Eurasien. Artiklen uddrager og diskuterer ti lærestykker for denne proces fra det transatlantisk-nordisk-baltiske samarbejde efter den kolde krig. For blot at fremhæve et enkelt er der behov for, at nuværende EU- og NATO-medlemmer fungerer som 'mentorlande' for udenforstående partnerlande.

Camp Eden: The 2004 Defence Agreement, Military Power, and Danish Values

Mikkel Vedby Rasmussen

This chapter links two key 2004 events in Danish defence policy. A defence agreement was concluded which enshrined the post-Cold War practice of the expeditionary use of military force. However, the political and public acceptance of this offensive approach to military force was tested by allegations of torture in the Danish 'Camp Eden' in Iraq. The ensuing debate revealed two contrasting views of the use of armed force. The cultural approach regards the alleged torture as an example of how the offensive use of military force is corrupting Danish values. The political approach claims that these cultural sensitivities display a refusal to acknowledge Denmark's role and obligations in a globalising world. It is asked; whether Denmark has in fact developed a strategic discourse at the political level, as well as a 'mission culture' at the military level, to match its new expedition capability.

Dette kapitel forbinder to nøglebegivenheder i dansk forsvarspolitik 2004. Et forsvarsforlig blev vedtaget, der baserede sig på praksisen efter den kolde krig med at udsende militære udrykningsstyrker. Den politiske og offentlige accept af denne offensive tilgang til brugen af militær magt blev imidlertid sat på prøve med beskyldningerne om brug af tortur i den danske 'Camp Eden' i Irak. Den efterfølgende debat blotlagde to modsatrettede syn på brugen af væbnet magt. Kulturtilgangen betragter torturanklagerne som et eksempel på, hvordan en offensiv brug af militær magt kan korrumpere danske værdier. Ifølge den politiske tilgang er en sådan kulturfølsomhed udtryk for en modvilje mod at anerkende Danmarks rolle og forpligtelser i en mere og mere globaliseret verden. Det diskuteres, hvorvidt Danmark rent faktisk har udviklet en strategisk diskurs på det politiske niveau og en 'missionskultur' på det militære niveau, som svarer til landets nye udrykningskapabilitet.

Denmark and the New International Politics of Morality and Remembrance

Uffe Østergård

The 'politics of remembrance' is a new phenomenon in Danish politics and foreign policy. Both at the international and the European level, reference is increasingly made to the Holocaust when speaking about human rights, tolerance, or other civic values. Numerous countries have embarked on investigating their own role in the Nazi crimes ('Vergangenheitsbewältigung' in German). The article discusses both the international dimension of this development – for example the Stockholm

Process and the 'Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research' – and its Danish counterpart, the establishment of an official, annual genocide commemoration day (the 'Auschwitz-day') and, for instance, the Prime Minister's apology to the families of 21 Jews expelled from Denmark to Germany during the German occupation. The article links this politics of remembrance to the growing importance of the international rule of law, but also warns that it is important to strike the balance between morality and moralism.

'Erindringspolitik' er et nyt fænomen i dansk politik og udenrigspolitik. På såvel europæisk som internationalt plan refereres der i stigende grad til Holocaust, når talen falder på menneskerettigheder, tolerance eller tilsvarende samfundsmæssige værdier. Adskillige lande har startet en officiel undersøgelse af deres egen rolle i Nazi-forbrydelserne ('Vergangenheitsbewältigung' på tysk). Artiklen diskuterer såvel den internationale dimension heraf – for eksempel Stockholm Processen og den såkaldte 'Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research' – samt det danske bidrag hertil, indførelsen af en officiel årlig mindedag for folkedrab ('Auschwitz-dagen') og f.eks. statsministerens nylige undskyldning til familierne til 21 jøder, der under den tyske besættelse blev udvist fra Danmark til Tyskland. Artiklen knytter erindringspolitikken til den stigende betydning af et internationalt retssamfund, men påpeger også vigtigheden af at skelne mellem moral og moralisme.

The International Situation and Danish Foreign Policy 2004

Friis Arne Petersen[1]

2004 was a year of accomplishments on the international scene. We witnessed foreign policy events and opportunities shaping the lives and future of many people. Let me mention the enlargement of the European Union, the establishment of an interim Iraqi government in the constantly changing wider Middle East region and the successful elections in Afghanistan.

Denmark's active and engaged foreign policy was in 2004 driven by a clear multilateral approach in dealing with the challenges of the new global reality. A reality calling for renewed world attention to the combat of terrorism and its root causes after the Madrid Terror-attack. This is a reality demanding a strong transatlantic partnership addressing cross-border issues such as the spreading of weapons of mass destruction. A reality where Denmark as member of the United Nations Security Council will be able to work for peaceful and sustainable solutions to conflicts on the international security agenda.

What are then the main accomplishments shaping 2004?

2004 saw the EU emerge as an even stronger driver for continued reform and development throughout the European continent. Ten new member states joined the EU on 1 May 2004. This will benefit both existing members like Denmark and the new ones.

Even earlier, all 25 countries were driven by a strong urge to create a right and democratic framework for an enlarged and efficient Europe – the Constitutional Treaty. After hard work, we succeeded and in October the Treaty was signed in Rome. Efforts to strengthen EU and its Member States continue everyday. In 2004 we focused on the review of the Lisbon Strategy – a Partnership for Growth and Jobs, the emerging priorities in the financial framework for 2007-2013 as well as further enlargement.

At the UN, the Danish campaign to be elected as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council was crowned with success in October 2004.

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Hard work was invested in obtaining this result. 1 January 2005 marked the beginning of a two-year period with extra leverage to find peaceful and sustainable solutions to conflicts in countries such as Somalia, Sudan and Afghanistan.

While huge challenges still lie ahead in the wider Middle East region, we also witnessed some important accomplishments in 2004 – the establishment of an interim government in Iraq and efforts to resume an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue in the post-Arafat period. The transatlantic partnership is a prerequisite for real change and progress in this region.

Let me now turn to these and related developments shaping the 2004 international scene. As a conclusion, I will make some observations on the challenges in the coming year(s) for Denmark's foreign policy and the Danish Foreign Service.

NEW ERA OF EUROPEAN CO-OPERATION – AN EFFICIENT UNION

Enlarging the European Union – the EU as a Crucial Engine for Reform

When EU in 2004 welcomed 10 new Member States a new chapter was written in the process of enlargement of the institutions of the Western world that started at the end of the cold war.

The unification of Europe is a historic event of epic dimensions, and a fulfilment of a major Danish Foreign Policy goal of the past 15 years. First NATO and then the European Union decided to welcome the former communist countries. Enlargement replaced containment as a strategy for stability. We worked hard to accomplish this goal and we were proud to achieve it during the Danish EU-presidency in 2002 when negotiations on EU-enlargement were concluded. We are now in a situation, where Europe enjoys an unprecedented degree of stability and prosperity.

In 2004 we did more than embracing the 10 new Member States – we also closed negotiations with Bulgaria and Rumania, who are set to become members 1 January 2007. The perspective of EU-membership has proved to be an effective catalyst for reform. New members have had to cover a lot of ground in order to become members and Rumania and Bulgaria still have requirements to fulfil in order to meet the 2007-deadline, even though negotiations have been closed.

In the Western Balkans the perspective of EU-membership also serves as a strong incitement to reforms. In 2004, it was decided to open accession negotiations with Croatia in 2005 on the condition of full cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, ICTY. Developments have also been positive in other parts of the Western Balkans. The EU pressure and the importance

given to relations with the EU are central factors in the democratic development in Ukraine and Moldova.

In Denmark, the most publicly debated enlargement issue in 2004 was the question of initiating accession negotiations with Turkey. Reforms undertaken in Turkey over the last years have been impressive. Turkey is certainly a country in a time of change, but more change need to come if Turkey is to fulfil the conditions for obtaining membership. The strengthened framework for accession negotiations established by the EU in December 2004 should assure the adequate balance with a view to maintain the incentive for further reforms. Turkey has for many years been an important ally in NATO. Because of its size, population and geographical situation the relations with Turkey are of strategic interest to the EU. The EU-Turkey relationship, which is now entering a new phase, has the potential of contributing positively to countering terrorism, islamofobia and the negative agenda framed by proponents of a "clash of civilisations". To use this potential to its maximum is a fundamental challenge in the coming years.

As described we have achieved a lot and we are fortunate to live in a stable part of the world. The rings of stabilisation are slowly but steadily expanding, building upon European integration. But challenges certainly remain. Reforms must continue and the EU must maintain its pressure for changes also in countries where the reform movement has not emerged yet.

Active Bilateralism is a Pre-condition for Influence

At 25 members the character and way of policy-making in the European Union have changed. To an increasing degree, cooperation involves actors across a wide range of issues drawing upon line-ministries, ministers and officials at many levels as well as a range of European institutions. To a larger extent policy- and decision-shaping now happen bilaterally in the EU-capitals, away from the institutional set-up and conference-tables in Brussels. In the processes inside the institutional set-up of the EU the importance of intensive contacts with especially the Commission and the European Parliament, has also increased both at capital level and in Brussels. The community method continues to matter. Whereas Member States and institutional actors form steady patterns of strategic alliances on some issues, on others, the key is shifting ad-hoc-coalitions according to the subject.

For smaller EU-Member States such as Denmark this increased focus on the bilateralisation of policy-making means that there is more emphasis on active and effective targeted bilateral relations with all EU-partners in order to pursue national interests. The aim is to improve both the number and the quality of bilateral interactions.

EU-cooperation at 25 is thus the reinvention and continuation of multilateral diplomacy and politics with new means. The increased bilateral activities involve both ministers and top-level officials, who all work to maximize Danish impact and access to influencing decision-making. Prioritisation and coordination of these efforts are essential to the pursuit of Danish interests. This is obviously a challenge to the whole Danish administration and besides the Foreign Ministry, that has been preoccupied with this task since membership in 1972, more ministries seem to be engaging herein albeit slowly.

The Constitutional Treaty – our New Framework for an Efficient Union

In my contribution to the Yearbook 2003, the main sticking points causing the breakdown in negotiations on the Constitutional Treaty in December 2003 were outlined. Fortunately, the cautious optimism to reach an agreement on the Treaty before the end of 2004 proved right. The 25 member states were able to reach a consensus and sign the Constitutional Treaty in the Campidoglio Palace in Rome 29 October 2004. In fact, this 17th century palace on top of the historic Capitoline hill was the same venue used for the signing of the Rome Treaty by the six founding members of the EU in 1957.

But a lot of hard work was invested before we were able to come "back to Rome". The Danish Government continued to pursue our objectives in the negotiations on the basis of the mandate agreed by the *Folketing* in October 2003. Throughout 2004, the *Folketing* was regularly informed on the state of play and the European Affairs Committee adopted a revised mandate for the government in the run-up to the European Council in June 2004. It was an essential objective to ensure that the Danish opt-outs were maintained unchanged in the new treaty. This was fully accomplished. In addition, Denmark obtained the right to change the justice and home affairs-opt out into a model where we would decide on a case-by-case basis whether we would like to participate. Changing any of the Danish opt-outs can only be decided by the Danes themselves and would presuppose a new referendum.

The issue of introducing qualified majority voting in the area of social security was only solved in the final stage of the negotiations. A so-called "emergency brake" was put into the compromise text, which ensures that if fundamental aspects of our national social security system are considered to be affected by EU legislation, such legislation has to receive the support of the *Folketing*.

The Constitutional Treaty enters into force when it has been ratified in all the member states. Denmark plans to ratify the treaty after a national referendum – the seventh – on 27 September 2005. A broad-based political agreement on the Constitutional Treaty – "Denmark in the enlarged EU" – was therefore concluded in

November 2004. It identifies a number of areas, where Denmark should play a more active and constructive role in the EU, including openness, democracy and increased involvement by the *Folketing* in EU-affairs. Other areas for an active Danish EU policy include competition, the environment and consumer protection as well as the more long-term ambition of enabling the EU to assume greater global responsibility. The agreement does not contain new Danish opt-outs or reservations.

In order to contribute to a broad and informed debate in the period leading up to the Danish referendum, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in November 2004 made a report to the *Folketing* on the Constitutional Treaty. The report presents a factual overview of the treaty emphasizing the new elements. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs also launched a series of conferences on Europe. The aim was to highlight central features of the EU co-operation to a broader Danish audience by inviting high-level European decision-makers and observers.

The Lisbon Strategy – a Partnership for Growth and Jobs

At the spring summit in 2004, the European Council decided to carry out a midterm review of the Lisbon Strategy in 2005. The background was the fact that the EU and the Member States had not been sufficiently successful in delivering on many of the objectives contained in the strategy, including economic, social and environmental targets.

A report analysing the performance and shortcomings of the strategy was published in November 2004 by the former Dutch Prime Minister Wim Kok heading an independent high level expert group. Wim Kok recommended to focus on growth and employment and to reform the governance of the strategy. Based on the Wim Kok report, the Commission published its spring report in February 2005.

Denmark actively contributed to the debate and preparations of the midterm review. In close co-operation with all interested stakeholders, across traditional boundaries such as employer-employee and public-private, the Government finalised a written input to the midterm review ahead of the Wim Kok report. Denmark proposed six concrete ideas for a reformed Lisbon Strategy. One of the main Danish ideas was to launch a strategic project of establishing an internal market of knowledge based on the principles of mobility, competition and excellence. Another main idea was to focus on growth and jobs by creating and using the positive synergies between the economic, social and environmental dimensions of the strategy.

A reformed Lisbon Strategy intends to pave the way for improving European competitiveness in a socially and environmentally sustainable way. And the Lisbon

Strategy will maintain and improve the European economic and social model. At the end of the day, however, it is up to the Member States to carry through the necessary structural reforms. But a revitalised Lisbon Strategy will constitute a comprehensive and necessary framework for these reforms.

EU Financial Perspectives for 2007-2013

2004 marked the beginning of very difficult negotiations concerning the political priorities and financial framework of the EU for 2007-2013. The Commission presented its proposal based on three pillars of spending for the future development of the EU:

- Continued improvements in economic and social cohesion, while creating more jobs and achieving higher economic growth.
- Citizens should be given a European space of freedom, justice and security.
- The EU should have a strong global role, reflecting its economic and political weight in the international system.

During 2004 Member States discussed the key political priorities for 2007-2013 and in broad terms touched upon the budgetary implications of these priorities. Discussions were conducted on a fruitful basis during both Irish and Dutch Presidencies resulting in progress reports from the Presidency to the European Council in both June and December 2004.

The multi-annual framework should be agreed upon in due time before entering into force on 1 January 2007 and an agreement already in June 2005 should not be excluded. However, substantial differences in positions among Member States remain and significant movement will be necessary to bridge the gap between the poles of interests concerning future spending. One pole arguing for strict budget discipline not exceeding 1,00 pct. of EU GNI to underpin national efforts for budget discipline and another pole arguing for significant increases to honour needs for funding, including for enlargement.

The Danish Government supports continued budget discipline, but have not signed up for a specific expenditure ceiling. This issue should only be settled when the political priorities have been agreed upon to ensure that the needs for funding and the available resources are guaranteed to match. The Danish view is that better and stronger prioritisation will be necessary. Future spending should be directed to areas and tasks, where EU funding makes a difference compared to individual efforts in Member States. In achieving this, the focus on the poorest in the EU's cohesion policy should be maintained. The Danish Government supports that

priority is given to research, development and education, the external policies of the EU and areas within justice and home affairs.

The EU as a Global Actor – an On-going Process

The European Union is already a global actor with more than 450 million people producing a quarter of the world's economic values. However, the EU should be better at sharing the global responsibility and at working for peace and prosperity – not only in Europe. There is a widespread recognition that the EU could make better use of the different instruments at its disposal. In 2004, the efforts to make the EU a more capable global actor proceeded in four main areas; implementation of the first ever European Security Strategy; establishment of a new European Neighbourhood policy; progress in crisis management; and conclusion of the new Constitutional Treaty.

The implementation of the *European Security Strategy* began in 2004 after its endorsement by the European Council in December 2003. This Strategy constitutes the first global framework for Europe's new role on the world scene under the heading: "A secure Europe in a Better World." It states that Europe must be better to counter new and old threats such as terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, failed states and organised crime. In the implementation special attention has been given to a more effective European counter-terrorism effort, implementing the action plan for non-proliferation for weapons of mass destruction, promoting effective multilateralism with the UN at its core and developing our relations with the Arab world.

Today, a great challenge is strengthening the relations between the enlarged EU and its Eastern and Southern neighbouring countries. With the adoption of the *European Neighbourhood Policy* in June 2004 the proper framework is now in place. The initial steps were taken during the Danish Presidency in the second half of 2002. And the first series of Action Plans were concluded in December 2004 with Morocco, Tunisia, Jordan, the Palestinian Authority, Israel, Ukraine and Moldova. Next in line for the conclusion of Action Plans are Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, which were included in the Neighbourhood policy in June 2004. Action Plans are also under preparation with Egypt and Lebanon. When relevant, the EU will continue to involve Russia in concrete initiatives.

The policy offers neighbours the possibility to participate in various EU activities, through greater political, security, economic and cultural co-operation. It builds on mutual commitment to common values principally within the fields of rule of law, good governance, respect for human rights, including minority rights,

promotion of good neighbourly relations, and principles of market economy and sustainable development.

Some times policy alone is not enough. Step by step, Europe is building up a capacity to deal with crisis situations in Europe's neighbourhood, in Africa, and in other regions. The Union is currently conducting five *crisis management* operations, and will amongst others soon be involved in Iraq. More than 7,000 European troops are contributing to stabilising the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. At the heart of Europe's crisis management capacity lays the ability to integrate civilian and military instruments. Through the establishment of The Civilian-Military Cell, the Union will increase its capacity to successfully address the complex security challenges of the 21st century.

Finally, the *Constitutional Treaty* should also be mentioned in this context. One of the central objectives of the treaty is to improve the coherence in the Union's external relations and ensure that Europe can speak with one voice on the world scene. With this in mind, the Constitutional Treaty foresees the establishment of an EU Foreign Minister who will chair the External Relations Council and be vice-president of the European Commission. The EU Foreign Minister is to be supported by a so-called European External Action Service that brings together the different branches of European external representation under the mandate of the EU-Foreign Minister. In this way, the ambition is to ensure a coherent and more consistent European foreign policy, thus increasing the impact of Europe in the world.

Another "Wave of Democracy"

In Georgia, events from November 2003 to January 2004 demonstrated the popular demand for unrigged elections and a desire to oust corrupt and inefficient leaders. Despite the long-lasting problems with breakaway Abkhazia and the South Ossetia-issue the population manifested their will to change and with peaceful means forced President Shevardnadze to step down. Fortunately bloodshed was prevented. The involved forces showed civil courage. Even if there are many difficulties ahead, the odds for sound changes have improved.

Later we witnessed a peaceful and positive outcome of the political crisis in Ukraine. The "orange revolution" paved the way for comprehensive social, economic and political reforms. A formidable task also lies ahead for President Yushchenko, but the solid and promising commitment shown by the Ukrainian people during the election period constitutes an important foundation for the further democratic development of the country. The political change in Ukraine opens up for strengthened relations with the European Union and with NATO,

as well as bilaterally. To strengthen relations at the bilateral level, Denmark has decided to open an embassy in Kiev.

Despite some similarities there is no "one-size-fits-all"-approach to democratisation. We must be attentive and spot the "forces for change". Denmark wishes to promote democratic development and is engaged in dialogue to help bring it about.

UNITED NATIONS – DENMARK AS A MEMBER OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL

Election and Priorities – Possibilities and Limitations

On 15 October 2004 the UN General Assembly elected Denmark, a common Nordic candidate, as a new non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. The membership started on 1 January 2005 and lasts two years. It is the fourth time Denmark has been elected as a non-permanent member to the Council – previous tenures date back to 1953-54, 1967-68 and 1985-86.

The United Nations is currently facing many challenges, and Denmark's Security Council membership comes about at a highly important time. The UN System is in the midst of an extensive reform process that also encompasses the structure and working methods of the Council. The core responsibility of the Council continues to be maintaining of international peace and security. However, complex conflict patterns such as civil wars and ethnic strives today dominate the Council's agenda rather than inter-state conflicts. At the same time, new themes have entered the global security agenda and thus the Council's agenda – particularly terrorism and development issues are increasingly viewed as an integrated part of conflict management.

Denmark's main task in the Security Council will be to work for peaceful and sustainable solutions to conflicts on the Council's agenda. Denmark has decided to prioritise eight conflicts, which are mostly also high on this agenda, namely Afghanistan, Ethiopia/Eritrea, Iraq, Kosovo, the Middle East, Somalia, Sudan and Northern Uganda. This selection of conflicts may change depending on future developments. In addition the *Folketing* adopted a decision on 27 May 2004 on Denmark's priorities on four cross-cutting priority themes for the Security Council membership: new threats focussing on international terrorism and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, conflict resolution, Africa and strengthening the Council.

As member of the Security Council in 2005-2006, Denmark will seek to influence the Council's agenda as much as possible and in particular set fingerprints on our priorities. Denmark will also seek an important role in building bridges over differences in the Council. Our vast international experience, including the recent EU Presidency, as well as our extensive global networks, provides us with a useful starting point. At the same time, expectations must be realistic. Negotiations are often difficult, and Denmark cannot alone decide to place an issue on the Council's agenda. However, with solid arguments and well-founded positions one can reach far – also in the Council.

In the Security Council, Denmark will assume the chairmanships of the Counter Terrorism Committee (described in the next chapter) and the Sanctions Committee on Liberia.

A Broader Danish UN Vision – The Reform Process has taken off

Already in 2004, the question of a reform of the United Nations rose high on the agenda of the international community. The UN and its member states were deeply engaged in preparing the ground for thorough reform of the UN system – a reform that we hope will be agreed on at the 2005 Summit in New York on 14-16 September 2005.

Back in 2003 the United Nations' Secretary General established the "High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change". The Panel was tasked to examine current challenges to peace and security, identify the contribution which collective action can provide, and recommend the changes necessary to ensure effective response.

Inspired by the Secretary-General's initiative and recognizing that strengthening the capacity of civilian crisis management is an obvious area for consideration within the mandate of the High-Level Panel, the Danish government hosted a seminar with that specific focus on 8 and 9 June 2004. Members of the High-Level Panel as well as leading experts and practitioners came to Copenhagen to discuss, how our collective capacity in this field could be strengthened. The seminar resulted in a number of specific recommendations, thus providing useful input to the work of the High-Level Panel. An important outcome of the seminar was the proposal to strengthen the UN in conflict prevention and post-conflict situations through what has later been called a Peace-building Commission.

On 2 December 2004 the High-Level Panel presented its report on Threats, Challenges and Change in the 21st century. A main theme of the report was its inclusive approach to global security – encompassing poverty, disease, environmental degradation as well as conflicts, weapons of mass destruction, terrorism and

organised crime – and increased emphasis on prevention. Among the reform proposals, the most controversial suggestions concerned expanding the Security Council, which has been discussed in an open-ended working group for more than ten years without results, and the establishment of a Human Rights Council as a Charter organ at par with the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

Denmark believes that the recommendations have the potential to strengthen multilateral cooperation based on the UN. They will be brought further at the 2005 Summit where Denmark will support the call of the Secretary-General for a new consensus on international security.

THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM

Terrorism is still a Threat to International Security

In 2004 the tragic terrorist attacks in Madrid and Beslan demonstrated that terrorism remains a serious threat to international security. It was confirmed that the fight against terrorism must be further strengthened. The new international terrorism is characterised by its ability and will to attack across borders. Therefore intensive international cooperation is crucial. The United Nations provide the global framework for this. It is a key priority for the Danish membership of the Security Council to reinforce the international commitment to the fight against terrorism. With the Danish chairmanship of UN's Counter Terrorism Committee (CTC) from 1 April 2005, Denmark will be in a central position to further strengthen the UN's role in countering terrorism.

The CTC monitors the states' implementation of Security Council resolution 1373 that was passed shortly after 11 September 2001. This resolution includes a number of key international obligations related to counter-terrorism. Above all, it obliges the member states to criminalise terrorist activities, to stop the financing of terrorism and to ratify all UN conventions regarding counter-terrorism. The CTC also facilitates technical assistance to countries, which lack the capacity to fight terrorism effectively. In this way, CTC can raise the global performance of governments against terrorism.

New Momentum behind EU's Actions to Counter Terrorism

To the European Union, the terrorist attacks in Madrid on 11 March 2004 were a stark reminder that EU's actions against terrorism had to be reinforced. The European Council appointed Dutch ambassador Gijs de Vries as Counter Terrorism

Coordinator. One of his main tasks is to ensure overall coherence in EU's actions against terrorism across the different policy areas in order for the initiatives to complement each other and become as effective as possible. The Coordinator will also provide analyses and policy proposals as well as represent the EU vis-à-vis third countries.

Furthermore, the EU formulated seven strategic objectives for the fight against terrorism and revised the existing action plan on combating terrorism in order to maximize its effectiveness. The strategic objectives will serve as guiding principles for future initiatives and include both internal and external efforts. Inside Europe, one of the goals is to improve the exchange of information between police and security services in order to prevent future attacks and to investigate and prosecute terrorists. One of the ways in which this objective has been fleshed out is in the expansion of the Situation Centre (under the Council Secretariat). From January 2005 the centre will not only analyse the terrorist threat outside Europe but also the threat from within Europe. As for the external dimension, a central objective is to provide technical assistance to third countries, which do not by themselves have the resources and know-how to fight terrorism effectively. There is thus a strong synergy between the work undertaken in the UN and the EU.

Countering the Factors Leading to Terrorism

In 2004 Denmark therefore actively continued to pursue the promotion of long-term counter terrorism action. The fight against terrorism does not only require an effective defence against new terrorist attacks here and now. It also requires a long-term strategy against the factors that in the end may foster sympathy and extend the recruitment base for terrorism.

Political oppression, violation of human rights, economic and social marginalisation and conflict are some of the factors that may pave the way for radicalisation and fundamentalism – especially in some of the world's poorest countries. Unless measures are taken to reverse these developments, there is a risk that new recruitment bases for international terrorism will be created.

Development assistance is a key instrument in this regard. Human development and societal change require long-term effort and commitment to change. The promotion of democratisation, the rule of law, free media and cross-cultural dialogue through concrete aid projects can play a central role in the fight against emerging radicalisation and extremism.

Combating recruitment for terrorism is high on the Danish counter terrorism agenda. This issue constitutes one of the new strategic objectives set out by the EU as well and a priority shared with the United States.

THE MIDDLE EAST – DEVELOPMENTS AND GLOBAL IMPLICATIONS

Reconstruction and Democratisation of Iraq

In 2004 the international community came together to assist building a free and modern Iraq at peace with its neighbours. UN Resolution 1546 of 8 June 2004 epitomised this positive development. The resolution recognised the planned transfer of sovereignty that took place three weeks later. On 30 June sovereignty was handed over to an interim Iraqi government headed by Prime Minister Ayad Allawi. The cabinet reflected the diverse nature of the Iraqi population and allocated posts to all major groups as well as minorities. The basis for the executive and judicial powers was the Transitional Administrative Law – an interim constitution.

As the interim government was sworn-in, Denmark opened its embassy in Baghdad. Ambassador Torben Gettermann was among the first international envoys to present his diplomatic credentials to the Iraqi president Ghazi al-Yawer on 28 June 2004.

UN Resolution 1546 outlined a political process with elections to a Transitional National Assembly, to Provisional Councils and to a Regional Kurdish Parliament no later than 31 January 2005. The main task of the Transitional National Assembly is to prepare a draft permanent constitution no later than 15 August 2005 and put it to a referendum no later than 15 October 2005. Elections to a National Assembly are to be held no later than mid-December and an Iraqi government to be formed by the end of December 2005.

Denmark continued its broad based support to the political development and stabilisation of Iraq. Political ties were strengthened through a number of high level visits. The Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and the Minister of Defence all visited Iraq. Danish Prime Minister Mr. Fogh Rasmussen met with Iraqi Prime Minister Ayad Allawi in the margins of the European Council in November. Also, Iraqi Foreign Minister Hoshyar Zebari as well as a number of Iraqi line ministers visited Denmark.

In concrete terms, Denmark allocated financial means to the UN to support the Iraqi elections led by the Independent Election Commission of Iraq. An election seminar, held in Kuwait with the participation of more than 100 politicians from the province of Basra running for office at either the Transitional National Assembly or the Provincial Council, was also supported. Establishing a steering unit in Basra in the beginning of the year reinforced our support and reconstruction and human rights, justice/police, democratisation, infrastructure, agriculture and assistance to

internally displaced remained areas of priority. Finally, the Danish military contribution to the Multinational Force was continued.

Peace Process in the Middle East – Post-Arafat

Yasser Arafat's demise in November 2004 in many ways marked the beginning of a process of the most positive developments in Israeli-Palestinian relations that the region has witnessed since the start of the second Intifada in September 2000. The subsequent peaceful and democratic election of Mahmoud Abbas as the new Palestinian president and the prospects for a full Israeli withdrawal from Gaza before the end of 2005 both promise progress that was unthinkable not very long ago.

Both parties have undertaken efforts and assumed responsibility in working for progress and a resumption of dialogue. While these developments are promising, maintaining an atmosphere of positive developments remains a serious challenge. Positive developments are contingent on continued Palestinian efforts to fight terror and re-establish law and order on the one hand and Israeli concessions to the Palestinian Authority on the other. The Palestinian leadership must be able to show concrete results not only in fighting terrorism, but also in improving the daily lives of ordinary Palestinians. Israel has a clear interest in doing what it can to facilitate such improvements and enable the Palestinian Authority to act as required.

Denmark and the EU have been supporting the Israeli Disengagement Plan as the first step in a process of implementing the Road Map to Peace in the Middle East. It must be followed by similar actions in the West Bank and eventually lead to the creation of a viable, democratic, and not least, contiguous Palestinian state. Denmark and the EU will strive to achieve a stronger transatlantic partnership with the United States in regard to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and work to ensure concerted EU-US actions that can assist in maintaining the current positive momentum.

Recent developments in Lebanon are good examples of what transatlantic cooperation can attain when used as the basis for diplomatic efforts to bring about change. The joint efforts by France and the United States to bring pressure on Syria to withdraw its forces from Lebanon resulted in the adoption of resolution 1559 in September 2004 by the UN Security Council, which calls for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon.

Iran – the Nuclear Question

The question of the Iranian nuclear programme, which Iran for many years kept secret in breach of its international obligations, was a cause of continued interna-

tional concern in 2004. A scenario of Iran developing a nuclear program not exclusively of a civilian nature would have grave security and stability implications, particularly in the Middle East region. It would also cast doubt about the effectiveness of the international non-proliferation regime, including the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT).

Denmark and its European partners have remained committed to pursuing all diplomatic means in to finding a negotiated solution to the Iranian nuclear question. Over the course of the year, however, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) identified a range of areas where Iranian cooperation with the IAEA had continued to be insufficient, including lack of full disclosure of information about its nuclear programme. As a member of the IAEA Board of Governors up until September 2004, Denmark was at the centre stage of the IAEA's handling of the Iran dossier and advocated a firm policy, which would at the same time permit consensus to be maintained among the Board members.

The decision by Iran to resume uranium-enrichment activities in June 2004 made a diplomatic confrontation between Iran and the international community increasingly likely. In light of this, EU's Foreign Ministers supported that France, Germany and the United Kingdom, assisted by the High Representative, attempted to broker a new and more comprehensive agreement with Iran. A new accord was reached on 15 November 2004 in which Iran agreed to suspend all enrichment activities pending negotiations of long-term arrangements, which will subsequently be verified by the IAEA. Iran is furthermore required to provide objective guarantees that its nuclear programme is exclusively for peaceful purposes. At the same time, the European side has agreed to discuss certain incentives for Iran.

These are only the first steps towards finding a solution and much will depend on developments in 2005. It is essential that Iran provide the international community with the necessary assurances about the non-military nature of its nuclear programme. Should Iran fail to honour its commitments, the matter can be raised again by the IAEA, which has authority to refer cases of non-compliance to the UN Security Council.

EU's Strategic Partnership with the Mediterranean and the Middle East

Denmark has actively worked for the establishment of an overall strategy for the EU's relations and reform cooperation with the Middle East. Following discussions in the EU and consultations with the Middle Eastern partner countries in the first half of 2004, including visits by the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs to Jordan, Egypt and Syria, the European Council in June 2004 adopted the EU Strategic Partnership Programme with the Mediterranean and the Middle East. Denmark

intends to maintain a significant engagement in the implementation of this new framework, which aims at assisting the countries in the region in their efforts to promote democratisation and reforms through an expansion and streamlining of EU's existing and future cooperation programmes.

The EU's cooperation with the Mediterranean countries is already well developed through Association Agreements and the Barcelona Process, while co-operation with the Gulf States is only in its early stages.

In 2004 cooperation between the EU and the 10 countries east and south of the Mediterranean Sea, including Israel and its immediate neighbours, was characterised by tangible progress. The Association Agreement between the EU and Egypt entered into force, whereby there are now free trade agreements with 7 out of 10 countries. Agreements with Algeria and Lebanon are ready for ratification, whereas the agreement with Syria has not yet been signed.

In 2004 the 35 EU and Mediterranean partner countries commenced a dialogue on terrorism and combating terrorism as well as on the content of the European Security and Defence Policy, including the prospects of partner countries' participation in this. The 35 countries also agreed to establish a foundation for dialogue between cultures in Alexandria – The Anna Lindh Foundation – with the aim to enhance mutual understanding and knowledge between civilisations, cultures and religions. The foundation shall start its activities in April 2005.

In 2005 – the year of the 10th anniversary of the Barcelona Process – the Barcelona Process will be evaluated with a view to strengthen and deepen the co-operation in the years to come. Denmark will seek to increase the significance of political, economic and social reforms in the cooperation and the use of incentives in this regard.

The EU's cooperation with the Gulf States is far less wide-ranging and systematic. In 2004 considerable progress was made with regard to reaching a final conclusion of a free trade agreement between the EU and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC).

The long-term objective of the Strategic Partnership in the Gulf region is to develop new cooperation programmes including country specific action plans and regional activities. In 2004 the Dutch Presidency initiated an intensive debate on possible future cooperation with the two GCC states, Iran and Yemen with regards to human rights, democracy, disarmament, and fight against terrorism, economic reforms and education. Denmark has contributed with inspiration and concrete proposals to this debate.

Democracy in Afghanistan

2004 brought important progress on the Afghan path towards becoming a modern nation: the Constitution was adopted in January and the first free presidential elections were held in October. Both highlighted the role of women. Another visible sign of progress is the continuous return of Afghan refugees to Afghanistan despite the fact that security challenges still exist.

But the road to peace and stability is a long and tortuous one. Through terror attacks anti-democratic forces try to undermine the assistance of foreign donors and relief organisations and the attempts of the government to rebuild the country. It is therefore essential that the local warlords are disarmed. It will give the population the confidence that the new government is the peaceful and prosperous way forward.

In 2004 it became evident that the production of opium is still rising fast. Poppy cultivation has an enormous economic importance, representing one third of the Afghan economy. A gradual reduction, ending with eradication, is one of the most critical factors in securing stability and security in the country. Unfortunately there is no quick-fix to the complex problems involved in eradication of poppy production. Law enforcement is not sufficient. To reduce poppy cultivation, alternative livelihoods must be found for those farmers that for one reason or the other are forced or have chosen to grow poppies. Denmark supports the alternative livelyhoods through the National Solidarity Programme – and will continue to do so.

For the international community the multi-faceted approach to stabilisation and reconstruction of Afghanistan must be continued, including support for the new democratic institutions and the enhancement of the human rights situation.

THE TRANSATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP

The Partnership Revisited

After a very difficult period for transatlantic cooperation, many important pieces in the transatlantic puzzle began to fall into their proper places in 2004. Elections in Afghanistan, the gaining ground of stabilisation efforts in Iraq, and the change of leadership in the Palestine Authority to mention some of the more conspicuous ones.

A determining factor for the improvement of the transatlantic dialogue is the clear priority to a closer partnership with Europe, which the new Bush-administration gave after its re-election in November 2004. The initial scepticism

with which this 'out-reach' was met by many Europeans has largely dissipated concurrently with the gradual substantiation of this new approach.

As a prelude to President Bush's declared intentions to strengthen the transatlantic partnership, from early on in 2004 we were witnessing a growing awareness in United States of the necessity to engage the international society broadly in finding solutions to common challenges. The series of 'transatlantic' summits in June 2004 – the G8 meeting on Sea Island, the EU-US Summit in Dromoland, Ireland, and finally the NATO summit in Istanbul, all provided important elements to the emerging common understanding on issues of vital interest.

Thus, at the G8 Summit there was growing consensus on the link between the Middle East Peace Process and reforms in the Middle East Region. A clearer recognition of the validity of a long-held EU concern of a possible negative spill-over from the peace process was thus reflected. At the EU-US Summit in Dromoland, seven joint declarations on issues of vital common concern were adopted: On combating terrorism, on non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, on progress and reforms in the Broader Middle East, on Sudan, on Iraq and on the fight against HIV/AIDS. And last but not least on strengthening the EU-US economic partnership.

In Istanbul, NATO's Heads of State and Government met for the first time in an enlarged Alliance of 26 Member States. The enlargement was a Danish security policy priority coming true making the Alliance not only bigger but also stronger. In Istanbul the Alliance stressed its determination to address effectively common threats and challenges through its military operations, its engagement with partners and its continued transformation of military capabilities. Specifically, NATO decided to expand its role in Afghanistan, to establish a NATO training mission in Iraq, to reach out to North Africa and the broader Middle East and to modernise the way to organise and deploy forces for new and demanding missions. These are all decisions that Denmark has actively supported.

Transatlantic ties remain strong. Our economic bonds are deepening by the day in terms of both trade and investments. We share interests and are destined to deal with and cooperate on the same global challenges. Inevitably, this means that from time to time we have to deal with problematic issues in our relationship. This is a quite natural state of affairs. Although rarely reflected in the press, the fact is that we are very good at solving these issues.

In 2004 this was true – among other things – in terms of the US steel tariffs, the 'Buy America Clause' for military procurement, the successful agreements on Passenger Name Record, on Container Security Initiative and on the agreement

signed at the EU-US Summit on satellite navigation systems (GPS/Galileo). This record demonstrates that it is important to focus on the positive things that are actually happening at the concrete level in our relationship. Not to get carried away by overly pessimistic and maybe more theoretical interpretations.

This was also the underlying philosophy behind the Danish catalogue of 39 concrete proposals for strengthening EU-US cooperation. The proposals were compiled by the end of 2004 and focus was on what can actually be achieved in the short term in the EU-US cooperation. Following the same over-all structure as the New Transatlantic Agenda – the fundamental framework for EU-US cooperation adopted in 1995 – the proposals cover four strategic areas of 'Promoting peace and stability, democracy and development around the world', 'Responding to global challenges', 'Contributing to the expansion of world trade and closer economic relations' and finally 'Building bridges across the Atlantic'.

Also, the Danish Transatlantic Free Trade Initiative is a good example of a pragmatic and pro-active approach. The Foreign Minister introduced the initiative in spring 2004. It focuses on reducing or eliminating barriers that hinder the flow of goods, services and capital between the EU and the US. The initiative functioned as an input to the EU-US Summit in June 2004 where the parties agreed to look at new ways to make the transatlantic economic relationship stronger, and to give it new impetus. Later, the EU and the US launched a consultation process where all interested parties were encouraged to engage in a vigorous discussion of concrete ideas on how to further transatlantic economic integration to the fullest, spur innovation and job creation, and better realise the competitive potential of the economies and enterprises. Building on this consultation process the parties are now engaged in a process furthering transatlantic trade and economic cooperation and make it more concrete.

Trade Policy – the Doha-round

WTO negotiations in the Doha-round also made important progress in 2004. At the General Council in Geneva in the end of July senior officials from the 148 WTO members finally arrived at a compromise on the framework modalities for the further Doha-negotiations. This agreement was originally supposed to have been closed at the 5th Ministerial Conference in Cancun, Mexico the year before, but no agreement was found in Cancun due to a far too wide disagreement between the parties. The failure in Cancun also made it clear for simple technical and political reasons that the Doha-negotiations in no way could finish 1 January 2005 as originnally planned at the beginning of the Round. A delay of the round was therefore unavoidable, but attempts were made to minimise it.

Thanks to special efforts by a number of players, but especially a new grouping of the five most interested parties (EU, USA, India, Brazil and Australia), it was possible to make a compromise in August 2004. The EU played an important – if not decisive – role to re-establish a constructive negotiation environment with its unilateral offer made in the Lamy-Fischler-letter from May 2004. In this letter EU offered to accept the concept of a date for phasing out export subsidies in agriculture, wide flexibility on Singapore-issues and willingness to extend the concept of special differential treatment to developing countries.

Denmark has given great priority to all the main segments of the Doha-round and worked in close co-operation with its allies in the EU in order to arrive at the right positions of the EU in the WTO-negotiations. Denmark wants ambitious results both in agriculture as well as in other areas like non-agricultural market access (NAMA), services and trade facilitation. But we also agree that the negotiations need to be balanced. The refocusing of the scope of negotiations, which took place in Geneva in July 2004, was therefore needed.

Denmark further believes that special treatment for the poorest developing countries in the WTO is indispensable. The special problems of Africa must also be given special attention in the further negotiations.

The main challenge for the negotiations in 2005 will be to arrive at more balanced framework modalities at the 6th Ministerial WTO conference in Hong Kong in December. The decisions in Hong Kong will be decisive for the chances of finalising the Doha-round in 2006.

ASIA – AN EVOLVING PARTNERSHIP

New Markets in a Globalised World

Denmark and the EU's growing political ties with Asia are underpinned by the ever-stronger trade links and the generally increasing prosperity in Asia. In 2004, the GDP growth for the markets in the Emerging Asia – China, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, South Korea and Thailand – was 6.9 pct. Not unexpectedly, China topped the list with 9.4 pct. Over the years to come, China is expected to continue to expand strongly albeit at a marginally slower pace than in 2004. The GDP growth rate is expected to be above 6 pct. for Emerging Asia in 2005 and 2006.

One of the major challenges for Denmark and Danish companies is to expand trade and contacts to Asian markets and countries. About 5 pct. of the Danish export is exported to Asia and around 75 pct. is exported to Western Europe where

the GDP growth at the moment generally is lower than in Asia. Beyond economic growth Denmark will also experience a higher degree of risk spreading and collect useful knowledge from some of the most dynamic markets in the world.

Danish foreign policy is adapting to the fact that the increasing Asian economic weight will bring along an increased Asian influence on the global security as well as the economic- and political cooperation. Not least "the Rise of China" is changing the political and economic patterns in Asia as well as globally. The EU's new Strategic Partnerships with China and India reflect this reality. Barriers like transport, communication, languages and culture have never been easier to overcome than today and this fact has a highly positive influence on Denmark and the EU's relations with Asia.

ASEM-cooperation

ASEM (Asia Europe Meeting)[2] is an increasingly dynamic organisation. In 2004, ASEM was enlarged with the ten new EU Members States, as well as Burma, Cambodia and Laos. The EU reluctantly accepted the inclusion of Burma and strengthened its sanctions regime against the military rulers in Rangoon. Dialogue on Burma will hopefully lead to a shared vision between Europe and Asia on how to support transition in that country.

Denmark actively supports the strengthening of the political dialogue and co-operation between EU and Asia. As two of the leading regions in the global economy, Europe and Asia have a shared interest in a stable world order and world economy that allows us all to reap the positive benefits of globalisation. As part of the strengthened dialogue between the EU and ASEM, Denmark puts particular emphasis on the fight against terrorism, strengthening the multilateral system and providing further impetus to economic integration between EU and Asia.

When facing threats of terrorism and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction as well as other border-crossing challenges like international crime, environmental issues and health issues (SARS, Avian Flu, HIV/AIDS), Europe and Asia have a distinct, shared interest in cooperating to tackle these challenges – through concrete EU-ASEM efforts as well as through co-operation within effective multilateral organisations at the global level.

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2 ASEM consists of 25 EU Member States, the European Commission and 13 Asian partner countries: Brunei, Burma, Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam.

CHALLENGES IN THE COMING YEAR(S)

So what will be the main challenges for Danish foreign policy in the year(s) to come?
I would expect that no single challenge will dominate our "to do list". On the contrary, several interdependent and multi-dimensional issues will influence our foreign policy not only in 2005, but also in the coming years. I have already indicated some of them in my article.

In Europe the result of the referenda on the Constitutional Treaty will undoubtedly set the stage for all other EU-tasks. It is not an exaggeration to say that the future framework for the European co-operation lies in the hands of the European People.

But in parallel several other crucial European projects must continue. First of all, the negotiations on the financial perspectives for 2007-2013. What are the strategic priorities of the EU? And how do we ensure that the EU's resources are focused on areas where the EU has a real added value? The European partnership for Growth and Jobs will also need continued attention. Denmark is actively engaged in these discussions.

The enlargement process will also continue. It is crucial for the future credibility and inner strength of the EU that its common values and high standards are met by future member states. It will be a challenge also to develop close co-operation with neighbouring countries such as Ukraine and Georgia. Their democratic "revolutions" deserve an intensive and equal partnership. EU's global role and responsebility will continue to grow.

In 2005 I expect that efforts to strengthen and develop the core of stability and partnership constituted by Europe and the US will continue on both sides of the Atlantic.

Difficult times in the transatlantic co-operation have made it clear that we need to stand together in order to deal with the pressing global challenges.

It is Denmark's long membership of the EU and our close relations to the US that inspired us to formulate the catalogue of 39 concrete proposals for strengthening EU-US co-operation. We will hopefully see some of them agreed in 2005. Denmark's close ties might come to a test in the UN Security Council. Agreement and disagreement will have to be tackled. In general, the US-EU relationship seems to be moving forward on new areas (i.e. Ukraine, Georgia, Russia, Peace Process in the Middle East and Iran) while still working on well-known contentious issues (i.e. the International Criminal Court (ICC) and the Kyoto Protocol).

Challenges in the wider Middle East region will certainly continue to be at the centre of international policy and continue to require a strong and concerted Europe as well as a close transatlantic partnership. Be it in securing the reconstruction and democratisation of Iraq, the nuclear question in Iran or the Israeli-Palestinian peace process.

Many of the pressing challenges will continue to be of a cross-border nature that requires both acute action and long-term investments of global dimensions. The Tsunami-catastrophe on the verge of 2005 reminded us all of this global interconnectedness and fragility. It will be crucial to tackle challenges like terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, failed states, civil wars and ethnic strives – especially in Africa – climate change, and lack of natural resources, migration and poverty. The UN 2005 Summit in September 2005 will ensure international spotlight on all these issues.

In 2005 and 2006 the Danish membership of the UN Security Council will give us additional leverage in tackling many of these challenges. As a small country we need to be a credible partner in all fora of international policy in order to succeed in our main policy objectives. I hope that the Danish defence opt-out will not put us in the paradoxical situation where we in the UN Security Council request the EU to fulfil a crisis management task for the UN and the following day cannot participate in the actual EU implementation of this same task.

In the Security Council and beyond we must manoeuvre on a dramatically changing global political scene. China's economic growth and increasing military power is accompanied by a growing engagement on the political scene, which seems to be aimed at seeking a calm political and not least economic environment. The growing economic interdependence of China/Europe and China/USA as well as China's requirement for energy and raw materials will undoubtedly change the bilateral relationships and the global scene. Denmark must seize the new opportunities that this change will bring.

Let me now conclude with two specific challenges for the Danish Foreign Service in 2005.

"The Nordic Region in a New Era: Knowledge, Dynamism and Co-operation" – this title will in 2005 be directional for Denmark's Presidency of the Nordic Council of Ministers and our responsibility for the Nordic intergovernmental co-operation. Our point of departure is good – all Nordic welfare states are highly developed knowledge societies, but we need to focus our co-operation on areas where co-operation offers clear Nordic synergies. The Foreign Service will work closely together with the many involved line-ministries.

Last year, I mentioned that the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as part of our modernisation process and as a means to adapt our policies effectively to a rapidly changing international system, would introduce joint target and performance management. In 2004 several pilot projects were implemented successfully and in 2005 all Missions abroad and all Departments in Copenhagen will work out crosscutting performance management agreements that cover the Ministry's entire field of activities. As a global online knowledge organisation, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is continuously working on reaching the strategic goals of the organisation. The system will help to ensure that emphasis is placed on strategic goals and the allocation and use of resources reflect a clear prioritisation of tasks performed. I have great expectations that this instrument will enable us to achieve even better and more efficient foreign policy results.

Transforming Wider Europe: Ten Lessons from Transatlantic-Nordic-Baltic Cooperation

Daniel Hamilton[1]

The dual enlargement of the European Union and NATO in 2004 projected stability far across the European continent. This process will continue with the pending accession of Romania and Bulgaria to the EU, and with a real perspective of EU membership now given to Turkey. Moreover, the Rose Revolution in Georgia and the Orange Revolution in Ukraine have opened new opportunities to advance freedom and democracy across an even wider swath of the European continent.

Unfortunately, this dynamic region faces a West that is distracted, divided, complacent, or uncertain as to why it should engage as an active partner for change. Many Western leaders have expressed rhetorical support for a Wider Europe that is more democratic, more secure, and more of a partner for the West. But the concept remains relatively undefined, its mechanisms undeveloped, and support for it uncertain. Many have yet to decide whether Western engagement should be foremost about mollifying non-members or advancing a truly transformative approach to the region that would align – and eventually integrate – these nations into the European and Euro-Atlantic community.

Why should the West advance a transformative agenda with Wider Europe? The answer begins by appreciating the transformative power of the transatlantic partnership itself. For half a century the European-American partnership protected the western half of the continent from threats from its eastern half, while transforming relations among western nations themselves and working to overcome the overall divisions of the continent. The West then joined in solidarity with those on the eastern side of the Iron Curtain who shattered walls with their stubborn insistence that they would "return to Europe." Following the Cold War the transatlantic partnership seized the dynamic offered by a continent without walls

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and began to work towards a Europe whole, free and at peace with itself. It recognised the challenging opportunity of exporting stability so as not to risk importing instability. It acted first by anchoring the Visegrad countries into the Euro-Atlantic community. After hesitation and great human tragedy in the Balkans, it extended that vision to those in South Eastern Europe who were prepared to build democracy, market economies and peaceful relations with their neighbours. It then broadened that vision to include other new democracies from the Baltic to the Black Sea. The result has been the successive advance of democracy, security, human rights and free markets throughout most of the Euro-Atlantic region.

Today the challenge is to extend that vision to include the countries of Wider Europe, extending from Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean to Eurasia. Working to achieve this vision is an opportunity for Europeans and Americans, after some bitter spats, to regenerate a sense of common cause. Successful reforms in countries such as Ukraine and Georgia would reverberate throughout the societies of the former Soviet space, offering compelling evidence that freedom, democracy, respect of human rights and the rule of law is not some quixotic dream. Success in this region would bring us one step closer to a Europe that is truly whole, free, and at peace with itself. It would give the West new partners who could add their strengths to ours. It would enhance Western security, open new markets and enable Europe to diversify its energy sources. By anchoring democracy and respect for human rights in regions bordering the Middle East, it would also facilitate efforts by the United States and Europe to advance their second major transformative project – modernization of the Broader Middle East itself.[2]

TEN LESSONS FROM TRANSATLANTIC-NORDIC-BALTIC COOPERATION

The West is perhaps at the same point in its relations with Wider Europe as it was with the nations of Central and Eastern Europe more than a decade ago, when the notion of Euro-Atlantic integration was considered excessively ambitious, potentially threatening, or simply unrealistic. That experience, while ultimately successful, tells us that anchoring the countries of Wider Europe to the West will be neither quick nor easy. It cautions us about trying to predict the exact course or nature of the process. But it also offers some useful lessons along the way.

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2 For views on this approach see F. Stephen Larrabee, 2004; various contributions to Ronald D. Asmus, Konstantin Dimitrov, Joerg Forbrig, (eds.), 2004; and remarks by the Lithuanian Ambassador to the U.S. Vygaudas Usâckas, 2004.

The first and most important lesson is that closer association with the West begins at home. Western countries will deepen their links with neighbouring nations to the extent they see that leaders and their people are making tough choices for democratic, free market reforms – not as a favour to others, but as a benefit to themselves. This will require considerable effort and sacrifice, but the rewards can be significant. The Baltic States provide a tremendously positive example in this regard. When the Soviet Union broke up, the Baltic States were arguably at a comparable or even worse situation than many countries in Wider Europe today. They, too, were burdened by the legacy of being a "former Soviet Republic." They, too, were rebuffed initially for their "unrealistic" dreams of EU and NATO membership. Although they started two years later than the Visegrad countries and from a lower economic base, they launched such a determined and vigorous set of reforms that within just five years they had caught up with the leading membership candidates in Central and Eastern Europe. Whenever one Baltic country appeared to pull ahead, the others redoubled their efforts lest the EU enlarge to one instead of all three states.

Second, closer integration into western structures is likely to be accelerated to the extent a nation starts "acting like a member" even before it becomes a member. Countries seeking closer association with the West need to articulate clearly and consistently to Western partners how closer association would benefit the entire Euro-Atlantic community – and then they need to act on that basis. At home, the process of closer association with the West is likely to be accelerated to the extent that domestic reforms can be aligned right at the beginning with the EU's "acquis communitaire" or that military reforms can be conducted in ways that enhance civilian control, transparency, and the types of capabilities that would enhance overall NATO/Partner effectiveness. Abroad, the transition states of Wider Europe could play more active, positive roles in resolving inter-regional tensions, such as engaging on the Transnistrian conflict or building civic society in Belarus. They should make full use of existing opportunities and instruments provided by the EU's Partnership and Cooperation Agreements and its Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument, and NATO's Partnership for Peace, Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council and Individual Partnership Programs.

Third, even though the burden of change rests primarily with reformist nations, the West can both assist such efforts as well as help create an external environment which reinforces positive trends and helps put and keep these countries on a path that will bring them closer to the West. The Baltic and Central European states that acceded to the EU and NATO in past years could tell their people they had to engage in tough reforms because they also knew that if they stayed the course,

membership in Euro-Atlantic institutions was a realistic goal.[3] Clear statements expressing the West's openness to reformist nations joining Euro-Atlantic institutions, and its readiness to support such a process that is rooted in successful reforms at home, are critically important to motivate leaders and publics as they advance their agendas. Both the EU and NATO have been inching forward with the nations of Wider Europe in this regard, but each institution, as well as the nations that comprise them, must advance a generous vision of a Euro-Atlantic community whose doors are open to all European democracies willing and able to join them.

Such a vision, in turn, can serve a secondary benefit: Regenerating a sense of common cause in the West. Following the Cold War the West was beset by hesitation and drift until it united around a common agenda to quell the violence in the Balkans and extend its frontiers to new partners. Today, the West has experienced one of its most divisive periods, characterised by harsh splits over Iraq and loose talk of "disaggregation." Joining forces once again to extend the frontiers of freedom in Europe and beyond can help turn the relationship around. The display of coordinated US – EU support for free elections in Ukraine was perhaps the most recent dramatic example of what can be achieved by transatlantic entente.

Fourth, this vision should be underpinned with concrete manifestations of support and outreach that go beyond monetary assistance alone. In earlier phases of enlargement, both the EU and the US offered a range of inducements credible enough for them to secure strategic leverage over the course of reform and practical enough to guide those reforms in ways conducive to Euro-Atlantic integration. Such leverage is likely to be low without the prospect of admission to Euro-Atlantic institutions, even if that prospect appears to be on the distant horizon. The credibility of an "Open Door" policy depends on the willingness and ability of the West to provide intermediate mechanisms and transitional vehicles to help guide and support reformist nations along what could be a long and winding road. For instance, when working with the Baltic states on their drive for integration, the United States, the EU and individual nations such as Denmark supplemented the "core" tracks of NATO and EU accession with other supportive mechanisms. The US launched the Northern European Initiative and negotiated the US-Baltic Charter and accompanying action plans, which not only provided important bilateral assurances to the Baltic states at a particularly sensitive time of transition but also harnessed the experience of Nordic partners to widen the agenda of cooperation to such areas as health, environment, human rights, economic development and promoting the role of women. Denmark and other Nordic nations were important part-

3 Vygaudas Usâckas, 2005.

ners along the way, facilitating such initiatives as the Baltic Battalion and providing a cooperative regional framework.

A "wider agenda with Wider Europe" could build on these experiences by developing intensified cooperation on a variety of issues beyond traditional foreign policy topics. Working together to create safe, healthy, productive and liveable societies through bilateral and regional initiatives to advance economic development, the rule of law, health and environmental cooperation would be useful for all partners involved. The West might consider taking a chapter from the Stability Pact for the Balkans by launching a few, highly visible "Quick Start" infrastructure projects linking regional countries to the West and to each other. Such initiatives can have two important "demonstration effects:" first by showing public opinion in transition countries that these closer partnerships can do real things for real people; and second by showing transitional governments that tangible benefits can come from intensified cooperation.

The United States might consider developing a Wider Europe equivalent of the US-Baltic Charter by advancing some of these elements under a broad set of bilateral "Atlantic Accords" with reformist nations. Such a package with Ukraine, for instance, might include a common pledge to work to lift Jackson-Vanik trade restrictions; certify Kiev's market economy status; facilitate Ukraine's membership in the World Trade Organisation (WTO); encourage deeper NATO cooperation with Kiev; and state a common commitment to Ukraine's territorial integrity.

Such initiatives would complement and reinforce the EU's own Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), which seeks to facilitate reforms and "Europeanisation" of Wider European nations, primarily through a new "European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument" of increased funding over its next six year budget cycle. As Michael Emerson points out, however, the ENP is plagued by an inherent contradiction: it tries to replicate the comprehensive reform agenda of the enlargement negotiations without actually providing a perspective for membership or the opening of accession negotiations.[4] The EU is understandably cautious about further enlargement, as it looks to take in Bulgaria and Romania, expanding again to 27 members, and with Turkish accession now a prospect. Yet the EU is committed by nature and by its own founding treaties to offer a perspective of membership to any European democracy. For most Wider Europe nations, full accession to the EU is at best a distant prospect. However, as has been discussed, the perspective such a prospect brings is a key motivation for the "Europeanisation" of transitional democracies.

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4 Michael Emerson, 2005.

Given these dilemmas, the EU should consider more tailored and flexible approaches to the "acquis communitaire." For example, the expiration in 2006 of the EU's Partnership and Cooperation agreement with Ukraine presents both sides with an opportunity to negotiate a qualitatively new and closer relationship, such as a Ukraine-EU Association Agreement and related free trade agreement. Progress in EU-Ukrainian relations could be accompanied by an EU-Georgia Action Plan that offers a road map for Georgia's economic and social reforms and turns them towards greater harmonisation with the EU laws and practices. Intermediate steps towards deeper integration might also include an expansion of EU support for human rights, rule of law and democracy-building programs. Michael Emerson proposes additional Wider Europe initiatives that are worth considering, such as a broader "European space" of education, culture and research; a European economic area for trade and market regulations; an open-ended multilateral Pan-European Free Trade Area (PEFTA); what he calls a "modular" approach for the progressive inclusion of Wider Europe states in the EU single market, and a European infrastructure and network area, coupled with revision of the European Investment Bank's mandate so it can operate in Wider Europe.[5]

NATO should also consider new outreach strategies to these countries. This might mean upgrading its Individual Partnership Action Plans and its broader regional Partnership Action Plans in ways that deepen links to the Alliance. Moreover, the transitions underway in Wider Europe provide yet another incentive for the Alliance and its partners to focus their cooperation through the Partnership for Peace on issues of civil security. In the age of catastrophic terrorism it may not just be national territory per se that is at stake, but the ability of democratic governments and free societies to function. While some terrorists may in fact seek to acquire territory, the primary goal for most is likely to be to destroy or disrupt society. This means that there is a need for the entire Euro-Atlantic community to supplement its traditional focus on the security of the territory with a post-Cold War focus on the security of critical functions of society. This is primarily an issue for civilian authorities, but NATO and its partners also have roles to play, particularly in civil-military planning capabilities and in disaster response. NATO/PfP disaster response efforts are still largely geared to natural disasters rather than intentional attacks, and remain very low priority. It is time to ramp up these efforts to address intentional WMD attacks on NATO or partners.

Cooperative efforts to protect our societies in the age of catastrophic terrorism have also become urgent new additions to the US-EU agenda. More effective cooperation is needed in areas ranging from law enforcement and financial coordi-

5 Michael Emerson, 2005.

nation to information and intelligence sharing, customs, air and seaport security, and protection against bio terrorism. The more that nations of Wider Europe can be aligned with such efforts, the safer we will all be, and the easier their transition will be towards deeper integration in the Euro-Atlantic community.

Fifth, efforts at closer Euro-Atlantic association must be advanced with an appreciation of their impact on Russia and neighbouring countries. Success in Ukraine, Georgia and other states would be powerful evidence that democracy, free markets, respect for human rights and the rule of law can also take root on the territory of the former Soviet Union. Ukraine's successful transition towards a full fledged democracy and rule of law would resonate profoundly throughout Russian society. Strong Western support for Ukrainian and Georgian reform is critical not only for the sake of their own success, but also for the future of democracy and the rule of law in Russia. As the West engages more deeply with reformist nations of Wider Europe, it is important to reach out to Russian and other leaders so that the motivations and possibilities of such changes can be understood, legitimate interests discussed, and new areas of constructive cooperation explored. Once again, there are lessons to be learned from past experience. Domestic reforms in the Baltic states were pursued in parallel to a gradual outreach by the Baltic states and western partners towards neighbouring states, specifically Russia, including its Kaliningrad region, so as to lay the ground for profound and positive geopolitical change. Over time the neighbouring states, particularly Russia, came to acknowledge that enlargement of the area of security and prosperity to Russia's borders could be beneficial for all concerned.

A sixth and particularly important lesson is that small states can in fact be masters of their own destiny. This may be a particularly important lesson for Georgia as it embarks down the difficult path of reform. The example of the Baltic states again offers guidance and orientation. Baltic countries were quick to turn their small size and perceived vulnerabilities into advantages. Estonia and Latvia, for instance, addressed concerns about treatment of ethnic Russian minorities by working with the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, and by ensuring that the international community agreed that they met the EU's "Copenhagen Criteria" on human rights issues. Lithuania addressed concerns about its weak economic performance and potential Russian reactions by launching robust and transparent economic reforms and engaging in active outreach to Russia, particularly the Kaliningrad region. Some of the smaller new EU and NATO states are among the most energetic reformers and prominent proponents of Euro-Atlantic solidarity.

Seventh, there is great scope for current member states to 'mentor' non-member partners. The 3+3 initiative between the three new Baltic member states and the

three South Caucasus states is a good current example of what is possible. These two groups of comparably sized former Soviet republics with much in common but great differences in experience have developed mechanisms to explore collaboration and build on lessons learned, using "lead nation" concepts within an informal common framework. In cooperation with Georgia, for instance, Estonia is leading in police cooperation, Lithuania is focusing on transition strategies, and Latvia is offering help with conflict prevention and resolution. Wider Europe nations can benefit directly from the experience of new members of NATO and the EU, who in turn have profited from the support of older members such as Denmark. In fact, leadership by individual member nations or coalitions can be essential, since big institutions like the EU or NATO themselves move slowly and operate by consensus. The 8+1 format of the Enhanced Partnership in Northern Europe (EPINE) offers a flexible and ready-made format for such cooperative initiatives vis-à-vis Wider Europe.[6]

An eighth and related lesson of recent accession is that the states of Wider Europe should be encouraged to be mutually supportive of each other's aspirations, rather than holding each other back in a zero-sum competition for Western favours. Here again one can point to earlier successes, including mutual support among the Visegrad nations, regional cooperation under the Northern European Initiative, the support network created by the Vilnius 10, and cooperative regional mechanisms created by the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe.

Ninth, efforts at Euro-Atlantic integration must be accompanied by active efforts by the parties themselves, as well as outside nations, to resolve regional tensions and conflicts. Many of Central and South Eastern Europe's historic animosities and territorial conflicts have either been resolved or are now attenuated in large part because of the powerful leverage provided by accession to the West, and the realization among both leaders and publics that the chances for such accession were limited unless they dealt with such tensions in advance.

A related but far more cautionary lesson is offered by Western approaches to the Balkans. Immediately following the Cold War, Western nations were divided about the need to engage in the Bosnian conflict. Western hesitations helped to fuel Balkan fires, leading to massive human tragedies. By the time the West finally united around a strategy of active intervention, all the parties concerned had paid a far higher price than they would have through early engagement. Even then, despite the

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[6] The EPINE project involves Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, and Sweden in cooperation with the US. The three broad areas of focus for cooperation include cooperative security, healthy societies, and vibrant economies.

Dayton agreements and further Western intervention over Kosovo, there continued to exist an overall reluctance to understand that the only real solution to the region's problems – the only real "exit" strategy – was an integration strategy that offered to South Eastern Europe the same perspective of integration as that offered to Central and Eastern Europe, if the nations of the region were prepared to work together to create the conditions that would make such integration possible. This bargain, enshrined in the Stability Pact, the Sarajevo Summit and later documents, was only credible because it included a demonstrated Western commitment to engage and resolve lingering conflicts in the region.

A similar challenge is posed today by Wider Europe's four so-called "frozen conflicts" – in Moldova (Transniestria), Georgia (Abkhazia and South Ossetia), and the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. These conflicts are not "frozen," they are festering wounds that absorb energy and drain resources from countries that are already weak and poor. They inhibit the process of state building as well as the development of democratic societies. They generate corruption and organised crime. They foster the proliferation of arms and a climate of intimidation. They are a major source of instability within these countries and the broader region.

These conflicts severely undermine the prospects of these countries for Euro-Atlantic integration, while giving Moscow a major incentive to keep these conflicts "frozen." Vladimir Socor has described well how Russian policy has evolved from thwarting these countries' independence in the early and mid-1990s to its present goal of thwarting their integration into European and Euro-Atlantic institutions through policies intended to contribute to what he calls "controlled instability."[7] Until now the West has preferred to shelve these conflicts rather than risk falling out with Moscow in the post-Cold War, post-911 world. But when the West is pusing for democratic change in the broader Middle East and elsewhere, it is important not to create a double standard for democracy in Wider Europe, or to look the other way when analysing Moscow's behaviour. Overcoming these conflicts is a precondition for putting these countries on a firm course of reform and anchoring them to the West, and a test of Western commitment to a Europe whole, free and at peace with itself. It is time to make their resolution a top priority, both on the ground and in relations with Moscow. Failure to do so now could mean paying a higher price later.

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7 Vladimir Socor, 2004.

REFOCUSING ON SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE

Finally, even as we apply these lessons to Wider Europe we cannot forget their continuing relevance in South Eastern Europe, because failure of integration strategies there will reduce the prospects for their success elsewhere.

South Eastern Europe is still an unsettled region, caught between forces of integration and disintegration. On the positive side, the region is at peace – for the time being. The conflicts and massive human tragedy that dominated transatlantic attention in the 1990s are painful memories. Efforts at reconstruction and return have come a long way. There is a real prospect of closer cooperation within the region, with the rest of Europe and with Euro-Atlantic institutions, including NATO. The prospect of Balkan integration within the European Union has been advanced by a series of official statements, from the Stability Pact forged during the Kosovo War to the Thessalonica meeting of the European Council in June 2003. The EU has concluded the Stabilisation and Association Agreements with Macedonia and Croatia, negotiations are ongoing with Albania and could begin with Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On the other hand, transformation is painfully slow. The region is plagued by crime, corruption, and mutually incompatible nationalist agendas. Reconciliation is held back by the failure to apprehend indicted war criminals. Renewed violence remains a very real prospect. Many of these negative trends are related in part to the continuing failure to forge functioning, legitimate states. The EU remains engaged in critical missions in Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and its efforts are important tests of EU credibility in matters of security, particularly by US officials sceptical of the European Security and Defense Policy.

A common factor of uncertainty relates to the future definition of the Serbian state. Since Slobodan Milosevic's manic drive for a "Greater Serbia" failed, the issue has increasingly been how to define a "Lesser Serbia" within the context of a democratic "Greater Europe." But the current union of Serbia and Montenegro is not functioning well because neither Serbs nor Montenegrins believe they draw much benefit from their association, and because Kosovo's future status remains undefined.

As crisis brews again in Kosovo, the international community is united in its complacence. The United States is distracted by Iraq and its war on terror, and the EU is distracted by digesting 10 new members, ratifying its constitutional treaty, negotiating a new budget, and other challenges. The mistreatment of Kosovo Serbs after the Kosovo conflict war has greatly reduced international sympathy for Kosovo Albanian aspirations. And yet, as evidenced by deadly riots in March 2004,

Kosovo Albanians continue to be frustrated with their unresolved status, poor economic conditions, and dealing with past injustices. They expect the international community to deliver in 2005 on its promise to address final status issues. Without active international engagement the prospect for renewed conflict and regional instability is high[8] Concerned about human rights issues, the international community has imposed on the Kosovars a policy of 'a standard before status' – but it is doubtful that this will hold. Instead, the international community must chart a new course that advances progress simultaneously on the key standard – protection of minority rights – and on final status. While various models for Kosovo's future can be envisaged, a largely independent Kosovo is likely to emerge with some elements of its policies, such as human rights issues, under broader EU or international auspices for some indeterminate time – underscoring once more the need for the EU to consider more creative and tailored approaches to the "Europeanisation" of neighbouring nations.

CONCLUSION

Together these ten lessons offer both orientation and elements of a roadmap for change in the West's relations with Wider Europe. They underscore the need to promote successful reforms in Ukraine and Georgia, facilitate democratic change in Belarus, tend to the problems of South Eastern Europe as final status for Kosovo looms, face up to potential challenges with Russia, and engage more vigorously with states stretching from the Black Sea to the Caspian as we seek to strengthen our efforts to fight terrorism and transform the broader Middle East. They also offer one overarching reassurance: The transatlantic partnership can be truly transformative, if we choose to make it so.

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Camp Eden: The 2004 Defence Agreement, Military Power and Danish Values

Mikkel Vedby Rasmussen[1]

At morning call on 7 October 2004, the Danish Chief of Defence, General Jesper Helsø, named the Danish battalion's new camp in Iraq "Camp Danevang". The battalion had been deployed in southern Iraq as part of the occupation force since June 2003. Because the boundaries of its area of responsibility had been redrawn, the battalion had set up a new camp, having left its first camp in Iraq, Camp Eden. Since Danish forces began large-scale deployments abroad after the Cold War they have come up with names for their temporary homes that reflect the location of the camp, Danish military tradition or an ironically boastful identification with the last set of Danish warriors to venture so far from home, the Vikings. In Kosovo, the camp was named after General Rye, who died fighting the Germans in the war of 1848-50. In Bosnia, Danish forces named their camps Camp Valhalla and Camp Dannevirke, the latter being a politically savvy reference to the reason for these distant deployments. Since the end of the Cold War successive Danish governments have maintained that Danish security no longer depends on the defence of the realm in the way which the earthworks of Dannevirke had defended Denmark against the Germans. In a globalising world, the argument went, the sources of threats and security are to be found, and faced, far from home.

In Iraq, the name of the first camp was inspired by the legend stating that the Garden of Eden was to be found in ancient Mesopotamia. In June 2003 the soldiers could not possibly know how aptly they had named their camp. However, in August 2004 Camp Eden became the site of a fall from grace. A captain was sent back to Denmark by the commander of the camp after accusations that an Iraqi prisoner had been tortured there; subsequently the Minister of Defence ordered the commanding officer home too because he had lost confidence in his leadership. The

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captain ended up being charged merely for neglect of duty,[2] but for a few weeks the 'torture scandal' placed the ends and means of the Danish armed forces at the centre of a heated debate. This debate forced the Danish public to face up to the realities of war – whether they liked them or not – and to the fact that Danes were involved in an insurgency campaign, with all the unpleasant aspects that this entailed.

From the war against Iraq in 1991 to the war against Iraq in 2003, Danes have debated whether or not Danish forces should take part in certain missions. However, how Danish forces have operated during these missions has not been the subject of much debate. The allegations of torture ended this complacency about military affairs. The Camp Eden debate followed a broad political agreement on the budget and organisation of the Danish armed forces for the period 2005-9. While this Defence Agreement provided for an expeditionary form of defence, the debate over Camp Eden asked whether politicians and the public had any stomach for using military force in this way.

The new name of Camp Danevang was given to the main Danish camp for practical reasons, but it was also very convenient to change it from Camp Eden, which had become associated with the torture scandal. By giving the camp a romantic name for Denmark itself, the armed forces actually underscored the point of the Camp Eden debate. 'Bear in mind what Danevang stands for,' General Helsø told the soldiers in the new camp at morning call; 'It is a signal about the way we are conducting the mission.'[3] In other words, there was a certain Danish way of soldiering, which displayed certain Danish values. The General's point was that these values made the Danes good soldiers, but in the Camp Eden debate it was also argued that soldiering, at least in Iraq, had betrayed Danish values. Arguing in terms of values, the participants in the Camp Eden debate brought a very heated discussion of the cultural foundations of Danish society into the defence sphere. Framed in terms of culture, the debate showed how Danes profoundly disagree on the nature of military conflicts and the nature of Danish involvement in them. While one side argues that Denmark can only live up to its responsibilities as a globalising society by taking an active part in policing the world order, the other side argues that military adventures undermine the very values that define Danish society. The discussion also showed that neither of the two positions provided their protagonists with many means for conducting a strategic debate; instead they were left arguing

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2 The captain was charged along with four military police NCOs, DR, 2005.

3 Quoted in Poulsen, 2004. Unless otherwise stated, all quotations have been translated from Danish to English by the author.

about 'Danish values' in Copenhagen while the soldiers in Iraq were going about their business.

This article reviews both sides of the debate in order to determine the potential for using military force that is provided by these views when they are translated into policy. I shall also deal with how the armed forces themselves regard the values by which they operate. The question of values is also a question about the will to use military force and how one believes force should and could be used. But before I address these questions, I shall deal with the military capacity which, according to the Defence Agreement, Denmark should develop from 2005 to 2009.

THE 2004 DEFENCE AGREEMENT

As they met the press sitting cosily on the Minister of Defence's couch, the representatives of the five political parties behind the Defence Agreement looked tired but relieved. They had managed to reach an agreement on how to spend the defence budget of *ca.* DKK 19 billion a year for five years. A broad political consensus on defence was in itself an important goal for the new Minister, Søren Gade, but the fact that people representing 157 seats of the 179 in the *Folketing* were sitting easily in the Minister's couch also demonstrated the existence of a remarkable consensus about the way forward for the Danish armed forces. Especially given the fact that the government and opposition had been at odds over how actually to use military force in the case of the invasion and ensuing occupation of Iraq.

Because the parameters for Danish defence are decided once every five years, the final year of a defence agreement is normally a time of heated debate over defence.[4] All the issues that have been neglected for the previous four years, because the agreement does not really allow them to be addressed, now come into the open, and a short, heated political season begins. This time the season began with al-Qaeda's attack on New York and Washington on 11 September 2001.

The experience of catastrophic terrorism did not create a completely new security agenda in Denmark, any more than it did in the United States.[5] For the first time since the end of the Cold War, however, the 9/11 experience created a clear hierarchy concerning which of the plethora of security challenges and risks that characterise a globalising world were the most important. Thus the use of military force to search and destroy enemies rather than create stability came on to the agenda in a way it had not been during the 1990s. At the same time the Danes

4 For a description of this peculiar Danish way of deciding defence policy, see Heurlin, 2003.

5 I have elaborated on this argument in Rasmussen, 2002.

suddenly found themselves faced with the prospect, or at least the possibility, of a direct attack on their own soil. This was not the kind of attack that people feared during the Cold War, when the possibility of Warsaw Pact forces landing on Danish beaches was on people's minds, but was now more concerned with the much more unpredictable threat of a terrorist group setting off a bomb in downtown Copenhagen. In April 2004, 37 percent of the Danes found it probable or very probable that Denmark would be subject to a terrorist attack.[6] However, what matters is not the perceived probability of a threat, but how a certain kind of threat creates a certain kind of political debate, one that dictates certain realities and makes the call for certain measures very hard to avoid.

The direct nature of the terrorist threat represented a break with the strategic premise of the existing defence agreement. The 1997 Defence Commission, which produced the White Paper on which the political agreement was based, concluded that Denmark was not under any 'direct' threat following the collapse of the Soviet Empire. The 'indirect' threat to peace and stability in Europe was the most important Danish security concern. Therefore, 'the task of the Danish armed forces has changed in nature,' the White Paper noted, 'from being an element in a reactive, deterrence-based guarantee of security to also being an active and confidence-building instrument of security policy'.[7] Bertel Heurlin has described the result as the 'militarisation' of Danish foreign policy.[8] During the 1990s, Danish forces were increasingly used in peacekeeping operations and, eventually, peace-enforcement operations, primarily in the Balkans.[9] 'The history books of the future,' the journalist Christian Brøndum has observed, 'will describe the 1990s as a decisive period in which Denmark committed itself internationally and discarded its sceptical and reluctant security and foreign policy.'[10]

Following 9/11, keeping the peace seemed to be somewhat irrelevant in a world at war with terror, as the American President, George W. Bush, puts it, especially if keeping the peace at home was by no means guaranteed by the deployment of troops abroad. On the contrary, Danish involvement in the Iraq war, however limited, was widely believed to make Denmark a terrorist target, just like Spain.

The prospect of direct threats and the need to deploy troops to fight wars rather than keep the peace framed the debate on the new Defence Agreement. In spite of some initial reluctance from the government to implement large-scale reforms,

6 Poll by Megafon for TV2 News, *Ritzau*, 4 April 2004.

7 Danish Defence Commission of 1997:3.

8 Heurlin, 1993: 45-6.

9 Jakobsen, 1998.

10 Brøndum, 2003.

therefore, an increasingly ambitious agenda began to take shape during the autumn of 2002 and the spring of 2003. An idea of the increase in the level of ambition can be obtained by observing how the comparatively radical reform agenda of the Social Liberal Party (*Det Radikale Venstre*) became increasingly mainstream. This was not because the party spokesman, Morten Helveg Petersen, trimmed his sails. On the contrary, Petersen's ideas about specialisation, the focus on deployability, doing away with conscription and focusing on civil defence against terrorism was increasingly accepted by the other parties too. The party's policy paper, presented to the other parties in the Defence Agreement negotiations, noted – not without glee, but also not without justification – that *Det Radikale Venstre* was the only party whose policy had not been overtaken by events and the ensuing debate.[11]

This increased level of ambition was driven by the new parameters of the debate, which created a new demand to 'do something' about terrorism. The level of ambition was also being increased by the direct experience of fighting operations in Afghanistan, where Danish F-16s and Special Forces had been actively involved. The fact that NATO wanted to create more effective and more deployable European armed forces also played an important part. The most important factor, however, was probably the way the leadership of the armed forces proved able and willing to exploit a discourse that was very favourable to new defence initiatives in order to launch its own vision for change.[12] Timed perfectly with the leak of a government White Paper that spelled out the new demands that the security environment was placing on the armed forces,[13] the latter were able to present their vision of how to meet these demands in August 2003. Taking together the conceptual paper and the more practical initiatives of the Chief of Defence, a political consensus for reform was cemented, and most of the proposals ended up in the Defence Agreement, which the party spokespersons presented together while sitting on the Minister's couch.

Armed forces are by nature conservative institutions, but in this case the armed forces had asked for and received permission from their political masters to become an institution defined by change rather than continuity. They were henceforth to be defined by the nature of the 'product' and the values by which it was 'produced' rather than by the number of troops, barracks or platforms.[14] Thus the defence agreement went on:

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11 Det Radikale Venstre, 2004: 29.

12 Forsvarschefen, 2004.

13 *The Security Policy Conditions for Danish Defence*, 2003.

14 *Forligsaftale*, 2004: 2.

> The armed forces are to be adjusted and developed. Together with allies, the armed forces are to be able to be effective in high-intensity operations in difficult and changing circumstances, thus providing the preconditions for the stabilisation of conflict areas. Furthermore, the forces are to be rapidly deployable.[15]

Danish military forces should be focused on 'high-intensity operations' (i.e., fighting wars) rather than peacekeeping. They should also be rapidly deployable. This focus on the quality of the forces led to a planned decrease in the number of active units. The army was thus reduced to two brigades of professional soldiers. In focusing on fighting capabilities, conscription was no longer deemed viable. The navy was to contribute with a 'flexible support ship' and a number of smaller vessels, while the air force contributed with eight F-16s at a high level of readiness and another eight aircraft at a lower level plus various logistical elements.[16]

The specialisation in high-intensity operations was the first part of the Defence Agreement; the second part was a focus on homeland security. Before the agreement was signed, the government made the Minister of Defence responsible for civil defence, thus moving the Emergency Management Agency from the Interior to the Defence Ministry. Now civil defence was to be an integrated part of the armed forces to such an extent that the very low number of conscripts (6,000) which were still to be drafted were to receive 700 hours of civil defence training during the course of only four months.

Most of the 27,900 personnel employed in the armed forces will keep doing what they have always being doing following the Defence Agreement. The terms under which they carry out their tasks, however, have been significantly redefined by the men sitting on the Minister's couch. What matters now is the capability to deploy forces abroad and defend against terrorism at home. The armed forces have been defined by a long-term agenda for change. The question is how the civilian and military leadership of the armed forces will implement it.

The course of this reform process is not only determined by policy, however: the actual operations that the Danish armed forces are conducting may well prove to be the most important factor in filling in the framework created by the 2005 Defence Agreement. The latter provides that the hardware needed to conduct expeditions will be available within the next five years. In terms of logistics and fire-power, in all likelihood the Danish armed forces will be in the top tier of minor European NATO powers in 2009. While military hardware is a precondition for the ability to

15 *Forligsaftale*, 2004: 4.

16 Notat: *deployerbare kapaciteter*, 2004.

intervene far from home, such expeditionary capacities represent only half of an expeditionary capability. A capability consists of capacity plus political will. The latter becomes very important in a time of wars undertaken by choice rather than necessity. The debate over Danish participation in the Iraq war made it clear that Denmark can choose whether or not to take part in foreign wars, and different political parties may make different choices. Danish participation in the occupation of Iraq also shows that an expeditionary capability is determined by political acceptance of the kind of action that 'high-intensity operations' necessitate. Capability therefore depends on the political will to carry out the mission, but realising the ambitions of the defence agreement also depends on developing what could be called a 'mission culture' within the armed forces that realises the political priority of expeditionary capabilities in a new corporate culture.

These issues were tested much sooner than most people expected when a Danish officer was accused of torturing Iraqi prisoners. It is to the ensuing debate that we turn next.

TORTURE IN CAMP EDEN?

The week the 'torture scandal' broke the banner headlines with 'shock-horror' in the tabloid newspaper *Ekstra Bladet*, the Danish battalion was involved in what was probably one of the most serious firings that Danish forces have engaged in since the Second World War. On 7 August 2004, a hundred Danish troops fought an unknown number of insurgents in the town of Al Qurnah.[17] However, the fighting produced far fewer headlines than the allegations of torture, and did not provoke any debate over the viability of the battalion's mission. On the face of it, this discrepancy seems peculiar. At a time when the Iraqi insurgency was moving to the south, the fact that a fifth of the Danish forces in Iraq had become involved in a single fight might have suggested that the mission was turning much more dangerous. The firing might have led to the conclusion that Danish forces were at risk of suffering the same levels of casualties that American forces had suffered in central Iraq. One might expect this to generate a debate over whether the increased risks made it time to 'bring the boys home'. This did not happen. Instead of discussing the welfare of the Danish soldiers, the media was overflowing with a debate over the welfare of Iraqi prisoners in their care.

People who witnessed how strategic issues were being debated in the 1980s would probably be surprised that the fight in Al Qurnah did not raise any serious

17 HOK, 2004; Olsen, 2004.

questions about whether the Danish forces had used appropriate force. Not much was made of the Iraqi civilian casualties of the firing. The fact that very few questions were raised suggests that the Danish public accepts and approves of the high-intensity combat operations envisioned in the Defence Agreement. While the Danish public condones the use of military force, however, the debate over the alleged torture in Camp Eden suggests ambivalence about the ends to which this armed force is being used. In other words, acceptance of the use of armed force cannot be taken for granted in Denmark.[18]

With the possible exception of those writing tabloid headlines, 'torture' was soon recognised as a far too harsh term for the allegations of misconduct being levelled against the interrogation officer at Camp Eden. Nonetheless the 'torture' label stuck, probably because it linked the Danish mission in Iraq with the general conduct of the war by American forces. The notion of Danish soldiers torturing Iraqi prisoners fitted perfectly with the narrative of the occupation of Iraq that had developed out of the Abu Ghraib scandal.

In May 2004, the misconduct of US prison guards in Abu Ghraib prison outside Baghdad was met with strong reactions in the Danish media. A leading article in *Politiken* listed the liberal case against the US conduct of the war on terror and concluded: 'there is a direct connection between this kind of political signal and the inhumanity which has displayed itself in pictures of humiliations and torture in Iraq and Afghanistan.'[19] Although the cases of misbehaviour by prison guards were isolated incidents that were condemned and prosecuted by the US authorities, for *Politiken* Abu Ghraib proved to be the immorality of the American cause. That the main opposition newspaper reached such a conclusion was hardly a surprise, unlike the fact that *Jyllands-Posten*, which had been a sponsor of the government's support for the Iraq war, took the same view. In a leading article, *Jyllands-Posten* took this view of Abu Ghraib to its logical conclusion: 'With quiet resignation, we have to conclude that the United States has lost the war in Iraq.'[20]

But what about Denmark? If the United States had lost the war in Iraq, then surely its coalition partners, however junior they might be, had lost the war as well? Not necessarily. In *Jyllands-Posten*'s view, the United States had lost the war because it had lost the moral high ground, not because it had been defeated in battle. The paper simply did not believe that the democratisation of Iraq and of the 'Greater Middle East' was a viable project any more. Although the paper realised that the United States would still try to realise the project, *Jyllands-Posten* itself had lost faith in

18 I have elaborated on this point in Rasmussen, 2005.

19 *Politiken*, 2004.

20 *Jyllands-Posten*, 2004.

it. It still had faith in Denmark, however: Denmark could still win the war on its own terms because winning was defined as being true to your ideals. The Danish soldiers in Camp Eden might not be able to turn their region in southern Iraq into a new Eden of democracy if the US failed, but nonetheless the Danish effort would still have been worthwhile, because it confirmed that the Danes, at least, were prepared to do the right thing the right way. From that point of view *Jyllands-Posten* was not even betraying the government by postulating defeat in Iraq, because doing the right thing had been the main part of the government's argument for Danish participation in the war in the first place.[21]

The torture allegations involving Denmark invalidated that argument. Apparently Danish troops were no better than the Americans, and that was why the torture label stuck. In the Danish debate over Iraq it was no longer tenable to argue that Denmark was fighting the war on its own terms. In military as well as moral terms, the Danes were in it with the Americans, and this changed the parameters of the debate. Thus debating torture not only concerned the merits of the specific accusations against the captain involved: the debate was also about whether fighting wars of this kind was possible without Denmark compromising its values. In this sense the debate not only concerned the mission of the Danish battalion, but also the mission of Danish society.

The debate over Camp Eden therefore concerned whether Denmark actually had the will to back up the capacity delivered by the Defence Agreement. Two positions emerged from this debate, one taking its point of departure in Danish values, the other viewing the mission in Iraq in political terms. I shall deal with them in turn.

DANISH VALUES

The first view followed *Politiken*'s and *Jyllands-Posten*'s positions that this was a question of values and that the allegations of torture showed that so-called Danish values could not be maintained in fighting the Iraqi insurgency. The 'torture scandal' prompted Herbert Pundik to argue in *Politiken* that the Danish battalion should be withdrawn from Iraq.

> 'It is not possible to conduct the effective intelligence work necessary to minimize Danish casualties during the operations in Iraq if this is to be based on "Danish values". One cannot compromise on "Danish values" according to the circumstances that put them to the test. It is the responsibility of the

[21] Rasmussen, 2004.

> Minister of the Defence, his staff and the Chief of Defence. It is their responsibility. One must respect their choice. But it means that the risk to the lives of Danish soldiers on duty in Iraq is growing.'[22]

Pundik probably took his cue regarding 'Danish values' from the letter of complaint that started the case, in which an army interpreter of Palestinian descent complained that the captain's behaviour towards Iraqi prisoners was not in accordance with "Danish values".[23] Mentioning 'Danish values' was by no means a politically innocent act, since the government and the right-wing press had being waging their own *Kulturkampf* in the name of 'Danish values' in opposition to the values of Muslim immigrants, the cosmopolitan values of European integration and so forth. Writing in a left-leaning paper, Pundik did not use the term without irony. At the same time he wanted to point out that Danish identity does in fact have unique features and that Danish troops can only be successful in their military operations in Iraq by betraying the very values that define them and their country.

Pundik does not make it clear (and this is probably intentional) whether the discrepancy between Danish values and Danish military engagements shows the unworldly impracticality of Danish values, or whether it shows that the war in Iraq is an enterprise unworthy of Denmark. In light of his general view of the war in Iraq, the latter interpretation is probably his own conclusion, but that has little relevance for his general argument. His main point is that if Denmark is to become the interventionist military power envisaged in the Defence Agreement, then the values that define the Danish community will also have to change. Danish values cannot, in this view, change without Danish society itself changing. What is at stake in Camp Eden is thus nothing less than the future of Denmark.

Military necessity will change 'Danish values', Pundik argues, and therefore it becomes a social necessity to withdraw Danish troops. Now, one might argue that change is not a bad thing in itself. Most anthropologists would argue that cultural values change all the time and that culture itself is defined as ways of dealing with change, whether in individual lives or in the history of societies. Pundik does not see "Danish values" this way: rather, his argument is based on the premise that "Danish values" are enduring and that Danes are simply not able to compromise them while still remaining Danes. This is why the government's decision to stay in Iraq, while operating under rules of engagement that are meant to safeguard Danish values, is reckless in Pundik's view. Not only is it putting the soldiers' lives at risk because

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22 Pundik, 2004.

23 Thye-Petersen, 2004.

Danish values are not the values of war, it is also putting Danish society at risk of being 'polluted' by 'the values of war'.

According to this view, the allegations of torture prove the hypocrisy of the government's claim to be fighting a 'good war'. The need to resort to 'torture' proved to the leader of the opposition, Mogens Lykketoft, that 'the situation in Iraq is locked into a spiral of violence, hate, mistrust, religious fanaticism and internal opposition.'[24] There is little prospect of introducing democracy and 'Danish values' under these circumstances. Some take this view further, arguing along with Pundik that war itself is 'un-Danish'. In an op-ed in *Politiken*, Jens Asbjørn Olesen concluded that 'war is torture. Anything else is a lie.'[25] Thus the government is denying the nature of war as well as the nature of the Danes. In addition, the pundit Carsten Jensen found this kind of hypocrisy to be the prevailing state of mind in Denmark and the root cause of all that is 'rotten in the state of Denmark'. 'We are at war, but call it something else,' Jensen argues; 'We do not want to know what we do.'[26] But the allegations of torture shows what war, any war, enables us to do. Torben Jørgensen, a researcher at the Department of Holocaust and Genocide, thus told *Berlingske Tidende*:

> With the previous torture scandals in mind, this case invariably calls for some soul searching: are we Danes in fact as morally uncompromised as we think? Especially when we go to war? Not quite. Because the nature of war banishes any feeling for the enemy as a human being with certain rights.[27]

It is in itself significant that a journalist should ask an employee at the Department for Holocaust and Genocide Studies to comment on what happened in Camp Eden. However, Jørgensen seems quite ready to explain to the readers of *Berlingske Tidende* that war itself dehumanises people. Thus by describing the 'dehumanising' effects of war, Jørgensen is in fact dehumanising Danish soldiers, who seem unable to choose whether to commit torture or not, because Jørgensen, apparently agreeing with Olesen, claims that war itself is torture. Soldiers cannot be human beings, nor indeed can they be Danes. Thus according to this definition of Danish values, the 'torture scandal' is the regrettable result of an 'un-Danish' defence policy.

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24 Lykketoft, 2004.

25 Olesen, 2004.

26 Jensen, 2004.

27 Nielsen, 2004.

DANISH POLITICS

In an op-ed in response to Pundik, Minister of Defence Søren Gade rejected the notion of unique Danish values. On the contrary, the Minister argued that 'Danish values' like 'democracy, freedom, tolerance' are defined not by culture but by the political system that is democracy. If Danish forces can help bring about a democratic system in Iraq, then the Iraqis will, in a political sense at least, become like us. For that very reason, Gade argued, the conduct of the Danish forces is in accordance with democratic values.[28] Thus in rejecting Pundik's dichotomy, the Minister of Defence was therefore promoting the other main view in the Camp Eden debate, according to which Danish identity is not constituted by a unique set of values which are uniquely at odds with the use of military force. Where the goal of those arguing in terms of values is to keep Denmark as far away from the dehumanising and 'un-Danish' realities of war as possible, the political view is that Danes are kidding themselves if they think they are any different from the rest of the Western world. Moreover, because Danes are no different, they ought to accept responsibility for what happens in the rest of the world.

This view has been presented most forcefully by former Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen: 'The heart of the matter is that that the public has so little comprehension of the kinds of missions that Danish forces have been assigned to around the world.'[29] The former Foreign Minister argued that the things he had read in the papers and watched on television about the 'torture case' in particular and the missions of Danish forces in general were stuck in a Cold War ambivalence about the use of armed force, even though the Danish armed forces had developed a different practice over the last ten to fifteen years:

> Danish soldiers have developed skills and robustness which have created the respect of other actors. We normally take pride in the fact that this owes a lot to a set of "Danish values" that the soldiers bring with them from home. Often a dangerous and heated situation has been cooled. But the precondition has been the presence of a iron fist in the velvet glove – as when Danish tanks fired back at Tuzla, giving the opponent casualties great enough for them to hold back the next time they saw a Danish flag on a tank.[30]

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28 Gade, 2004.

29 Ellemann-Jensen, 2004a.

30 Ibid.

Ellemann-Jensen is taking care to use the armed force's buzz-word 'robust' when referring to the practice that the armed forces have developed since the end of the Cold War. The former Foreign Minister is arguing that the public must face up to the facts, which are that the new Defence Agreement has cemented the creation of a 'robust' defence. Ellemann-Jensen's point is that the present policy can only continue if the Danes and their politicians admit that not all problems in an increasingly dangerous world can be solved by 'Danish values'. In this case, Danish values are not the only guiding principle. Using Danish values is one way to go about a mission, but a more robust way is equally available to Danes. Ellemann-Jensen is therefore arguing that the use of armed force is a political, not a cultural issue. Because war is not a cultural issue, it does not necessarily 'dehumanise' the soldiers who are fighting it. They are guided by policy, not by some dark force inherent in the business of war.

While Ellemann-Jensen insists that the use of military force is a political rather than a cultural issue, he does not really want a political debate on what to do with the Danish forces in Iraq, harshly rejecting the opposition's call for a debate over this, in September 2004.[31]

At this point the political argument becomes cultural as well, because this Clausewitzian conception of Danish foreign policy also reflects a notion of what kind of political community Denmark is or should be. There are two aspects to this. First, in Ellemann-Jensen's argument the idea that military force can be a continuation of politics by other means becomes a value in itself. Thus he blames the opposition for not taking a responsible course vis-à-vis the security of the realm and the security and effectiveness of the Danish battalion in Iraq.[32] Secondly, a number of people argue that, far from being a threat to Danish values, the conduct of the country's soldiers in Iraq shows a set of Danish values that are different from the pacifist values mentioned by Pundik and others, ones that one should take pride in.

Søren Krarup, a member of parliament for the Danish People's Party (*Dansk Folkeparti*), accompanied General Helsø on his trip to Iraq in October, on which Camp Danevang got its name. In an article in *Berlingske Tidende* Krarup turned his Iraqi stopover into a tale of two sets of Danish values. Krarup encountered the first set of values when he left Christiansborg to join the General's party. Students were demonstrating in the square in order to protest against the government's modest cut in their grants. Krarup feels 'deeply uncomfortable' with these young people because their noisy demonstration, in his eyes, shows how the welfare state has turned an entire generation into spoiled brats. When Krarup arrives in Iraq he meets

31 Ellemann-Jensen, 2004.
32 Ibid.

a completely different set of young people. The Danish soldiers do not yell at the palace walls to demand more money to go and sit in cafes, but are prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice, not only for Denmark, but also for the people of southern Iraq.

While Krarup describes the student demonstration in terms of anarchy and disorder, the Danish battalion in Iraq is seen in terms of order and efficiency. The message is clear: there are in fact two sets of Danish values. The values of the welfare state, which Pundik wrote about, have led to a decline in order and responsibility and turned Danes into a mob screaming for hand-outs from the government. The true Danish values, conversely, are those held by people of integrity who are prepared to do the right thing for the community (the national as well as the international community) for reasons other than their own material well-being.

Krarup's dichotomy is well-known in conservative and republican writings. Only those who are prepared to sacrifice themselves for the community are worthy of speaking on its behalf. Thus Krarup's journey to Camp Danevang becomes a rhetorical pilgrimage to true Danish values. From this point of view, the accusations of 'torture' in Camp Eden reflect on its critics back home rather than the soldiers in Iraq. The fact that people like Pundik feel alienated from Denmark's role as an occupying power shows, in Krarup's view, how far the 'liberal establishment' has strayed from the true, conservative values of the Danes.

In fact, Danish soldiers could be regarded not only as the carriers of true Danish values, but as those who have reinterpreted them in order to fit a new age. Katrina Niggard of the Royal Danish Defence Academy thus describes how post-Cold War international missions have led Danish soldiers to cross national boundaries by operating in distant lands for a combination of abstract values and long-term security interests rather than the immediate fear of the invasion of Denmark. According to Niggard, this has placed Danish soldiers in the vanguard of globalisation. Nørgaard thus locates Danish soldiers in the general debate over globalisation, which to a large extent rests on what Anthony Giddens has described as a loss of 'ontological security'.[33] In a world of constant change generated by processes of social transformation that originate from beyond Denmark's borders, a lot of people find themselves less secure in their jobs than their fathers were, and less sure about the values and social institutions they used to depend on. These people are to a large extent Krarup's constituency, and his solution is to rediscover the true 'Danish values' of the old. In Krarup's view the armed forces represent one of the preciously few institutions left that still embody these values.

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33 Giddens, 1991: 3-69, 183-18.

Nørgaard embraces globalisation, however, arguing that Danish soldiers are globalisation professionals like stockbrokers, merchant seamen, designers, internet traders etc. As opposed to those who make money out of globalisation, soldiers do not deal with the promises of globalisation but are trying to contain its dangers, in doing so personifying the political values of a globalised society. 'In a sense they are the heroes of our time,' Nørgaard argues; 'it is they who are re-establishing unambiguousness in times of confusion, who are creating order out of chaos.'[34] In Nørgaard's view this is why reactions to the slightest indiscretion of the soldiers in Iraq are so strong: if they are not good guys, then there are no good guys. If Danish captains torture their prisoners, there are no unambiguously good values left, only postmodern violence and confusion. In Nørgaard's view, what happens at Camp Eden decides what our values are going to be, because Camp Eden is a test of how Danes are able to deal with the realities of a globalising world.

If Danish values are not given by Denmark's circumstances but are defined by Danish soldiers acting abroad, then perhaps the analysis of the Danish values that underpin or undermine an expeditionary capability should focus on the values of the armed forces themselves. I turn to this in the next section.

MILITARY VALUES AND POLITICS

The torture allegation made the public reflect on the parameters of conducting military operations. However, the case also provided insights into the way the armed forces themselves dealt with expeditionary tasks. From this perspective, Camp Eden is an example of a culture where people are much better at blaming others for failing than at taking responsibility for their own actions. Further studies are needed in order to make any final conclusions, but the fact that the allegations of misconduct first prompted the theatre commander to send the accused officer home and then prompted the Minister of Defence to send the theatre commander home suggests a dysfunctional management system that only provides too little information to the relevant decision-making levels too late for the decision-making authority to be able to make informed decisions.[35]

If the reason for this is that the armed forces have yet to adopt a mission-oriented culture, then the problems involved in managing the Camp Eden case spell trouble for future expeditionary missions. A 'mission culture' is associated with

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34 Nørgaard, 2004.

35 On the need for the armed forces to adopt a more innovative management approach if they want to live up to the ambitions of the Defence Agreement, see Pedersen, 2004.

soldiering on the go. In embracing such a culture, armed forces personnel regard themselves as people who are continuously travelling to different hot spots and operating in dangerous environments. They are focused on immediate results and are both ready and able to operate in high-risk environments. This means that they are taking risks and making the mistakes that follow from this. Such a mission culture is the exact opposite of what might be termed the 'barracks culture' associated with territorial defence. The Danish armed forces used to focus on defending the realm, which meant waiting for war rather than actively seeking it. For armed forces focusing on deterrence and territorial defence, it makes sense to concentrate on education and preparation. Furthermore, it is only natural that, with few operational demands on it, the management system will become increasingly bureaucratic. Such a system is not focused on taking risks, but on minimising them. In a bureaucratic system, initiative and risk-taking are not rewarded and mistakes not forgiven. Here soldiers and officers learn to make no mistakes rather than to learn from their mistakes.

While the Danish armed forces have yet to live up to the ideal type of 'mission culture', they have probably never degenerated into a complete 'barracks culture'. It is very instructive, however, how Sergeant Noltesmejer describes life in Camp Eden in a controversial article from December 2003:

> We guard the camp so no one can hurt us. And when we look after ourselves in the camp, then no one is going to get hurt outside the camp because we are rarely outside. On the other hand none of the officers risk anything in their further careers because when nothing happens their careers can hardly go horizontal.'[36]

In the weeks after Noltesmejer's article was published, his claims were hotly dismissed by the armed forces,[37] but whether the sergeant is right or wrong need not concern us here. What is interesting is that, while Noltesmejer's view of what he believed soldiering should be all about reflects a mission-oriented culture, Noltesmejer himself felt that any initiative and risk-taking were being suppressed by the 'barracks culture' guiding the officers. If officers are risk-averse, one can hardly blame them given the reaction to the allegations of torture. Neither the public nor their own military or political leaders paused to consider the soldiers' side of the story, which rather was immediately bracketed with the Abu Ghraib narrative, which was used back in Denmark to debate the merits of the occupation of Iraq. In the

36 Noltesmeier, 2003.

37 Cordsen, 2004.

eyes of the troops on the ground in Iraq, things were a bit more complicated, as an anonymous soldier told *Berlingske Tidende*:

> This is war at its most dirty because we do not know our enemy before he suddenly appears in civilian clothes with his weapon pointing straight at us. They do not hesitate and they do not have the same norms and values as we do with regard to human life.'[38]

Did Danish military values enable officers and enlisted men to adjust to such a volatile and hostile environment? Did Danish military values create a culture around command and control assets that enabled military and political leaders back in Copenhagen to guide their troops in the best possible way? The 'torture scandal' probably did nothing to assure Danish officers that they would be supported higher up in the system for showing initiative. For a while in the heated August days they could not even pass prisoners on to the British headquarters, because of a fear in Copenhagen that the British would hand the prisoners over to the Iraq authorities – a problem, given that Iraqi courts might sentence the prisoners to death. But if the Danish force could not be trusted to interrogate prisoners themselves and were not allowed to hand them over to the British, what was the point of patrolling at all? The dilemma that Pundik had pointed out seemed to materialise. Lieutenant-Colonel Poul Dahl argued that 'the present situation questions whether we can take part in the Iraqi operation at all.'[39]

CONCLUSIONS

Briefers from the Danish armed forces are fond of describing the latter as a tool box offering the government and the *Folketing* a number of military tools that they can use as they see fit. With the 2005 Defence Agreement, the armed forces made a determined effort to make sure that the tools in the box would be of an expeditionary nature. Influenced by the events set in motion by 9/11, Danish politicians willingly provided the legal and budgetary basis for a new force structure, improved logistics and, most importantly, a commitment to a strategic and doctrinal focus on high-intensity operations on the one hand and homeland security on the other. By 2009 this will have become the new Danish military tool box.

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38 Quoted in Bjerre & Nielsen, 2004.

39 Quoted in Libak, 2004.

Tools are seldom things in themselves, however: a hammer can be used equally well for hanging a picture on the wall and building a garden shed. Which tools you choose for your tool box depend on what purposes the hammer and the other tools in the box are to be used for. The Defence Agreement offers a broad range of possibilities for how the tools of the Danish military are to be used, but it is based on the premise that the armed forces are a most effective tool when used for high-intensity short-term missions. The budget simply does not allow for long-term missions using highly capable professional soldiers with a well-founded logistical base. Two army brigades simply cannot support large-scale operations for a long period of time. Nonetheless, the first mission of the 2005-9 period is a long term, low-intensity operation in Iraq. This leads to the question of whether the politicians have really created the armed forces they want.

This question cannot be answered by counting weapons systems, nor even by analysing the stated intentions of the government and opposition. These are important factors in framing the question, but military forces distinguish themselves as a tool by being shaped through their use. The nail does not influence the hammer, but the insurgents and the general security environment in Iraq are influencing how Danish and other coalition forces behave. After the 'torture scandal' broke, the Minister of Defence reviewed the next team of soldiers going to Iraq and expressed his confidence in their ability to do a great job there because of their training and dedication.[40] However, it is not the troops being reviewed on the army's training grounds at Oksbøl who need support, but the troops on the ground in an environment that is beyond the control of the political and military leaders of the armed forces. The way the battalion in Iraq was not allowed to take prisoners nor to pass them on to their British partners in the heated aftermath of the 'torture scandal' made one wonder whether in fact the armed forces and the media would have preferred the Danish troops never to have left Oksbøl. How else could one interpret the desire to define the rules of engagement in accordance with how things ought to be rather than how the soldiers were actually experiencing it? The feeling that perceptions in Copenhagen of what should and could be done by the battalion in Iraq was quite out of touch with reality soon sparked sarcasm on the margins of the media. Gerda Vestergaard, Blågårdsgade, can probably claim the prize for the most sarcastic comment in the op-ed pages when, in tones of mock innocence, she inquired whether her husband could claim compensation in a human rights court for having been forced to sit in much the same position as the prisoners at Camp Eden because of his work as a floor planer![41]

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40 Harbo, 2004.

41 Vestergaard, 2004.

If the armed forces are a tool box, then what really matters is how Danish politicians and their constituencies regard the role of armed force. Discrepancies between these views and the views of the soldiers on the ground become crucial for the ability of the Danish expeditionary forces to carry out their missions, just as the kinds of mission to which they are assigned in the first place depend on the perception of the tool box and its usefulness on Christiansborg rather than in Camp Eden, Camp Danevang or any future Danish camps. The debate over the alleged 'torture' in Camp Eden is very instructive because it shows two very different conceptions of the kind of tool that the armed forces represent.

One view is that Danish values are corrupted by war. War is torture, and in waging war Danes becomes torturers. If Danes want to remain Danes, they should leave Iraq in particular and stay out of conflicts in general. Note that this is not a pacifist view. People taking this position can accept the use of armed force to defend the realm or to implement a cease fire or other kinds of consensual use of armed force. This view probably dominated the debate about what happened in Camp Eden and was based on an understanding of Denmark as an enduring cultural community adhering to certain unchanging values. These values cannot be compromised without the Danish nation losing its identity. For this reason this view is hostile to foreign policy activism as such, but it is especially hostile to military action, which by definition is uncontrollable and dynamic because of the way in which the strategic environment creates a feedback loop with regard to the military forces that have been deployed. In such an environment, one cannot be sure what the influence on Danish values will be. Pundik's solution is the only logical one: withdraw the troops. The problem is that withdrawal is the only solution that this view can ever offer. Since any engagement in the dark and difficult aspects of international security risks compromising 'Danish values', the only way to maintain these values seems to be to leave non-consensual issues to others.

This raises the awkward question of whether values like the absence of torture in interrogations, the rule of law, free speech and other democratic values are for Danes only. Writing about the prospects of implementing democracy in Iraq, the pundit Ralf Pittelkow argued that, 'if one is going to transform the country, then the people's identity will have to change. Traditional, authoritarian values will have to give way to more modern, freedom-oriented values.'[42] Note how Pittlekow writes about identity in the singular. Such a concept of identity probably seems less relevant for an Iraqi who has loyalties to a tribe, an ethnic group and/or a religious community as well as to the Iraqi nation. If one defines democracy by Danish

42 Pittelkow, 2004.

standards, however, Pittelkow's notion of cultures makes much more sense, as does the insistence on specific cultural values being the foundation of democracy.

This illustrates the moral pitfalls of making culture a causal explanation rather than a constitutive factor. When culture causes things, then change is either impossible or dangerous: Iraqis will never be able to develop a democratic culture, and Danes are in danger of having their values corrupted by operating under such undemocratic cultural rules. In other words, the focus on culture rules out political action. Those taking the cultural standpoint are calling for alternatives to Danish military involvement in Iraq, but they are unable to present any alternatives themselves. They see the situation in terms either of the utter despair of the impossible or of an ideal state where all Iraqis will accept a civilian Danish effort to teach them the values of democracy. Caught between Idealism and Fatalism, those who adhere to this view cannot offer a political guide to the use of military tools.

The other view of the use of the military tool which has emerged from the Camp Eden debate takes its point of departure in a critique of the cultural view. The argument in this case is that democracy is a universal political system, not a cultural artefact, and one can therefore create democracy in Iraq. People who take the political view continue to argue that military coercion might be needed in order to create a democracy, and they assert that it would be in accordance with Danish values and interests to do so. From this point of view, there are no values that make Denmark unique. Military force can be a continuation of politics by other means for a Danish government as much as for any other government. This argument offers a rationale for using armed force in accordance with the Defence Agreement's ambitions, but it does not offer reasons for doing so. In this view, the activities of Danish soldiers in Iraq are a demonstration of the civic virtues and might even be regarded as a guide to civic responsibility in a globalised world, but this still does not offer an explanation for why soldiering in general, and the mission in Iraq in particular, might be a good idea.

The most important element in this argument of normality is that Denmark should play an 'active' role in world affairs. However, this 'activism' offers little guidance as to why Denmark should be active. How can anyone ask Danish soldiers to risk their lives for 'activism'?

The main reason for offering active support to the United States in the case of Iraq is a general sense of commitment to the western alliance. In this case, activism is presented as an obligation rather than a value or an interest. Certainly it may be in Denmark's interests to fulfil this obligation. Since the Prime Minister has argued that the United States is Denmark's ultimate security guarantee, it follows that, if we expect the United States to protect our interests, then we must protect the interests

of the United States.[43] If this is the only argument for deploying Danish troops in Iraq, then the government is essentially arguing that it will support any US military intervention for no other reason than the fact that the United States wants to undertake it. Clearly this is not the intention: the government is supporting the United States because it believes that Denmark shares its values and interests. It is because of the belief that these values are shared that those adhering to the political view despaired when they felt that Denmark was not being 'active' but just free-riding on what this view sees as US efforts to make the world a better and safer place.[44]

During the Cold War, the reference to the Western alliance and the values it enshrined probably provided enough justification for Denmark's involvement, but at a time when the alliance is itself in crisis and the security environment has become more volatile, a reference to Denmark's obligations towards the rest of the Western world is no longer enough. What the shared values are, who exactly we share them with and how these values are best defended in a globalising world need to be articulated clearly if the political view on using military force, and those in government who hold this view, are to be able to argue their case. The Camp Eden debate provided an obvious opportunity to state this case, but the opportunity was missed.

The debate over what happened in Camp Eden indicates that the next challenge for Danish defence policy will concern 'software' rather than 'hardware'. This is not to say that there will not be serious political debate over procurement or force structures in the future, but the Defence Agreement establishes clear principles and priorities with regard to developing expeditionary forces. If the armed forces stick to these principles, the debate will remain rather technocratic. With the hardware issues resolved, the lack of strategic consensus on the use of these forces becomes all the more glaring. The Camp Eden debate illustrates the profound disagreements over the nature of military conflict and the nature of Danish involvement in such conflicts. The new challenge for Danish defence policy is to develop a strategic debate over the use of the expeditionary forces which Denmark has chosen to develop. Danish debating culture would probably dictate the development of a consensus on these issues. In this case, however, a consensus would clearly not be possible to create and perhaps not even desirable. It would be much better to debate the strategic challenges in a way that allows both disagreement and a joined understanding of the stakes involved. This debate will encompass very different views on Danish values, military force and political priorities, but it should be based on the premise that the

43 Rasmussen, 2003.

44 For a brilliant presentation of this argument, see Ellemann-Jensen, 2004c.

Defence Agreement will result in armed forces that are better suited for larger and more combat-ready contingents than those that Denmark has hitherto deployed. It should also take note of the fact that these contingents make most military sense if they are deployed for a much shorter time than was the case for Danish forces in the 1990s. The Camp Eden debate shows the absence of such a shared discourse on the role of armed force. In the absence of such a discourse, the debate over Danish military involvement in the guerrilla war in Iraq presents an alternative between leaving without honour and staying without purpose. If that is the alternative, perhaps the politicians would do better to design themselves a different and less expedition-oriented military toolbox.

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Denmark and the New International Politics of Morality and Remembrance

Uffe Østergård[1]

> *An apology may be at hand. Of course we cannot change the course of history by acknowledging, regretting and excusing on behalf of the past. But it is of importance for a nation to take this step*
> (Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen, 2 May 2005 in Tallinn).

Last year, unnoticed by any but those most directly involved, Denmark joined the so-called "Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research". This discreet move fits into a larger pattern of changes in international politics towards an increased stress on the importance of international law[2] and the official recognition of guilt and responsibility. "Realists" in international politics, of course, tend to disregard such tendencies as mere window-dressing, and show only contempt for the rising number of proclamations of guilt and official apologies. Nevertheless, such apparently empty gestures seem increasingly to be setting the tone of accepted conduct in international affairs and thus becoming "real" politics, regardless of the elements of hypocrisy involved. An apology is not always free. This must be the reason why Turkey invests so much energy in denying the historical truth of the Armenian genocide in 1915, or why Denmark could not even dream of officially excusing her involvement in the trans-

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2 Paradoxically, international law is called *folkeret* in Danish. Today there is no strong tradition of the study of this subject, contrary to what used to be the situation in the heyday of international cooperation in the first half of the 20th century; see Sørensen, 1971; Espersen, Harhoff & Spierman, 2003.

Atlantic slave trade, even though the country ranks as number seven in the list of nations involved in that trade.[3]

The Holocaust Task Force forms part, albeit a minor part, of current attempts to transform international law from a set of traffic lights regulating behaviour between totally sovereign nation states into something closer to a real international regime of law as in a German Rechtstaat. On a par with law, history, and in particular the acceptance of historical guilt, are playing an increasing role in this new international regime, which is transforming the traditional international community which has existed since the end of the Thirty Years War in 1648. Decisive steps in this transformation are obviously the League of Nations, the United Nations and the rising role of human rights since the end of the Second World War.[4] More specifically, however, the setting up of the International Criminal Tribunals for Rwanda and the Former Yugoslavia in 1993 and 1994, followed later by the permanent International Criminal Court in the Hague, testifies to this "legalisation" and "moralisation" of international politics.[5]

The first step in this direction was the Nuremberg (*Nürnberg*, in German) trials, which convicted some of the Nazi leaders for their war crimes and responsibility for the Holocaust, and the trials of war criminals in Tokyo.[6] Their convictions had a tinge of traditional victor's justice, as the legal basis for them in international law did not yet exist in 1945, the convention on Genocide only being adopted by the UN on 9 December 1948. Yet, the prosecutors worked hard to give the whole process a new format which would distinguish it positively from the revenge taken on the losers of World War I that had tainted the Versailles peace treaties. The onslaught of the Cold War brought the whole process of the legalization of international politics to a standstill for more than forty years. The fall of the Soviet Union and the impact of the atrocities committed during the break up of Yugoslavia, the genocide in Rwanda, the revelations of the killing fields in Cambodia, the Indonesian atrocities in East Timor and many other instances of violations of human rights have provoked a renewed interest in defining a regime of international law. An important ingredient in these policies seems to be the acknowledgement of guilt and of excesses committed.

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3 Most of the trade was actually carried out by Norwegian subjects of the king, and the majority of the merchants who profited from it were German speakers from Holstein and Schleswig. But these facts that stem from the nationally composite character of the Danish state before 1864 hardly lets Denmark as a state off the hook of assuming responsibility for her past.

4 I have given my own version of this far from unknown history in Østergård, 2002a.

5 For institutional and legal details, see Mennecke & Markusen, 2003.

6 Lehmann, 1999, Bloxham, 2001.

The Danish Prime Minister, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, has taken a very clear stand on these matters, abroad as well as at home. On visits to Estonia and Lithuania on 2 May 2005, he courageously recommended that Russia officially recognise the atrocities committed in the name of international communism against the small Baltic States after World War II. At home he seems to do the same. In a reaction to the revelation by Danish historians that one of the results of the policy of collaboration during the occupation – officially called the "policy of negotiation or cooperation" (in Danish *forhandlingspolitikken* or *samarbejdspolitikken*) – was the expulsion on Danish initiative of 21 Jewish refugees to extermination in German camps, he did not rule out a formal apology. In his own words: "An apology may be at hand. Of course we cannot change the course of history by acknowledging, regretting and excusing on behalf of the past. But it is of importance for a nation to take this step."[7]

These changes in the international climate helps explain why the interest in the Holocaust in particular and genocides and other crimes against humanity in general seem to increase instead of vanish with the passing away of the last survivors and perpetrators. For decades, survivors and their descendants feared that the memory of the heinous Nazi crimes would fade with the passing of those who had witnessed them. Instead of the silence Hitler had hoped for when, at a meeting with his generals on the eve of the attack on Poland, 22 August 1939, he cynically remarked: "Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?"[8], we have

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7 Anders Fogh Rasmussen, "Vi var brohoved for nazisterne" (interview), *Jyllands-Posten*, 2 May 2005, p. 3, The apology was formally given in the prime minister's speech at the foremost place of remembrance for the victims of the resistance, Mindelunden in Copenhagen, at a ceremony two days later, Monday 4, 2005 (the full text in *Berlingske Tidende* May 5, 2005).

8 A huge controversy as to the precise words spoken at this meeting at Hitler's retreat Bergdorf in Obersalzberg where he presented his plan for the war against Poland has unfolded among historians. The main reason for the controversy is that the participants were ordered not to take any notes. Yet some did, but of course these notes are hard to verify in precise details, see Baumgart, 1968. Because of this uncertainty, scholars affiliated with the Turkish attempt to deny any mentioning of the genocide on the Armenians in 1915 have challenged the quote. This hypercriticism, however, seems unfounded, see Kershaw, 2000: 206-11. The full text runs as follows: "My decision to attack Poland was arrived at last spring. Originally, I feared that the political constellation would compel me to strike simultaneously at England, Russia, France, and Poland. Even this risk would have had to be taken. Ever since the autumn of 1938, and because I realised that Japan would not join us unconditionally and that Mussolini is threatened by that nit-wit of a king and the treasonable scoundrel of a crown prince, I decided to go with Stalin. In the last analysis, there are only three great statesmen in the world, Stalin, I, and Mussolini. Mussolini is the weakest, for he has been unable to break the power of either the crown or the church. Stalin and I are the only ones who envisage the future and nothing but the future. Accordingly, I shall in a few weeks stretch out my hand to Stalin at the common German-Russian frontier and undertake the redistribution of the world with him. Our strength consists in our speed and in our brutality. Genghis Khan led millions of women and children to slaughter – with premeditation and a happy

witnessed the publication of hundreds of groundbreaking new treatises on the Nazi years that historians thought they already knew so well. To this in recent years has been added masses of new information on the cruelties committed in the name of communism,[9] as well as investigations of other genocides and mass atrocities all over the world, past and present.[10]

Moreover, comprehensive commissions of historians have been established with the task of investigating the role and responsibility of neutral and even occupied countries in the mass extermination of Jews and other groups of victims during World War II. The two foremost examples are the commissions in Switzerland and Austria. In the former communist countries such commissions have also undertaken the study of crimes committed by the communist regimes. In Switzerland, Germany and Austria the new research has resulted in reparations for the few surviving victims and the disbursement of frozen or confiscated assets to their descendants.[11]

Even the small and – so we thought until recently – innocent Nordic countries have been implicated in this wave. Norway has paid compensations for Jewish property confiscated from the Jews who were arrested and deported in November 1942. Some of the reparations which could not be directed to relatives of the vanished have gone into the setting up of a Center for the Study of the Holocaust and Religious Minorities. As a sign of poetic revenge on history, this Center has recently moved into Vidkun Quisling's luxurious villa in the museum peninsula in central Oslo after the building had been renovated at great expense. In December

heart. History sees in him solely the founder of a state. It's a matter of indifference to me what a weak western European civilisation will say about me. I have issued the command – and I'll have anybody who utters but one word of criticism executed by a firing squad – that our war aim does not consist in reaching certain lines, but in the physical destruction of the enemy. Accordingly, I have placed my death-head formations in readiness – for the present only in the East – with orders to them to send to death mercilessly and without compassion men, women, and children of Polish derivation and language. Only thus shall we gain the living space (*Lebensraum*) which we need. Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?" Quoted from Kevork B. Bardakjian, *Hitler and the Armenian Genocide*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Zoryan Institute, 1985. The text above is the English version of the German document handed to Louis P. Lochner in Berlin. It first appeared in Lochner's *What About Germany?,* New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1942: 1-4. The Nürnberg Tribunal later identified the document as L-3 or Exhibit USA-28. Two other versions of the same document appear in Appendices II and III. For the German original see *Akten zur Deutschen Auswärtigen Politik 1918-1945*, Serie D, Band VII, Baden-Baden, 1956: 171-172.

9 Primarily and most efficiently the documentation assembled by French historians in *Le livre noir du communisme,* by Stéphane Courteois et al., 1997.

10 An overview of these contemporary findings and debates is to be found in the first volume to emerge from the Danish Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, S. Jensen (ed.), *Genocide: Cases, Comparisons and Contemporary Debates,* 2003.

11 A passionate account of the primarily American endeavours to secure repayment of the savings of the vanished millions and reparations is Richard Z. Chesnoff's *Pack of Thieves* of 1999, translated into Danish in 2001.

2005 a permanent exhibition on the Holocaust will open on the premises. In early 2000 even Denmark, with her good reputation for having saved the majority of her Jews,[12] commissioned an official investigation of her refugee policy prior to and during the German occupation of 1940 to 1945. The first volumes have just been published, and by the end of 2005 four massive volumes will appear, documenting the restrictive policy towards refugees in the whole of the period 1933 to 1945, and even the deportation of 21 Jews during the German occupation.[13] An investigation of the economic collaboration of Danish companies during the German occupation is well under way at the Copenhagen Business School.[14] Neutral Sweden, too, is facing up to her complicity and has initiated mass information campaigns about the Holocaust and other genocides, which will be analysed in more detail below.

This wave of self-reflection is evident all over Europe and in a few other countries, such as Argentina. It is part of what historians call the "politics of memory".[15] The engagement of states in the "management of memory" is far from being a new phenomenon; indeed, to a large degree this is what the writing of history has always been about. But it is a novelty that at least some European states today are attempting to face their own pasts in an open way and officially acknowledge and remember the negative aspects of their national histories, as well as the brighter sides. We may be witnessing processes that come close to the one that West Germany was forced to go through after the crushing defeat in World War II. This endeavour, at which the West Germans were so extremely thorough and efficient, is called Bewältigung der Vergangenheit in German. The term means

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12 See Mette Bastholm and Steven Jensen (eds.), *Denmark and the Holocaust,* Copenhagen: DIIS, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, vol. 2, 2003.

13 Hans Kirchhoff, *Et menneske uden pas er ikke noget menneske. Danmark i den internationale flygtningepolitik 1933-1939;* Lone Rünitz, *Af hensyn til konsekvenserne. Danmark og flygtningespørgsmålet 1933-1940*; Cecilie Felicia Stokholm Banke, *Demokratiets skyggeside. Flygtninge og menneskerettigheder i Danmark før Holocaust*; Lone Rünitz & Hans Kirchhoff, *Flygtninge i Danmark 1940-1945,* University Press of Southern Denmark 2005. A preliminary account of the results in English is L. Rünitz, "The Politics of Asylum in Denmark in the Wake of the *Kristallnacht*", in Bastholm & Jensen, 2003: 14-32.

14 The preliminary findings of this investigation were presented to the public on April 20; Prime Minister Rasmussen's interview on the need for apologies was originally provoked by their findings, Rasmussen, 2005b.

15 See, for example, John Gillis (ed.), *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity,* 1994; Lewis Coser (ed.), *Maurice Halbwachs: On Collective Memory,* (1950), 1992; Uffe Østergård, "European Identity and the Politics of Identity", J. P. Burgess & O. Tunander (eds.), *European Security Identities: Contested Understandings of EU and NATO,* 2000; Bo Stråth, (ed.), *Myth and Memory in the Construction of Community: Historical Patterns in Europe and Beyond,* 2000. On the intricate relationship between history and memory, see Norbert Frei, "Farewell to the Era of Contemporaries: National Socialism and Its Historical Examination en route into History", in G. N. Arad (ed.), *History and Memory: Passing into History: Nazism and the Holocaust beyond Memory,* Indiana University Press 1997, Studies in the Representation of the Past, Vol. 9: 59-79; and Uffe Østergård*, Europa. Identitet og identitetspolitik*, 1998.

confronting the past in order to come to terms with it. Until recently this concept has been virtually untranslatable in all other European languages. One outcome of the last twenty years' of European soul-searching may be that the term will find a place in other European languages.[16]

At the same time, EU candidate countries in eastern and central Europe have also been forced to face up to their complicity in the Holocaust. To do this is the raison d'être of the "Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research". Nation states have always preferred to remember their victimization by others rather than face their own guilt; this is a universal human characteristic. But the crimes committed in Europe during World War II were of a very particular nature. Only grudgingly have Europeans come to recognise that the extermination of the Jews and other groups was not an exclusively German matter. Nobody will deny that Germany was the cradle of Nazism, but World War II was also a European civil war, fought between ideologically motivated factions within each country.[17]

Anti-Semitism was certainly not a German peculiarity. The major difference was that a group of virulent anti-Semites conquered a German state in profound crisis and, through a combination of persuasion and oppression, involved the rest of their fellow Germans, plus allies in other countries, in the total extermination of a group they labelled "Jews", plus other groups such as the Roma and Sinti, Slav peoples defined as "sub-human", homosexuals and the handicapped. To some extent we have known this for a long time, but increasing collaboration between EU members have necessitated announcing it loud and clear and informing one's compatriots of the darker sides of their national histories. One of the major lessons of recent European – and gradually global – history is that the recognition of historical responsibility is a prerequisite for any credible attempt to prevent similar disasters elsewhere and in the future.

TASK FORCE FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION ON HOLOCAUST EDUCATION, REMEMBRANCE AND RESEARCH

In May 1998 acknowledgement of the common responsibility for the extermination of Jews and many other groups during World War II spurred the British, American and Swedish governments to establish the "Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research" mentioned above, a

16 Østergård, 2003a.

17 See Mazower, 1998, Østergård, 1998.

somewhat militant designation unlikely to be chosen, according to a former German member of the executive committee, had his country initiated it rather than innocent Scandinavians. Since then, many other countries have joined the project.

The mission statement of the organisation runs as follows: "The Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research" consists of representatives of government, as well as governmental and non-governmental organisations. Its purpose is to place political and social leaders' support behind the need for Holocaust education, remembrance, and research both nationally and internationally. Initiated by Swedish Prime Minister Göran Persson in 1998, the Task Force currently has twenty member countries: Argentina, Austria, the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Professor Yehuda Bauer, former chair of the Yad Vashem Research Institute in Jerusalem, is the Task Force's advisor.

Membership of the Task Force is open to all countries. Members must be committed to the Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust, and must accept the principles adopted by the Task Force regarding membership. They must also be committed to the implementation of national policies and programs in support of Holocaust education, remembrance, and research. The governments comprising the Task Force agree on the importance of encouraging all archives, both public and private, to make their holdings on the Holocaust more widely accessible. The Task Force also encourages appropriate forms of Holocaust remembrance. Countries wishing to create programs in Holocaust education or to further develop their existing information materials and activities in this area are invited to work together with the Task Force. To this end Liaison Projects can be established between countries and the Task Force for long-term cooperation. Such cooperation is mutually beneficial to all concerned.

The first Liaison Project, with the Czech Republic, began in 1999. Within this project's framework, a national teacher training program at the Terezin Memorial has been developed, and Czech teachers have received advanced training at the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., and Yad Vashem in Jerusalem. The project also includes cooperation with Roma cultural organisations. The experience with the Czech Republic has served as a model for work in other countries. Liaison Projects have also been initiated in cooperation with Argentina, Croatia, Hungary, Romania, and Slovakia. The Task Force has established working groups in regard to each of these

countries, as well as in regard to memorials, information projects, research, and education."[18]

Discreetly urged on by the US, Denmark only decided to join as late as the fall of 2003 and was officially adopted as a full member at two consecutive meetings of the Task Force in Rome and Trieste in June and December 2004. This followed some interesting deliberations over the Danish policy of dealing with the Holocaust and other crimes against humanity, including mass killings by communists, at the same time as the Holocaust. At the meeting of the Task Force in Trieste in December 2004, Romania was accepted because of its thorough preparations and willingness to remedy its participation in the Holocaust, whereas Greece was put on hold because of belated preparations.

The first spectacular result of the original Swedish-British-American initiative was the first so-called "Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust", 26-28 January 2000; an event which initiated what is now referred to as the "Stockholm process". Forty-seven heads of state and governments participated in this solemn three-day ceremony in central Stockholm. They listened to moving addresses by the Nobel peace prize winner and Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel, US president Bill Clinton appeared on video, the French prime minister Lionel Jospin arrived late and annoyingly had to address an almost empty hall because the Swedish organizers insisted on the scheduled coffee break, the Italian former communist prime minister Massimo D'Alema addressed the audience in English – but called the Holocaust Shoah as is usual in Italian and French – and so on for three full days.

The main message of the event was that what happened in Germany could also have happened elsewhere – and that in fact it did happen in a number of other countries with the active participation of their citizens. This reinterpretation was confirmed by most of the state and government leaders who had taken the time to participate in the conference. Besides the remarkable number of heads of state, the attendees counted almost a thousand diplomats, NGOs, religious leaders, survivors, historians, teachers and journalists. The official goal of the conference was to "promote the international dialogue on education, raising youth, and research on the Holocaust." One politician who had not understood the order of the day was the prime minister of Lithuania, Andrius Kubilius. He plunged into a lament about how unfair it is that Lithuania is sometimes blamed for the tragedy of the Jewish people during World War II, because at that time Lithuania was nothing but a geographical notion. Strictly speaking he is right, but he had not understood that the main purpose of the conference was to share the burden of the Nazi crimes. His diplomats afterwards had a hard job rebuilding Lithuania's credentials as a serious

18 http://taskforce.ushmm.org.

contender for EU membership during the remainder of the conference. They succeeded, and Lithuania was able to join the European Union four years later, but it was a close thing and testifies to the importance in Realpolitik of these apparently innocent "politics of morality". "Realpolitik is Moralpolitik", as the Norwegian explorer and international relief organizer Fridtjof Nansen once put it.[19]

Through these events Göran Persson entered the world of the high politics of morality, almost as an incarnation of his charismatic predecessor Olof Palme. The extremely professional Swedish diplomacy obviously revelled in the spotlights of the international press, the only media not having grasped the potential of the event being Danish newspapers and television channels, which had seen the whole thing as yet another Swedish piece of self-promotion, which of course it was. But it was also more: what the Danes overlooked was that the event and the subsequent Stockholm process were important moments in the new international politics of morality.

AUSCHWITZ DAY IN DENMARK

The most concrete result of the Stockholm Forum was the agreement to inaugurate an annual Holocaust Remembrance Day on 27 January, the date when Soviet forces liberated the extermination camp of Auschwitz and Birkenau in southern Poland. A number of countries were already holding such commemorations, albeit on different dates.[20] Denmark did not immediately decide to inaugurate such a day of commemoration, probably because it was not seen as a pressing matter in a country rightly famous for having rescued her Jewish citizens in October 1943. When the issue was raised in the Parliament by the representative of the Christian People's Party, Jann Sjursen, on 3 April 2001, the then Prime Minister Poul Nyrup Rasmussen immediately asked for an assessment by the Danish Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies. That it took a little more than a year to reach a decision was primarily due to delays caused by the change of government in autumn 2001, rather than considerations of principle. Rasmussen had personally led the Danish dele-

19 Fridtjof Nansen lived 1861-1930. After an illustrious career as scholar and explorer, he joined the Norwegian delegation to the League of Nations in 1920. He successfully organised the repatriation of half a million Russian prisoners of war, helped remedy the hunger catastrophe in revolutionary Russia, and was elected the first High Commissioner for Relief at the League of Nations. In 1923 he was awarded the Nobel peace prize. Among other things he has formulated the dictum about the relationship between morals and politics in a lecture: "Videnskab og Moral", printed in the Norwegian review *Samtiden* in 1908 ("Science and Morality").

20 For a list of these various dates and the different arguments for the dates chosen see Østergård, 2002b.

gation to the first Stockholm Forum, which also included the minister of education from the government's Social Liberal coalition partner, Margrethe Vestager; and his successor, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, quickly decided on the matter in spring 2002. Following this positive decision, over the summer of 2002, a preparatory committee was formed with representatives from the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Education, Culture and Integration, plus representatives from the Department for Holocaust and Genocide Studies and the Institute for Human Rights, and the first commemorative Auschwitz Day[21] took place at the town hall of Copenhagen on 27 January 2003.

This decision by a centre-right government fits in well with decisions made by the previous centre-left government. Urged on by two small political parties, now no longer represented in Parliament, the Centre Democrats and the Christian People's Party, Denmark had already decided in 1999 to establish an autonomous Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies. As part of a larger restructuring and rationalization effort, the Center was set up as an independent unit in 2002. However, Foreign Minister Per Stig Møller and Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen have both repeatedly declared that this merger does not imply an undermining of the efforts in this area. On the contrary, their intention is to ensure that investigations into the Holocaust and other genocides are carried out and to intensify education in the subject by situating the Center as an independent department within the larger institutional context of a Centre for International Studies and Human Rights. The latter was established through the merger of a range of research centers in the area of foreign policy and international security on 1 January 2003. This intention has since been confirmed through various acts, such as the decision to join the Task Force for International Cooperation on the Holocaust.

At the first Auschwitz Day commemoration in Copenhagen town hall, Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen expressed Denmark's intentions as follows: "Last year, the Government decided to introduce an annual day in commemoration of the victims of the Holocaust and genocide, as was agreed by the Heads of State and Government at a Holocaust Conference in Stockholm in 2000. The Government decided that the commemoration should take place on 27 January, the day that marks the liberation of the Auschwitz concentration camp and thus the beginning

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21 In Denmark the name of Auschwitz has been chosen for what in countries is called the Holocaust remembrance day. The intention behind this choice of title which was suggested on initiative by the highly respected, former chief rabbi Bent Melchior is to stress the general character of the commemorations. By referring to a specific place and date, we hoped to make it easier to generalise the sufferings and draw parallels with other genocides and mass atrocities; see the collected volume with debates over the Auschwitz day by Thomas Brudholm & Martin Mennecke (eds.), *Erindringens Fremtid. Auschwitz-dag i Danmark,* 2004.

of the end of one of the very darkest chapters in European history. Therefore Auschwitz Day.

As is well known, Auschwitz was not the only extermination camp operated by the Nazis during World War II. However, to posterity, this concentration camp has become the symbol of ultimate evil, which resulted in the murder of millions of innocent people. To people today, the scope of the tragedy and of the atrocities is incomprehensible. With Auschwitz Day, we wish to commemorate the victims of the Holocaust and other cases of genocide. Through schools, educational establishments and general public education, we wish to foster consciousness of the lesson we may learn from these tragedies.

On Auschwitz Day, we wish not only to commemorate the victims of the Holocaust. It is also a day to commemorate the tragic cases of genocide that have taken place, and are still taking place, in other parts of the world. As sad examples of where genocide has taken place, allow me to mention Cambodia and Rwanda, as well as the ethnic cleansing in Bosnia. I also wish to recall the heinous crimes and political mass murder in the Soviet Union. Historical consciousness has paid less attention to Gulag than to Auschwitz. However, millions of people died in Siberian prison camps. Stalin, the Communist, executed political opponents and exterminated entire population groups in the same ruthless, cruel and systematic manner as did Hitler, the Nazi. The crimes committed by Stalin and Hitler have many characteristics in common, but the most common feature is their complete indifference to and contempt for the individual human being, which cost the lives of millions of innocent people.

In connection with the establishment of the United Nations after the War, there were hopes that global international co-operation would ensure peace and security in the world. However, in spite of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which proclaims every human being's right to life, freedom and personal safety, and in spite of what happened during World War II, the international community has not been able to prevent genocide in modern times. What my parents witnessed in the first half of the 20th century has occurred again for my children to witness in the second half. It is alarming to recognise that history repeats itself, albeit in different parts of the world and in different forms. Nevertheless, history repeats itself in the exercise of atrocious barbarism on the basis of totalitarian ideologies and the intolerance of people of another race, opinion, religion or ethnic origin.

For almost 50 years after the end of World War II, Europe had to live divided, and the fear of a new global war was allowed to dominate not only Europe, but the world at large. After the end of the Cold War and with the enlargement of NATO and the EU, there ought to be hope that war and outrages against innocent civilians

in our continent belong to the past. However, we must be on our guard. Events reaching into our own time have demonstrated that nothing can be taken for granted. It is our duty to protect the values we believe in, including democracy and the individual human being's right to freedom and self-determination. With the establishment of the UN International Criminal Court, which can prosecute the gravest international crimes such as genocide, war crimes and other crimes against humanity, hopes have been raised that the international community will thereby have a means to halt the most flagrant violations of human rights. The Court is to be seen as an indication that the international community is on the right track. We will not tolerate the outrages committed by dictators and totalitarian regimes against the civilian population. They must be brought to justice for their actions. A clear manifestation of this is the fact that today Slobodan Milosevic is on trial in the Hague as the first Head of State in history, indicted for genocide and crimes against humanity.

After 11 September 2001, the international community faces new challenges. Terrorism targeted at Western society's values and view of human rights has shaken the foundations of our society. We will not allow terrorists to decide the agenda. They must not be allowed to disrupt the peace and stability that our democratic society is based on. It is my hope that we shall finally be able to put the dark periods of the 20th century behind us and embark on the 21st century with a common pledge that they must never occur again. We owe that to the millions of victims and we owe it to the generations to come. It is our duty to ensure that the coming generations understands the causes of these events. It is also important that, through information about freedom, democracy and human rights, we ensure that history does not repeat itself. This is the reason why we are commemorating Auschwitz Day today."[22]

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Per Stig Møller, concluded the ceremony on a slightly different tone, underlining Denmark's active and determined support for an international regime of law and order. Both politicians have supported the new activism in Danish foreign policy, which dates back to the early 1990s.[23] Yet, read in the light of the prime minister's overruling of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs when he single-handedly decided to join the American-led "coalition of the willing" in the

22 Speech by Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the first Auschwitz Day, Copenhagen, 27 January 2003, *DIIS Yearbook 2004*: 147-9.

23 Convincingly analysed by Hans-Henrik Holm, 1997.

invasion of Iraq in April 2003, the differences between the two politicians stand out clearly, as they generally do when it comes to European politics.[24]

Per Stig Møller's speech was as follows:

> "At the Stockholm conference on the Holocaust in January 2000, heads of state and government leaders from 47 countries signed a solemn declaration, calling on states to further Holocaust education and uphold the commemoration of the Holocaust, including an annual remembrance day for the Holocaust in their respective countries. These recent years, several European countries have introduced a national commemoration day where genocide victims are commemorated, and where there is a focus on the ethnic and political challenges that genocides and political mass murders of our time confront us with. On 18 October 2002 the Ministers of Education from the member states of the Council of Europe have decided to introduce an annual commemoration day on the Holocaust and for the prevention of crimes against humanity.
>
> From 2003 onwards, Denmark will also mark 27 January as a commemoration day dedicated to the victims of the Holocaust and other genocides in such countries as Cambodia, Rwanda and Bosnia. It has been decided to name this day Auschwitz Day. 27 January marks the day of the liberation of the concentration camp in the small Polish town of Auschwitz.[25] Today, however, Auschwitz can be seen as a central symbol for the unspeakable suffering that racist ideologies and totalitarian regimes can cause. The Holocaust was a tragic and watershed event for the 20th century, a crisis for European civilisation and all of mankind. Even though the tragedy affected the Jewish people in particular, many other groups were victimized, and the tragedy has left its traces all over the world.

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24 For a well-informed analysis with many interesting details on the differences between the Prime Minister and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, see M. Ulveman & T. Lauritzen, *I spidsen for Europa. Det danske EU-Formandskab. En historie om triumf og magtopgør,* 2003; Tonny Brems Knudsen (2004) has analysed the implications of the Danish decision to participate in the invasion of Iraq in contrast with the decisions made by many of the allied EU countries.

25 In all fairness we should talk of the German name Auschwitz for the Polish locality Oswiecim; the unintended result of the present pilgrimages to Auschwitz, in particular by American and Israeli teenagers, is that they tend to blame the annihilation on the Poles, not the German Nazi regime.

As the personal ties to and memories of the time are obliterated, it is crucial that we ensure that the horrifying crimes committed during the Holocaust and other genocides are never forgotten or repeated, either here or in other parts of the world. The disturbing reoccurrence of human tragedy in our days, caused by civil wars, ethnic cleansing, and persecution on religious, social or political grounds, confirms the continuous need to be aware of societal trends which further racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia and which, as history records, in the end can lead to genocide.

With Auschwitz Day as the starting point, working together with relevant authorities and organisations, the intention is to further education and information on the Holocaust and genocide in elementary schools, high schools and higher education institutions, as well as informing the general public.

With Auschwitz Day, we thus wish to:

- commemorate the victims of the Holocaust and other genocides and support survivors still suffering from the consequences;

- help ensure that the memory of the Holocaust and other genocides is preserved as a warning for future generations that these horrible crimes must never be repeated, in Europe or anywhere else in the world;

- reflect on the lesson that can be learnt from the Holocaust and other genocides as a means to understand and counter similar events in the future, as this is a question of fundamental significance to all humanity;

- further the teaching of the Holocaust and other genocides in schools and other educational institutions. Education should strive at motivating students to take personal responsibility and to further democracy, human rights and tolerance;

- work towards a democratic and tolerant society free from frightening prejudice and racism;

- along with other European countries and the international community, work towards peace, justice and solidarity between all nations;

- support the International Criminal Court as a ground-breaking institution in the development of an international community founded on the rule of law with a view to ensuring the effective prosecution of persons guilty of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity."[26]

THE STOCKHOLM PROCESS

Göran Persson's initiative in January 2000 was not an isolated event. In 2001, 2002 and 2004, the Swedish government hosted international conferences on the lessons of the Holocaust and related issues. In 2001 the theme was "Combating Intolerance and Racism". In 2000 an energetic Foreign Ministry succeeded in bringing together forty-seven heads of state and government in addition to a thousand delegates from all over the world to commemorate the extermination of Jews and other groups during World War II. The participants agreed, as Europeans, to accept a common responsibility for allowing things to go so horribly wrong, and to work in unison to prevent them from happening again.

The first conference ended with the following solemn declaration:

> "We, the High Representatives of Governments at the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust, declare that:
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> 1. The Holocaust (Shoah) fundamentally challenged the foundations of civilisation. The unprecedented character of the Holocaust will always hold universal meaning. After half a century, it remains an event close enough in time that survivors can still bear witness to the horrors that engulfed the Jewish people. The terrible suffering of the many millions of other victims of the Nazis has left an indelible scar across Europe as well.
>
> 2. The magnitude of the Holocaust, planned and carried out by the Nazis, must be forever seared in our collective memory. The selfless sacrifices of those who defied the Nazis and sometimes gave their own lives to protect or rescue the Holocaust's victims must also be inscribed in our hearts. The depths of that horror and the heights of their heroism can be touchstones in our understanding of the human capacity for evil and for good.

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26 Speech by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Per Stig Møller, at the First Auschwitz Day, Copenhagen Town Hall, 27 January 2003, translated by Anna Catherine de Laine.

3. With humanity still scarred by genocide, ethnic cleansing, racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia, the international community shares a solemn responsibility to fight these evils. Together we must uphold the terrible truth of the Holocaust against those who deny it. We must strengthen the moral commitment of our peoples and the political commitment of our governments to ensure that future generations can understand the causes of the Holocaust and reflect upon its consequences.

4. We pledge to strengthen our efforts to promote education, remembrance and research about the Holocaust, both in those of our countries that have already done much and those that choose to join this effort.

5. We share a commitment to encourage the study of the Holocaust in all its dimensions. We will promote education about the Holocaust in our schools and universities, in our communities, and encourage it in other institutions.

6. We share a commitment to commemorate the victims of the Holocaust and to honour those who stood against it. We will encourage appropriate forms of Holocaust remembrance, including an annual Day of Holocaust Remembrance, in our countries.

7. We share a commitment to throw light on the still obscured shadows of the Holocaust. We will take all necessary steps to facilitate the opening of archives in order to ensure that all documents bearing on the Holocaust are available to researchers.

8. It is appropriate that this, the first major international conference of the new millennium, declares its commitment to plant the seeds of a better future amidst the soil of a bitter past. We empathize with the victims' suffering and draw inspiration from their struggle. Our commitment must be to remember the victims who perished, respect the survivors still with us, and reaffirm humanity's common aspiration for mutual understanding and justice."[27]

Unfortunately, the first concrete expression of this recognition of a common European responsibility was the improvised and heedless boycott of the Austrian coalition government of the Conservative People's Party and Jörg Haider's so-called "Freedom Party." This attempt left deep scars in several member countries, espec-

27 Declaration of the First Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust, 27 January 2000.

ially Denmark, where the result was deep resentment against the in reality rather ineffective office of the monitoring of racism and xenophobia in Vienna.[28] Despite all this, the ceremony was a moving and thought-provoking experience, which finally enabled Göran Persson to take on the role of an international statesman with a deeply felt mission to prevent violations against weaker groups.

But there is a limit to benevolence, especially when it revolves around something as controversial as "European values".[29] The failed attempt by EU heads of state to boycott the new Austrian government was to become the last manifestation of social-democratic supremacy in the circle of government leaders. One by one, centre-left governments had to hand over to center-left governments, at times in coalition with national populist parties, as in Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal and Denmark. Suddenly it became less clear what "European values" are, or should be. Once proclaimed as self-evident, the lessons of the Holocaust, international conventions on refugees and even universal human rights became politically contentious issues. Denmark led the way, thanks to two unusually articulate theologians who build on a particularly minimalist – and nationalist – Protestant version of Christianity.[30] The battle for European values, however, is being waged in all member states, spurred on by the current proposal for a constitutional treaty for the EU. Values are on the agenda, but the outcome is less certain than at the stately Stockholm gathering assumed in January 2000.

Moreover, current debates in Poland and Germany over the establishment of a Zentrum für Vertriebene in Berlin to commemorate the millions of German speakers who were driven from their homes in eastern and central Europe show that reconciliation between nations has not progressed as far as we thought. This has long been evident in the discussions between the Czech Republic and Christian Social Union politicians in Bavaria about the Benes decrees that legalized the expulsion of nearly three million Sudeten Germans, primarily to Bavaria, after 1945. Disputes about which pasts should be eligible for commemoration and which not are once again on the European agenda. They will remain there, especially now that the older members of the EU can no longer use EU membership to discipline

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28 For an analysis of this incident as viewed from Denmark, see Olesen, 2001.

29 I have attempted to define these values in Østergård, 1997.

30 In Danish this organisation is called *Tidehverv*, literally "Turn of the tide". The organisation dates back to the 1920s and was founded in rejection of the liberal theology of the then influential Oxford Movement. Gradually the fundamentalist Lutheran minister Søren Krarup has taken this organisation, which originated rather to the left of the political spectrum, and moved it to the radical and populist right which he, of course, calls the "center". The Danish sociologist Mette Zøllner, (2000) has already analysed this organisation as a laboratory of radical intellectual nationalism on a par with the French *Club l'horloge*.

nationalist tendencies in the new countries and similar nationalist animosities are on the prowl again in the West. Europe is a battleground for the struggle for values as well as for vested political and economic interests. At the same time, we encounter an ever-widening rift between the US and Europe, or at least between some European states and the current American administration, a rift that also partly revolves around memories of the Holocaust and debates over whether national courts or the International Criminal Court are the proper places to try those accused of genocide and crimes against humanity.

Gradually, through the Stockholm process, definitions and intentions were expanded in their scope. The declaration at the conclusion of the last Forum in January 2004 summed up the four conferences as follows:

"1. We are committed to using and developing practical tools and mechanisms to identify as early as possible and to monitor and report genocidal threats to human life and society in order to prevent the recurrence of genocide, mass murder and ethnic cleansing. 2. We are committed to shouldering our responsibility to protect groups identified as the potential victims of genocide, mass murder or ethnic cleansing, drawing upon the range of tools at our disposal to prevent such atrocities in accordance with international law, and fully upholding the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. 3. We are committed to ensuring that the perpetrators of genocidal acts are brought to justice. We are also committed to supporting the survivors of genocide in rebuilding their communities and in returning to normal life. 4. We are committed to supporting research into the possibilities of preventing genocide, mass murder and ethnic cleansing. 5. We are committed to educating young people and the wider public against genocidal dangers of all kinds through formal and informal educational structures. We are also committed to disseminating knowledge of these dangers to those involved in government, international organisations, non-governmental organisations, humanitarian and peace support operations and the media. 6. We are committed to exploring, seriously and actively, the options presented at this Forum for action against genocidal threats, mass murders, deadly conflicts and ethnic cleansing, as well as genocidal ideologies and incitement to genocide, including the concrete proposals presented by the United Nations Secretary-General. 7. We are committed to cooperating in our search for effective measures against genocidal dangers with all members of the family of nations, in the United Nations and other relevant global and regional organisations, as well as with non-governmental organisations, labour organisations, the media and with business and academic communities."[31]

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[31] Declaration by the Fourth International Forum on Genocide, Stockholm, 28 January 2004.

THE SECOND MEETING OF THE STOCKHOLM FORUM AND THE DANISH POLICY OF FREE SPEECH

As mentioned earlier, the second conference held on 29-30 January 2001 ventured into other areas under the headline, "The Stockholm International Forum: Combating Intolerance and Racism". This was a somewhat smaller event with around 400 participants and correspondingly fewer precautionary measures. In 2000, large parts of inner Stockholm had been sealed off for several days while helicopters hummed low over the roof tops and most trees and shrubberies hid armed police officers in riot gear. In 2001 no heads of state were present and, accordingly, far fewer policemen and women were present. The most distinguished visitor was UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, who gave the main speech on Monday at the reception at the Stockholm City Hall in the mock Gothic-medieval surroundings of the 1920s. Annan delivered an inflammatory speech to the European conscience, reproaching especially the Western European countries for their isolation from the rest of the world. The Western Europeans will nonetheless be forced to invite the world inside if we are to maintain our high standard of living after 2010 when the large post war-generations retire, he admonished.

"The world's highest ranking civil servant", as Annan was called in the introduction, did not find that the Europeans were living up to the standard set out by the declarations of human rights and the subsequent international rules governing the treatment of refugees and victims of persecution. These rules were agreed upon following the defeat of Nazi Germany and they represent a collective attempt to learn from history. "Never again", as was said under the impression of the heaps of corpses from Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen. As of now, the images of atrocities have paled sufficiently for us in the third millennium to tend to regard the conventions as unreasonably binding and arbitrary limitations on the rights of democratically elected politicians to treat "foreigners" in the manner demanded by their voters. We must, however, be careful that legitimate wariness against hypocritical exploitation of these rules does not result in a regression of the collective human conscience and memory, both of which were articulated as a result of the bestiality of Nazism. This message was skilfully emphasized by Göran Persson in his opening address to the conference. Instead of the expected well-intentioned, kindly words on the Swedish and Scandinavian commitment to humankind, a twenty-minute long TV programme on young neo-Nazis in Sweden roared from the large screen in the main hall. The relevance of the programme was in no way weakened by the front page of the daily *Expressen*, stating that the police were seeking a young

Swedish neo-Nazi for having taken part in the bestial murder of a young coloured Norwegian in Oslo.

The well-intentioned international audience could not believe their own eyes when thus confronted with this evidence of the total rejection of democratic culture and education in Sweden, the model social democratic country. According to the Swedish historian Heléne Lööw, currently the director of the institution *Levanda historia* (Living history), which is meant to increase knowledge on the Holocaust and racism in the Swedish educational system, this neo-Nazism thrives in particular in small country towns in the west of the country; interestingly, it is almost a direct continuation of corresponding movements in the inter-war years. Because of Swedish neutrality during World War Two, neo-Nazism was never discredited in the way it was in countries occupied by Germany. In recent years neo-Nazism has resurfaced, bringing with it marches with banners, so-called "White Power" music, and even democratically elected representatives in local councils. Whether it is a serious threat to democracy is hard to say, but this neo-Nazism does not look pretty. The same is the case in the other model democracy, Norway. Here, neo-Nazism was not as much discredited by the German occupation as driven underground by the post-war judicial purge. All members of the Norwegian National Socialist Party were lumped together and punished with prison, regardless of what they had actually done. Membership itself was considered reason enough for punishment. This attitude was understandable when seen in the light of the bloody battle between the Quisling Regime and the resistance organised at the "Home Front", a situation resembling civil war. But the punishments were understood by many to be unfair reprisals for having had the wrong opinions, and it created a sub-cultural solidarity between many of those then convicted for involvement with the NS, a solidarity that to a certain extent has continued with their children and grandchildren.

The situation in Denmark is different. Here there is probably no reason to take the neo-Nazis seriously, which official Denmark consequently does not. In the name of free speech, for periods of time the authorities have even allowed the broadcasting of a neo-Nazi local radio and subsidized the radio on a par with other local radio initiatives. Any limitations to its broadcasting rights have been caused by its overstepping of formalities, not its content, which consists, among other things, of hour-long readings from Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. This tolerant attitude has, when viewed narrowly, served Denmark well in a long period of time when the country was relatively homogenous and closed. Incidents here, we thought, were of no consequence to other countries, not even our closest neighbours.

One can argue against all limitations on free speech, even when it comes to postulates of such unpleasant nature as those denying that the Holocaust ever

happened or smear campaigns against more or less well-defined groups of "foreigners". On the other hand, Denmark has also grown larger, more complex and more conflict-ridden internally, whilst at the same time coming into closer contact with the rest of Europe as a result of European Union membership. When Germans complain that Denmark functions as a center for scientology, which is prohibited in Germany, or that Danish postal addresses function as transmitters of illegal Nazi material, the Danish reaction is to consider it the other countries' problem. Maybe the Danish model can even force Germany and Sweden to capitulate on their own policies of prohibition, some say. This statement is well in keeping with Danish tradition – and American as well. "Free speech" is sacred in the American constitution, laid down in the First Amendment. Or, as the prominent liberal Supreme Justice Brandeis once put it: "The only way to fight words is with more words."

This Danish strategy was explicitly reiterated by Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the opening of the new Israeli museum for Holocaust victims at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem 16 March 2005:

"Standing here today, at Yad Vashem, I cannot but feel a sense of the enormity of the events which these surroundings commemorate. The suffering, the loss, the despair are almost impossible to imagine. But looking at these long lists of names, we are only too aware that these things did happen and must never be forgotten. Yesterday, when we dedicated the new museum, we committed ourselves not only to remembering the Holocaust, but also to continuing the fight against anti-Semitism, racism and bigotry. Soon, the last survivors and witnesses of the Holocaust will have passed away into history. This makes the task of explaining its sombre significance to the youth of today and tomorrow all the more urgent.

Five years ago the Stockholm International Forum declared 27th January, the date of the liberation of Auschwitz in 1945, to be an annual day of remembrance. Denmark has since adopted this day as the Auschwitz Day. A Danish government-sponsored institute is carrying out public educational activities and research into events surrounding the Holocaust. As the declaration adopted at the Stockholm Forum says, the unprecedented character of the Holocaust will always hold universal meaning. But merely remembering is not enough. We must take an uncompromising stand against all present-day attitudes and statements that could lead the way to new crimes against humanity, to new victims sharing the fate of those whose memory we commemorate today. And, regrettably, recent events show that we must never relax our vigilance. Anti-Semitism is by no means extinct, even in enlightened Europe. In my own country, Denmark, the situation is not perfect. We grapple with the integration of immigrants of many different cultures and

religions. Instances of xenophobia do occur. Fortunately, without boiling over into violence or abuse. I am glad to say that, for Denmark, anti-Semitism is not an issue.

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

There is no Holocaust Museum in Denmark. Modern history fortunately spared us the need to build one. But last year a new museum, designed by the renowned architect Daniel Liebeskind and dedicated to our Jewish citizens, was opened at a central location in Copenhagen. It is a testimony to a small but living and vibrant community, well integrated while not assimilated, since it retains its religious and cultural distinctiveness. The relationship of the Danes to their Jewish fellow-citizens is illustrated by the rescue of almost all of Denmark's Jews from Nazi persecution in October 1943. Our Swedish neighbours assisted by generously receiving thousands of refugees. At the commemoration of the 60th anniversary of this event at the Copenhagen Synagogue, I said that the organised persecution and unprecedented systematic attempt to exterminate the Jewish people is a shameful and indelible stain on European history. I can only repeat this here at Yad Vashem today. To all of you here today, I say that we have a common responsibility to do our utmost to prevent any such horrors recurring in any shape or form, both now and in the future. For, though we must move on, we must never forget."[32]

But what is to be done when words are transformed into action? One of the things which genocide and war crimes have taught us is that they often begin with words. Not all hateful words lead to extermination, but all extermination campaigns begin with hateful propaganda and the classification of the "others" as different. There is a danger in labelling all immigrants and refugees as "foreigners", no matter where they are from, how long they have been here, and what they have or have not done. Regardless of one's view of the danger or absence of neo-Nazism, the public debate of the day in all Nordic countries reflects many unpleasant tendencies. This is understandable, perhaps, but repugnant and unforgivable in the light of what Europeans have done previously.

The risk of merely agreeing on empty phrases, of claiming to be against intolerance and in general just for anything good, is an inherent temptation at such a typically well-intentioned UN-like forum, where many participants bid each other

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[32] Speech by the Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the Inauguration of the New Museum at Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, 16 March 2005.

farewell with a "See you at the next conference" in Vienna, Amsterdam, Durban or wherever it may be. Still, as a sceptical Dane, I felt somewhat abashed by the heartfelt willingness of the Swedish Prime Minister to face up to the problems and his courage in depicting his own society's problems in such an unsparing manner. Is it absolutely certain that neo-Nazism is so weak in Denmark because of the politics of free speech, or could it be that, for historical reasons, Nazism and being German have been so intimately linked that Nazism is seen as something non-Danish? Do we not owe it to our neighbours to take their problems more seriously and maybe reconsider whether everything in Denmark is as good as we assume? New laws may not be necessary, only the will to put the existing laws to use. The lesson from the Holocaust is more relevant than ever, precisely because of the increasing globalisation and the budding international judicial system.

UN CONVENTIONS ON GENOCIDE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The Nazi crimes against their own citizens and other nationals were so extensive that they required a whole new concept, to which Winston Churchill in 1941 referred as "a crime without a name". Eventually the crime got a name, genocide, due to the conceptual inventor, a Polish-Jewish refugee from Nazism, Raphael Lemkin, who in 1944, exiled to the US, developed the new concept in his book *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*.[33] Lemkin based the concept on the Greek word for race or people, genos, and the Latin verb for killing, coedere. Along with the realization of the scale of the ideologically motivated extermination of whole groups of people by the Nazi regime, his indefatigable lobbying led the newly established United Nations to adopt, on 9 December 1948, a convention prohibiting genocide and requiring member countries to prosecute such actions. Interestingly, this occurred the day before the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on 10 December 1948.

The Declaration of Human Rights and the Genocide Convention, in conjunction with the notion of a new global security organisation, were the results of the failure of the League of Nations and the horrifying experiences of World War II,[34] as well as an early attempt to learn from history and prevent the repetition of past crimes by identifying particular crimes as punishable according to international conventions. In addition, these conventions require states to intervene not only in internal disputes, but even in crimes committed in other countries. One might call conven-

33 See Jensen, 2003: 9ff.

34 Glendon, 2001; Hagtvet, 1988.

tions that involve a change in the fundamental rule of the international system, that is, that states never interfere with the internal affairs of other countries, a "juridical politics of memory".

Early in the war, the American president, Franklin D. Roosevelt, had defined the allied war aims as the defence of freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from hunger, and freedom from fear. These four freedoms became the founding principles of the United Nations as the world-wide alliance against the so-called Axis Powers: Germany, Italy and Japan. On 1 January 1942, the intention was announced to create a new international organisation to succeed the discredited League of Nations. In article 4, the 47 founding members committed themselves to "recognizing the necessity to establish, at the earliest possible time, a multilateral organisation, resting on the foundational principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership for all such states, big and small."[35] Between 21 August and 7 October 1944, representatives from the four major powers – the US, Great Britain, Soviet Union and China – met in Dumbarton Oaks outside Washington DC, to establish more detailed principles for this new world organisation. At Dumbarton Oaks it was agreed, among other things, that the UN should "promote the solution of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems and encourage respect for human rights and other fundamental freedoms." The United Nations was formally established at the San Francisco Conference in June 1945.

Parallel to this reorganisation of the world, the trials in Nürnberg in occupied Germany signalled an even greater revolution in the rules of international politics. Through an agreement between the victorious powers – Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the US – an International Military Tribunal was established on 8 August 1945. It had the authority to prosecute and punish persons who had committed "crimes against the peace". These crimes were defined as war of aggression, war crimes and crimes against humanity.[36] After a hectic collection of testimonies and documents, the indictment was presented on 18 October 1945, and trials began on 20 November. The tribunal concluded its proceedings almost a year later, on 31 August 1946, with the verdicts delivered on 30 September and 1 October of that year. Twelve of the convicted leaders of the Nazi party and the army were sentenced to death by hanging. Three received life imprisonment, four were given long prison sentences, and three were acquitted. Similar trials took place in Tokyo against the more prominent Japanese war criminals, though for pragmatic reasons not against the Emperor, despite his formal responsibility for the war.

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35 *Rigsdagstidende,* Tillæg A 1945, sp. 1354.

36 Lehmann, 1997; Bloxham, 2001.

The Nürnberg and Tokyo trials have only proved to be of relatively minor significance in providing guidelines for proceedings within the international system, not least because of the cooling of relations among the victors. In addition, notwithstanding the careful attention that was given to defendants in terms of having the opportunity to defend themselves, the tribunals proceeded without any firm grounding in a pre-established set of legal principles. Thus, some resemblance to the summary victors' justice of past times was unavoidable. Although they were more conscientious, the victors' perception of the conflict remained the basis for the trials. Hence, subjecting the victors' war tactics and objectives to an independent review was never even considered. Others have criticised the fact that the tribunals were based on retroactive rules. One rejoinder to that would be that none of the Nazi leaders was in any doubt that they were violating human laws. Why else would they go to such extremes in order to hide the extermination of Jews and other groups?

Despite the criticisms, the war crimes tribunals, especially the ones in Nürnberg, did set new standards for international engagements through the indisputable documentation of heinous and systematic crimes against combatants, civilians and – most importantly in this context – groups within a country's own population. Once victory had been secured and the most important German and Japanese war criminals had been convicted and executed, the interest of the major powers in human rights and international courts quickly waned. Not until July 1998 did the establishment of a permanent International Criminal Court enjoy world-wide support. Located in The Hague in the Netherlands, this court commenced its work in 2003, despite American opposition.

The failure of the League of Nations had its roots in adherence to the principle of the inviolable sovereignty of states, that is, non-interference in domestic legal and political affairs.[37] Thus, in the inter-war years the international system was unable to prevent the escalation of conflicts and wars, just as it was incapable of protecting the ever-increasing number of refugees.[38] To meet the objective of ensuring peace and security, the UN complemented the principle of state sovereignty with a new principle in international cooperation that obliged states to respect individual human rights (Article 1 of the UN Charter). These two principles are contradictory in so far as the equality and sovereignty of states are normally interpreted as the sovereign right of governments to do as they please within their own territory, including the right to harm their own population. Conversely, respect for universal human rights

37 See Østergård, 2003b.

38 Kirchhoff, 2005.

ultimately implies that individuals can request outside help against the abuses of their 'own' government.

Toward the end of the twentieth century this conflict has developed into an increasingly dynamic phenomenon, and today the clash between the two types of rights constitutes one of the most important front lines in international politics, as well as in national politics, where right-wing populist parties are gaining ground with their demand for the rejection of all internationally binding norms and rules. Nonetheless, today's states no longer enjoy an absolute monopoly as actors on the international stage. Individual citizens who have suffered violations of their human rights, as well as groups who have been the victims of colonisation or other foreign control, have achieved a voice and rights. Despite these modifications, the UN still fundamentally builds on anarchic relationships between sovereign territorial states, called nations.[39] This is particularly evident in the Security Council, where, for reasons of effectiveness, the major powers have the right to veto decisions that run counter to their own interests. However, smaller states too act fairly unashamedly to advance their "national interest". The international legal order, which is commonly referred to, essentially constitutes a set of rules along the lines of traffic regulations. If a state is sufficiently strong or insistent it is usually able to demand and receive special treat, as the US is currently doing and as the Soviet Union has done previously. Notwithstanding recent and continuing developments such as the International Criminal Court, we have seen but the beginnings of a genuine legal system between states.

Alarm over the US use of nuclear bombs against Japan apparently only contributed little to the formulation of the basic human rights. At this early point, the prevailing sentiment seemed to be that Japan had made its own bed, accompanied by a resigned attitude towards the risk of extinction by this ultimate weapon. This attitude to the use of nuclear weapons against the Japanese is fairly consistent with the indulgence with which those responsible viewed the nuclear exposure of their own troops. Only much later did the view take hold that the use of such weapons might itself involve genocide and constitute crimes against humanity or worse?[40]

The 1948 adoption of the convention against genocide followed on the heels of a resolution on genocide in the UN General Assembly on 11 December 1946.[41] This convention must be seen in conjunction with other attempts to formulate internationally binding rules for relations between states, including limits on the actions of

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39 For an analysis of the past, present and future of nation states in the Westphalian system, see Hettne, Sörlin & Østergård, 1998.

40 Markusen, 1997.

41 Markusen, 2000:190; Lippmann, 1985.

governments against their own citizens, a fundamental break with previous international customary law, which since the 1648 Westphalian peace accord to end the Thirty Year War had recognised the internal, absolute sovereignty of states as the pillar of the international system. This system revolves around the regulation of relations between states, including guaranteeing their inviolable sovereignty.[42] The more or less intentional consequence of the sovereignty principle is that sovereign states have traditionally been able to act as they please towards their own citizens, as long as they were able to maintain control of their territory. The UN broke with this principle by establishing limits to acceptable state behaviour.

As already mentioned, the Cold War paralysed the organisation in its early years, restricting the consequences of the newly established limits to state sovereignty. The major powers could veto Security Council resolutions, and did so if their own or the interests of their friends were at stake. For years, it was primarily the Soviet Union that exploited this method, but as the number of member states exploded with decolonisation, the US and other Western Powers increasingly had to threaten a veto when they were in the minority. The result was a near-paralysis of the world organisation from which it apparently only recovered in the 1990s. How that came about and the difficulties it is encountering at the beginning of the 21st century are not at issue here. Instead, I am concerned with the changes in values that signalled this transformation of the international, and inter-national, rules of the game as they have come to be expressed in European cooperation.

THE HOLOCAUST AND THE REHABILITATION OF EUROPEAN VALUES

In 1945 Germany was at Stunde Null, a virtual ground zero. That was the name by which many Germans referred to the normative vacuum the country found itself in after the country's unconditional surrender and its slow realisation of the criminal nature of the Nazi regime. Undeniably, to many Germans the concept of Stunde Null later became a convenient excuse for concentrating on a completely new beginning, thus reducing the terrible history to a guilt-free past. However, this assessment ignores the real and prevailing desire in the German people to start all over again, especially among the cohorts who had been directly affected by the defeat of the war, nicknamed the classes of '43 and '45 as opposed to the class of '33, many of whom experienced Nazism as a positive turn and sustained this image through all defeats. Once everything had collapsed something new and different had

42 See Hettne, Sörlin & Østergård, 1998.

to "rise from the ruins", as went the national anthem of the successor state in the East, the GDR, which makes it logical that many in this state favoured the Stunde Null thesis. Almost one fourth of dwellings had been destroyed, the infrastructure either did not work or worked only poorly, and shortages of food led directly to widespread starvation. Yet, according to the historian Helge Nielsen, the Stunde Null thesis is neither materially nor spiritually accurate.[43] With relatively new and sophisticated plants, a well-organised and efficient war industry survived until the last months of the war, and 80 to 90 percent of German industry remained intact until spring 1945. Allied bombardments mainly destroyed civilian targets and capacity reserves. Thus the potential of German industry was greater than in most other European countries, which the Nazi regime had plundered and exploited.

Nor did the relationship to the German past constitute a Stunde Null according to Helge Nielsen.[44] Only a minority experienced the collapse as liberation – the majority viewed the defeat of Nazism as their own loss. Hence, the most common explanations were not explanations, but excuses. It was not until as late as 1961 that the Israeli trial against Adolf Eichmann in Jerusalem spurred any real debate in West Germany about the responsibility for the murder of Jews and many other victim groups. This debate continued throughout the 1960s, leading to the student movement's criticisms of their parents' generation for not telling them about Hitler and Nazism, as well as Willy Brandt's kneeling in Warszawa in 1970 in honour of the victims of Nazism, and culminating in 1979, when a huge German audience watched the American TV series Holocaust.

The opening of the extermination camps – Auschwitz on 27 January 1945, followed by Bergen-Belsen, Dachau, Neuengamme, Ravensbruck, Sachsenhausen, Mauthausen, and many others in April and May of that year, with their terrible testimonies – left no doubt, except among the most fervent deniers. The images of piles of corpses and of famished, skeletal survivors became burned into the minds of the politically responsible population. What was not imprinted this way was systematically taught later on, especially in the Western occupation zones, where Americans in particular initiated a systematic "re-education" of the German population in democracy. Many cynical jokes surrounded this program, such as the concept of the Persilschein, which denoted the white-washed documents that the occupation authorities issued to certify completed de-Nazification. What the critique got right, of course, is that not everything went smoothly in West Germany, where considerations concerning reconstruction and rivalry with the East prevented the removal of all Nazi experts from public life.

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43 Finsen et al., 1992: 233-5.

44 Finsen et al., 1992: 233.

At the same time, communists in the German Democratic Republic defined their state as "anti-Fascist", thus attempting to make a guilt-free break with Germany's "militarist" past. Instead they had some success in the placing the full responsibility for Hitler and Nazism on the West Germans. The result was evident at the reunification of the two Germanies in 1990, when it became apparent that East German youth had not learned the lessons of Nazism the same way that their West German cousins had. In the history of the world, the Federal Republic of Germany is one of the few cases where a whole people has learned from history and accepted responsibility for the misdeeds of the nation, if not immediately during the 1950s, then certainly later by virtue of the youth rebellions of the 1960s and 1970s. The result has been that the efforts to learn from the Second World War have mainly become a West German specialty, known as the Bewältigung der Vergangenheit, and demonstrated in the popular backing of Germany's participation in European cooperation from the earliest possible moment.

The rest of Europe was also in the midst of crisis, however. Because of the euphoria of the liberation, people only realised the depth of the crisis much later, though the political elites were well aware of it, and in the last months of the war and immediately after liberation many of the resistance movements drafted plans for a new federal Europe.[45] The immediate result of the European civil war that culminated in World War II was the partition of the continent between the US and the Soviet Union after 1946 by an "Iron Curtain from Trieste to Stettin", as Winston Churchill so lyrically put it in a speech at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri on 5 March 1946. However, the feeling of impotence only became pervasive throughout Europe in the course of the 1950s and the accompanying defeats in colonial wars.

The end of the 1930s and the early 1940s marked the lowest point for the European nation states, as economic crisis, unemployment and massive class antagonisms let the German war machine sweep across country upon country without much difficulty. In 1940 the very idea of the nation state was in crisis because of internal contradictions. Most countries were preparing for civil war between the forces that wanted to cooperate with German Nazism in a reorganisation of Europe and those whose socialist or conservative-nationalist leanings led them to resist and align themselves with Great Britain (and later the US). In addition, communists assumed outright leadership of the resistance struggle in many places after the attack on the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941, as in Yugoslavia, or else achieved a dominant position, as in Italy, France, Greece and, to some extent Denmark.

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45 See Østergård, 2004b.

The resulting more or less openly waged civil wars threatened the existence of the nation states in a way that was unprecedented since the principle of the nation state first spread throughout Europe in 1848. Thanks to the allied victory, the nation state survived as a principle in both the East and the West. In Western Europe the old elites made a quick recovery after shorter or longer intermezzi of shared rules with the resistance movements. In Eastern and Central Europe the Red Army quickly placed communist-controlled regimes in power, culminating in Czechoslovakia in 1948 (which for particular historical reasons saw the greatest popular support for the communist regime in any country). The results were more or less nationally oriented communist regimes that could be characterised as national-communist, however unpopular.[46]

Thus, though nation states survived the crisis of the 1930s and 1940s in Europe, fear was in their blood in both the East and the West, which continued to flow well into the 1950s, despite relative economic consolidation. As the British historian Alan Milward has persuasively argued, it was not until the explosive economic growth of the late 1950s and 1960s that the Western democracies were able to consolidate themselves.[47] As they did so, the communist regimes in the East lost any legitimacy they might have enjoyed with the repressions of the GDR in 1953, Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Poland in 1968, 1971 and 1980. In the West growth and optimism led to the somewhat naïve but well-intentioned youth rebellion at the end of the 1960s. The optimism of 1968, however, easily obscures the widespread pessimism in Europe in the 1950s. Literature was the first outlet for expressions of feelings of crisis, whether inspired by a radical or individual existentialism or by traditional conservatism, as with the review Heretica in Denmark. Only with the American-inspired youth and student rebellions towards the end of the 1960s did the critique of the European cultural heritage come into its political own, as a near-total rejection of the entire heritage and of the pragmatic, institutionalised cooperation within the European Community.

The French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre expressed these views very clearly in the preface to what soon became the most important anti-colonial manifest, Franz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* from 1961. In it, Sartre rejected the whole of European civilisation. He found nothing worth preserving in Western rationalism and humanism, even though he himself was a product of these! In this text, written at the height of the French debate about the colonial war in Algeria, Sartre condemned the whole European cultural heritage with the words: "Formerly our continent had other pontoons: Parthenon, Chartres, human rights, the Swastika.

46 Okey, 1982.

47 Milward, 1992.

Now we know its true value; and then you can only save us from shipwreck through our Christian guilt. We are finished, as you see: Europe is leaking everywhere. What has happened? Quite simply, we used to be the ones to make history, and now we are the material of others' history making. The power relationship has been reversed, decolonisation is in progress; all our soldiers can do is to delay its completion."[48] All the lofty Western ideals were swept aside with the words: "What race: liberty, equality, fraternity, love, honour, fatherland, and what do I know? All of this did not prevent us from simultaneously delivering speeches full of racial prejudice about dirty Negroes, dirty Jews, and dirty Arabs. Elevated minds, liberal or merely soft-hearted – neo-imperialist across the board – claimed shock at the incongruity: either they were mistaken or spoke against their better judgment: nothing is of greater consequence than racist humanism, as the European has made himself human only by fabricating slaves and cripples."[49]

The occasion for Sartre's condemnation of all of European civilisation as racism and genocide was decolonisation. But his reaction was a response to the dismal decline of "European values" signalled by the Nazi and Fascist war against democracy, liberalism, socialism, enlightenment philosophy and Christianity in the name of a totalitarian and racist ideology. This crisis was Europe's own Stunde Null, ground zero. Implicitly, this recognition motivated the references to Europe and European civilisation in the preambles to the treaties of European cooperation from the 1957 Treaty of Rome to the current constitutional treaty for the EU. Their differences notwithstanding, Sartre's total rejection and the vague celebration of the treaties share a perception of "European values" as relatively unambiguous, to be embraced or rejected en bloc. In truth they are nebulous and have led to Auschwitz and the nuclear bomb as well as to human rights and democracy. Janus-faced values, one might call them: one can't be without the risk of the other tagging along. In the 1990s that lesson became increasingly well understood, as Europe was faced with the civil wars in the former Yugoslavia.

On the other hand, communist and third-world dictators have found that in the long run industrial development and economic growth inevitably lead to popular demands for democracy. Conversely, the West, especially Europe, has learned that the heritage of European civilisation comprises not only beauty and kindness from the Parthenon in Acropolis and the cathedral in Chartres to human rights, but also the Swastika, exterminations in Auschwitz and the ultimate weapon of mass destruction, the nuclear bomb. Rephrased, the lesson reads: no democracy without risk of genocide and populist racism. Evidently the explication of this lesson in inter-

48 Sartre in Fanon, 1961: 23-4.

49 Sartre in Fanon, 1961: 22-3.

national treaties and conventions is insufficient. Apparently every generation must recognise anew the possibility of systematic evil. Experiencing it once and enshrining it in binding international law does not suffice. Again and again we must face it in order to counter the risk of populist, authoritarian degeneration, even in seemingly rock-solid democracies such as the Nordic countries. Yes, perhaps even more so in these states, as evidenced by today's political climate, namely the Real-politik of the Moralpolitik, or the new international politics of the Stockholm process.

HOLOCAUST IN EUROPEAN, AMERICAN AND DANISH VALUES

Europe and the US share efforts to commemorate the Holocaust. Indeed, it would hardly be an exaggeration to state that the US is at the forefront on this issue. But Holocaust commemoration aside, the US and the majority of European countries share few views on the question of what rules ought to apply in the international system. In contrast to the immediate post-war years, the US increasingly acts as the global superpower that has no incentive to allow herself be tied down and con-strained by binding international agreements. This stands in sharp contrast to a Europe which has not only accepted a common European responsibility for the Holocaust, but has learned from its own bloody past the necessity to regulate state actions with binding institutions, including an international court for genocide and war crimes, guided by its own set of rules.

Following the reasoning of the American journalist Robert Kagan in an analysis brashly entitled 'Of Paradise and Power' (2002), the difference between European and American world views is quite logical and reflects Europe's relatively weak position and the steadily increasing strength of the US. Kagan presents the two as poles with different characters, the peaceful, welfare-state driven and weak-kneed Venus versus the brazen and war-minded Mars. Despite the popular touch in Kagan's symbolism, his characterizations have touched a raw nerve. Americans act decisively and aggressively in the world, while Europeans' priorities revolve around themselves, their welfare, their long vacations, and peaceable foreign policy – not necessarily because they want this, but because they no longer have the ability or possibilities given the peace that followed the cooperation arising out of the long European civil war of the 20th Century, with two world wars and the partition of Europe during the Cold War.

It is a miracle in its own right that upon the ruins of centuries of murderous French-German competition have risen the foundations of a system of cooperation that we know today as the European Union. The EU is a functional empire that does not rely on military might to maintain its power and is often maligned for that very reason, as when EU member countries failed to restrain the Serbian genocidal regime in Kosovo and only acted effectively when the US entered its military might into the calculus. Instead, the EU is an economically and culturally attractive empire that intervenes by economic means and tries to clean up in the wake of militaristic American peacemaking. As one American politician rather tastefully put it, "The EU gets to do the dishes after America's dinner." However, this humiliation is the price that this odd hybrid of state formation has paid for its success, which builds primarily on the principle of ensuring unprecedented economic growth and political stability by sharing limited sovereignty. It has divided the fruits of this growth more equally among its citizens than the seemingly more dynamic US, without jeopardising its dynamism and innovative powers. Probably we ought to label this European system "new", and the cocksure, atavistic and warlike American way of politics "old".

Originally the US and Europe shared political culture and traditions across the Atlantic Ocean. Why, then, is it that the US and Europe have grown apart to such an extent? And what does their ostensible unanimity on the issue of the Holocaust mean when they differ on just about every other value-related question? The story of Europe's developmental deviation from the paths of the US and Russia is a multi-volume story of how Europe and the US became Venus and Mars respectively. But observing the differences is significant, because it demonstrates the different lessons that Europeans and Americans have learned from their long shared history.

Auschwitz Day is a good occasion to reflect on how to prevent the repetition of the crimes of Nazism, communism and other totalitarian regimes and ideologies in the twentieth century, which, despite its technological and economic progress, was a "dark century".[50] Primarily because of geography, the Americans until recently at least, have been spared the direct exposure to these darker sides of modernity. They have thus failed to learn that lesson from them, as have the Europeans. This is why the Holocaust plays a different and politically more domestic role in the US, just as is the case in Israel. However, these differences do not necessarily prevent the US and Europe from cooperating on some areas of the politics of memory, as long as we remember that a common responsibility for the disasters of the twentieth

50 Mazower, 1998.

century are at their core in Europe, as opposed to refusing guilt and blaming them on the Germans. They have a hard enough time as it is.

Morals in the new morality of international politics are many things, and the exact nature of "law" in international terms will be debated without end. However, it can at least now be taken for granted that values and taking responsibility for former crimes have entered the realm of law and politics. In this way Danish foreign and domestic policy fits very well into the new international pattern. It must be hoped that the proud traditions of raising a moral torch in front of everybody else in the world from the time when Denmark considered herself a small state can survive in these new times of morality where Denmark acts as a real power, albeit not a big power. The danger inherent, obviously, is that this policy degenerates into empty or – even worse – hypocritical "moralism".

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CHAPTER 2
Selected Documents

MAKING ENLARGEMENT A SUCCES: MEETING THE CHALLENGES
Speech by Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen, the Hague, 21 January 2004

Mr. Prime Minister, ladies and gentlemen,

Thank you for inviting me to speak here today at the Knights' Hall in The Hague. It is a great pleasure for me to be here.

I believe that my presentation falls at the right time. During the coming years we will be faced with a number of challenges – all affecting the status and direction of the European Union and, therefore, us all. It will be up to the Irish and Dutch Presidencies to take up these challenges.

But, of course, the Irish and the Dutch will not be alone; we are all part of the process. So I will, if I may, take this opportunity to address the key European Policy challenges for 2004 onwards as I see them.

The EU is faced with a very compressed agenda. It includes the continuation of the IGC, the future of the EU Budget, elections to the European Parliament, the appointment of the new Commission, the accession of the 10 member states, the continuation of the enlargement process and the question of Turkey; to name but a few.

But – and this is an important but – with all these, mostly, institutional issues we must never lose sight of the most important consideration for our Union – its citizens. Policy for its people – not just its institutions. Policies to create better opportunities for our citizens – and their businesses. Better opportunities lead to public acceptance, support and interest. Without this, how can we place ourselves at the forefront of the global economy in this, the 21st century? That, ladies and gentlemen, is our true challenge.

I will not try to cover all topics on the European agenda today – such as the "big questions" of the role of the EU in promoting peace and stability, or the challenge of creating an area of justice and home affairs. It would take more than one speech for that! Instead, I will give an outline of areas in which I see a need for greater focus in the months and years to come.

Let me begin by saying a few words on the intergovernmental conference. We all regret not reaching an agreement on the constitutional treaty in December. We were quite close. But in the end the political will to go "the few extra yards" was not present at that particular time and place.

It is meaningless and counterproductive to play the "blame game". Suffice it to say that it would be utterly wrong to simply place the blame at the feet of the Italian Presidency. They performed well and proposed balanced and sustainable solutions on practically every item on the agenda.

So it is time to stop pointing the finger and to look ahead. There are, after all, two positive elements worth noting:

Firstly, we have a good basis for continued negotiations. The text from the Convention was good and balanced to begin with. And, during the Italian Presidency, a number of items were further clarified. A consensus was emerging on many issues such as the composition of the Commission, the scope for qualified majority voting, and so on. It is important for Denmark that negotiations – when resumed – will continue on the basis of what we have achieved. Going back to square one would be pointless when we are so close to success.

Secondly, December did see an agreement on the next step of the IGC. The incoming Irish Presidency was asked to take stock of the situation at the European Council meeting in March.

It is still too early to say when real negotiations will resume. Though I know the Irish Presidency will do its utmost. And I sense a growing will to get things back on track. Whether will alone is enough is still too early to say. But, if the possibility emerges, the Presidency can count on Danish support in achieving a swift and lasting result.

There is no reason to hide the fact that, without a result in the IGC, the EU is facing a more complicated agenda. But there is no reason for excessive pessimism either.

Historically, the EU has always been able to deal with complicated and complex agendas. So I am sure that in the end we will be able to find solutions acceptable to all, enhancing future European cooperation.

Some argue that with the breakdown in negotiations in the IGC we risk a two, or more, speed Europe. A Europe with an inner core consisting of a small group of countries forging ahead with their own agenda. Some even argue that enlargement makes this inevitable. I cannot agree. Reinforced cooperation, with its risk of creating new divisions, should not become a general tool for developing the EU. Solidarity and unity have always been the mainstays of European cooperation. The

secret of our success. A multi-speed Europe would go against the whole idea behind enlargement: To create a unified Europe inside the EU.

So how do we avoid this multi-speed Europe? With concrete progress and practical results. Governments, citizens and business must see that Europe is able to deliver. How else can we ask countries not to go ahead on their own?

In the end, making the enlargement a success depends more than anything on defining a common vision and common projects for the enlarged Union. Visions and projects that unite citizens and member states. That is what has made the Union work in the past. The enlargement is a good example. But now we have to look ahead.

In this task, the Commission has a crucial role to play. Just as the Commission played a key role in the enlargement process from Copenhagen to Copenhagen the Commission will have to take upon itself the role of promoting new, concrete European projects. We need a strong, efficient and visionary Commission that can perform this task. That will be one of the key challenges for the next Commission.

In this context let me briefly comment on the Growth and Stability Pact. The handling of the French and German deficits has been seen as proof of double standards for larger and smaller member states. I do not share this view. Larger and smaller countries were found on both sides of the argument. And now the decision of the Commission to bring the Council before the Court of Justice underlines one important aspect – that the EU is based on the rule of law.

As regards the substance, I believe that the decision taken by the Finance Ministers was, in fact, very close to what had been proposed by the Commission. This shows that, to a great extent, the rules do work. Some might ask whether it would have been wise to put even more pressure on Germany and France – given the economic situation in Europe. Personally, I am more convinced than ever that – in the end – we must find a political solution for the future. A solution that respects Member States' primary responsibility for economic policy.

If we have learned one thing from the breakdown of the IGC negotiations, it is that the EU cannot be taken for granted. That the EU is no more – and no less – than the common will of 25 individual nations working together. That we all have a responsibility to make things work. If we only learn one lesson, it must be this – if we fail, we all lose. We must reach a compromise on the constitutional treaty sooner rather than later. We need an ambitious treaty, acceptable to all, that will provide an effective, workable framework for the enlarged Union in the years to come.

Which brings me to one of the most important challenges for Danish and – I believe – European policy in 2004 and onwards: To make enlargement work.

The first major event will be the actual accession of the ten member states on May 1st. I am confident that enlargement will be a success. The new member states will bring with them optimism and will to reform from which we can all learn and benefit. The Union should make full use of these opportunities.

Enlargement is, however, an ongoing process. In Copenhagen, in December 2002, EU heads of State and Government committed themselves to a continuous, inclusive and irreversible enlargement process. This continues to be a major Danish priority. The next stage in the EU enlargement process will involve Bulgaria and Rumania, who have both made promising progress. I expect the Commission to present its proposal regarding the financial package in the beginning of 2004. If the two countries are ready, negotiations should be concluded during 2004.

And Europe is still spreading its wings. The five countries in the Western Balkans must not be forgotten. Their objective of integration into the EU structures must be pursued. Though their aspirations must be matched by willingness to reform. Hard facts must be faced. And difficult decisions must be made. It is for the peoples and governments of these countries to seize the opportunity. But let there be no doubt about our commitment to support their efforts to reform.

In December 2004 the European Council will also have to take an important decision regarding the Turkish candidature for membership. Turkey has made significant progress towards meeting the Copenhagen Criteria. But much remains to be done. Though I am sure that the Dutch Presidency will be able to navigate the EU through any troubled waters.

But, as with everything else, the success criterion for the enlargement of the EU is being able to deliver concrete results to the benefit of its citizens.

One thing is certain. An enlarged Union will have a huge potential for growth. But we need to strengthen reforms if we are to make full use of this potential. In many areas Europe is lagging behind other big economic powers, in particular the US. This is easily illustrated by the following figures.

For many years growth has been higher in the US than in Europe. On average more than a full percentage point higher since 1992. Productivity is also higher in the US than in Europe. Since 1990 we have seen a US productivity growth of 2,1% compared with 1,3% in Europe.

In the area of innovation Europe is also lagging behind the US and the gap is widening. The US spends a greater percentage of its GDP on research and development than the EU. The US has more high-tech patents pr. citizen than the EU. They have more researchers as part of the total labour force than the EU. The problem is not that the Union is training insufficient numbers of new researchers –

on the contrary. The problem is that Europe has difficulties holding on to the best of them. According to some estimates more than 400.000 European science and technology graduates live on the other side of the Atlantic.

Out of the 101 Nobel Prize winners in chemistry, medicine and physics awarded in the last 15 years, 68 went to the US and only 23 to Europe. A fact worth thinking about.

So, if Europe is to be able to measure itself against the United States we have to change our way of thinking. We must be willing to find new pathways. Rethink our strategic choices and priorities.

The history of European cooperation demonstrates that Europe works at its best when we have a common, unifying project and vision. The internal market, the common currency and the enlargement are prime examples. I believe that, post enlargement, we need to define a new project capable of uniting all member states. My proposal is to create a truly European Research, Development and Education Area.

Research, development and education to create a foundation for the Europe of tomorrow. European industry can only develop if we are able to adjust and make full use of skills, technologies and innovation.

That is our challenge if we are to be in the forefront of the global economy of the 21st century. A project for the future that will unify member states in a common vision.

But first we must create the necessary framework conditions for innovation and growth. We must identify the concrete political initiatives – at national and European levels – which will lead to this result.

What, then, are the main elements in a European Research, Development and Education Area? Well, to be more specific.

We must first further strengthen the existing framework programmes for research. The existing programmes have been a success. In the context of the next – the 7th – framework programme for research I propose to increase funding with 33 percent – from 17.5 to approximately 23.5 billion Euro over the period 2007-2010. We must sharpen focus on results. That is, set specific targets for innovation output, patents, the number of highly-qualified researchers, the quality and quantity of students and workers from education systems and the creation of centres of excellence.

Secondly, we must redouble our efforts in the field of basic research. We must become better at creating a basis that supports and promotes research in the technologies of the future. Basic research that can create a foundation for future growth. I therefore propose the creation of a European Fund for Basic Research. Its

aim would be the promotion of excellence in basic research, thereby facilitating the creation and support of centres of excellence in European universities and research institutions.

The Fund should, from the outset, have 2 billion Euros at its disposal on an annual basis, becoming more high-profile over time. It should be established by the Union and funded through the Union's budget, over and above the research framework programme. Funding should be awarded according to scientific criteria making use of rigorous and transparent peer review processes. Furthermore, the fund should be managed by an autonomous European Research Council.

Special encouragement should be given to activities with the potential for broad commercial and consumer use. The key is to look for investments with strong spill-over. Research into nano, hydrogen and environmental technologies is a good example. They are all cutting-edge technologies which could revolutionise future products and industries. By establishing a fund for basic research we can promote a common European framework for our initiatives in these and other areas.

Thirdly, I propose to create a European Innovation Award. The purpose would be to encourage the entrepreneurial spirit of European researchers. This Award would recognise and underline the crucial importance of research and innovation in Europe. Such an award would also encourage young Europeans to pursue careers in the field of research.

All in all, these proposals imply close to a doubling of the EU financial commitment in the field of research and development on an annual basis. It would significantly strengthen Europe's position and opportunities in the field of research and development.

Fourthly, in the field of education, I propose the introduction of the bench-marking of universities throughout Europe. Already broadly-accepted in America, benchmarking has proved itself to be a useful tool in generating competition and improving competences in universities. But we will do more. An ongoing comprehensive European benchmarking of universities at a European level will highlight those universities carrying out cutting-edge research. The best universities will then have a proven record of excellence and will thus be better able to attract students from all over the world.

Fifthly, we must improve EU student-exchange programmes both within the EU and with other parts of the world. Using the Socrates, Erasmus and Erasmus-Mundo programmes, we should aim to attract more students and researchers from near and far. We should increase both the number and the duration of scholarships so as to stimulate the development of a European education and research

environment. We must renew our endeavours to reach the 10 percent target of European students studying abroad as part of their education.

And we must improve mutual recognition of certificates and diplomas and increase transparency within the European Education and Training systems.

Finally, we should use education as a tool for the global promotion of European culture and values. We have had a European College in Bruges for many years. And we have also established a College in Warsaw. But I believe our ambitions should have broader horizons. I therefore propose that we establish European Colleges in the US, Russia, Asia and the Arab world. This would provide a superb opportunity to increase interest in and knowledge about Europe throughout the world. It would also clearly demonstrate an ambitious and active European approach to education.

These are some of the key elements in my vision for establishing a European Research, Development and Education Area.

Creating a European Research, Development and Education area is part of an overall strategy to increase European competitiveness. But this alone will not do the trick. We must strengthen structural reforms within the Lisbon process. Much remains to be done at national level. The Netherlands is a good example of just what can be achieved through structural reforms of both labour and product markets. The present cyclical circumstances in no way detract from these underlying achievements. The Netherlands is a good example for the rest of us to follow.

Creating a European Research, Development and Education Area and doubling EU financial commitments in this area will require a strategic decision in the context of the next financial perspectives. EU funds will have to be redirected towards this objective. But such a redirection is crucial if we aim to close the economic, technology and education gap between the EU and the most dynamic global economies.

This does not necessarily mean increasing the overall EU budget. In view of the consolidation required of all Member States our citizens will have little sympathy for a lack of similar restrictions in the case of the EU budget. So, in the context of coming financial perspectives, we will have to closely examine the main areas of EU spending.

When it comes to the structural funds, Denmark is deeply committed to the principle of European solidarity and to maintaining cohesion in an enlarged Union. Accordingly, expenditure should be refocused on those areas that need it most.

And, over time, structural funds should be directed towards investments aimed at creating a knowledge-based society. More focus on brains – less on brawn. Superhighways – not concrete ones.

We must also continue to reform the common agricultural policy and make it more market-oriented. I think we all realise that increased support to the agricultural sector is not the way for the future. If we are sincere in our commitment to combating poverty in the developing world, liberalisation of the agricultural sector is the best weapon. I fully realise that we cannot introduce comprehensive reforms overnight, but the direction must be clear to all. An important step has been taken with the midterm review of the Common Agricultural Policy but further reforms are needed.

Pursuing reforms in the areas of structural funds and the common agricultural policy will allow for the increase in spending necessary for the creation of a European Research, Development and Education Area. This will be a major Danish objective for the future.

The Dutch Presidency in the second half of 2004 will be confronted with significant challenges. I am confident that you will rise to them. Historically, Dutch Presidencies have performed well. And you can be sure that Denmark will do its utmost to support your endeavours.

Looking back, progress in the EU has been the result of visions and countries that were willing to go the extra distance to achieve worthwhile results – of benefit to all.

Once again we stand at a crossroad. The choice of direction and distance is ours. This goes for the IGC. But it is also relevant when looking at the economic challenges confronting the enlarged EU. We must be ambitious.

Ladies and gentlemen. I have tried to indicate areas in which I see a need for increased effort. A commitment that enlargement will be a success and that an enlarged Europe will be able to deliver on its potential for growth and prosperity. We must develop a European knowledge-based society founded on a truly European Research, Development and Education Area. Our aim should be an enlarged Union at the forefront of the global economy in the 21st century. Because, to return to my starting point, when we do well our citizens do well. This is, after all, what we are all working for.

Thank you for your attention.

CHINA AND EUROPE – GLOBAL PARTNERS
Speech by Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen at Qinghua University Beijing, 27 February 2004

Mr. Gu, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, dear friends.

Thank you for giving me this opportunity to meet with you here today to share some thoughts and ideas. I am honoured to have been invited to the University of Qinghua, renowned for its many famous scholars and outstanding personalities. Indeed, I will have the pleasure of meeting one of them later today – President Hu Jintao.

Mr. Gu and I have the same background as graduates of the University of Aarhus. I am proud to share this background with Mr. Gu.

This is my first visit to China. I have, of course, closely followed developments in China in recent years and am aware of your history, but that can never be the same as actually being here and seeing your country for my self. First hand impressions are always the best. And, I must say, after only a couple of days I am already impressed with your optimism, your dynamism and the obvious signs of growth wherever I look. China is definitely a country on the move.

Though I come here as a Dane, I am also a European. So my view of the world has been shaped not only by the culture and history of my country, Denmark, but also by that of Europe.

I know that, when compared with China, Denmark is a very small country but, like China, Denmark has a centuries old history and cultural heritage. We are proud of being the oldest monarchy in the world. Denmark has successfully maintained its freedom and independence for more than a thousand years. Not bad for such a small nation.

Admittedly, we have not had a thousand years of peace. We have been at war with all our neighbours at various times in our history. However, the end of the Second World War, some sixty years ago, marked a turning point for Denmark and all of Western Europe. Aware of where national ambitions and international strife

had brought us, we embarked on a new journey of economic and political integration. A critical process which continued to evolve in the shadow of the Cold War and the division of Europe into East and West.

Europe has clearly benefited from this process. Although economic growth in Europe may seem modest when compared with that of China, European integration has created a solid foundation for the European economy. It is my firm belief that the European single market and the European currency – the Euro – will make it easier and more profitable for the rest of the world in its economic and commercial dealings with Europe. This can only be of benefit for future European prosperity.

At present, we are working hard to keep up the momentum of the European Union's development. This is a gradual process. But "slow and steady wins the race". We are determined and we know we will reach our goal of European cooperation. And we continue to move forward, never forgetting the equality and diversity of our citizens, regions and states. For – despite our individual differences – as Europeans there are more things which bind us than divide us. We share the same core values and the same beliefs in how to build our societies. We share fundamental values of democracy, freedom, rule of law and respect for human rights and we all adhere to the basic principles of market economy.

We have gone far since we started our journey almost 50 years ago. The next big step in this process will be the historic enlargement of the European Union with ten Central and Eastern European countries in May this year. No longer will Europe be divided into East and West. We will become one Europe. A remarkable achievement by anyone's standards. And I am proud to say that the final negotiations on enlargement were concluded in Copenhagen during the Danish Presidency of the European Union.

Today, the enlarged European Union might seem to be part of the inevitable course of history. I can assure you that this is not so. Only by dedication, vision, compromise – and hard work – has it been possible to achieve this historic European partnership.

So now Europe is united but, of course, diversities and differences remain. We wouldn't have it any other way. The future of Europe must be formed with respect for the traditions, for the history and the culture of our individual members. In our diversity lies our strength.

Our future is not without its challenges. The most immediate one being agreement on what we call the European Constitution. We need this Constitution if we are to ensure effective decision-making in a Union of 25 countries.

Another challenge is how to remedy what some people call the "democratic deficit". In other words, we need to ensure that the European Union is for the

benefit of its citizens. The needs and concerns of bureaucrats and institutions must never take precedence over the needs of the people.

This particular challenge is crucial in our "people-first" vision for Europe. A vision based on policies that create better opportunities for both our citizens and our businesses. Without them, Europe cannot realise its potential for growth and prosperity. Without them, Europe cannot stay at the forefront of the global economy in the 21st century. And, without them, Europe cannot carry out its work for peace and stability in the world.

This is my fundamental belief. It is relevant for Europe. And – I am sure – equally relevant for China.

China has come a long way. When President Bush visited your University two years ago he said: "America welcomes the emergence of a strong and peaceful and prosperous China".

I can tell you; so does Denmark and so does the European Union.

Both China's relations with the rest of the world and its global role have changed over the past years. Not only in economic terms. But increasingly at the political level.

The opening of China to the outside world has been a vital factor in China's economic development. From time to time you hear worried statements in Europe or in the US about the "threat" from China's growing economy. But I have to tell you that I am certainly not one of those lamenting this rapid growth in China. I am a firm believer in the free market and in free and fair competition. Free competition facilitates a sound distribution of labour and supply. This is in all our interests.

Today, the World Trade Organisation provides the most comprehensive framework for global free trade and fair competition. Denmark has been a member of the WTO since it replaced the GATT in 1995 and wholeheartedly supported China becoming a member of the same organisation. Denmark is also keen to see the success of the Doha round.

China's political standing and importance in the world has increased as a consequence of its reforms and growing economy.

And, as a member of the United Nations and a significant factor in the global economy, China has much to offer in shaping our global future.

However, being a major member of the international community is not only a question of influence. It is also a matter of responsibility. And, in recent years, China has clearly demonstrated that it takes its responsibilities towards its neighbours and the rest of the world very seriously indeed.

But challenges remain in the political field. This is the case for Europe – and it is no less the case for China.

One of the most important tasks for current and future Chinese political leaders is creating and sustaining a stable and prosperous society. A society where the Chinese people can make good use of all their talents and their creativity.

Globalisation has already had an enormous impact, but much more is to come. The free flow of people, commodities, ideas and information will enrich those societies and people who are able to cope with it. And it will leave behind those societies which are unable – or unwilling – to do so.

Under these circumstances the role of government is not to establish rigid regulations and control mechanisms. The role is instead to establish a flexible framework within which individuals and companies can prosper and flourish.

Governments must be an instrument of the people – not the other way round. And it must guarantee the rights of the citizen by rule of law and the rule of the vote.

Respect for democracy, human rights, freedom of information, social justice and the equality of citizens is fundamental in the future development of all modern states.

Not just because it is morally the right thing to do. But also because it is a prerequisite for prosperity and sustainable development – not to mention long-term stability and security.

Naturally, all countries are different. In Europe, we cope with challenges in our own way. In China you tackle challenges in a different way, in a manner reflecting Chinese tradition, history and culture. There is no one true path to be followed by all nations. But there are fundamental and universal values to which we must all adhere.

Ladies and gentlemen, let me turn to the relationship between China and Europe. Despite our differences we have a lot in common. And the prospects for cooperation are increasing.

Both China and the EU are firm believers in the value of multilateral systems and rule-based international cooperation. With China becoming increasingly involved in global matters, there is more scope than ever for comprehensive, international cooperation. And, let's face it, with problems ranging from international terrorism, SARS and now, Avian Flu, to economic, trade and environmental issues across national borders, we need such cooperation more than ever.

During the last few years, the relationship between China and the EU has intensified significantly. Denmark's Presidency of the EU in 2002, saw a number of

fruitful talks at the highest level between China and the EU and, during the Summit in Beijing last October, the EU and China agreed on a "strategic partnership".

I welcome this development. It shows that we share a common vision for enhancing our cooperation and that our relationship touches on all economic and social issues affecting the world today. So where should we place our focus? Four areas spring immediately to mind.

Firstly, I would welcome an expansion of political dialogue and, also, a deepening of our human rights dialogue. We fully appreciate the dialogue concerning human rights, as it now stands, but we are eager to see it produce more tangible results.

The second area concerns trade and its expansion. The embodiment of a strategic partnership would be an even tighter integration of China into the world economy. Our aim should be an even greater flow of trade and investment between China and the EU.

Thirdly, we should improve our cooperation in the fields of science, research and technology through greater cooperation between research institutes and private companies.

Fourthly, we should deepen and broaden contacts between the Chinese and European peoples. By which I mean tourism and student and cultural exchange. Last year we concluded a new agreement between the EU and China enabling Chinese tourists to visit Europe more easily. I am pleased to say that the final details in relation to such an arrangement between China and Denmark were settled yesterday, in Beijing.

I also believe that we should facilitate the free movement of students and researchers between our regions. To allow students from China study in Europe and students from Europe study here in China is a sound investment in the future. Not only for the benefit of the students, but for all of us.

I would suggest a possible founding of a European College in Beijing. I think it would be one concrete way of enhancing academic cooperation. We could also introduce EU-China scholarships and student exchange programmes.

But what of the years ahead? You are the young, coming leaders of China. So I would like to share with you my own visions for the future and I hope that you will carry them with you as part of your future.

In twenty years' time China will be one of the world's leading economies. This means that you will have a special role to play on the global stage. For the UN Millennium Goals contain a vision of global welfare. This is where you come in. The impressive growth in China has lifted millions out of poverty – but many millions

still remain under its yoke. The eradication of poverty is vital for the good of the people and the good of the world. Denmark and Europe have already played an important role in reducing poverty in the poorest countries in the world. Indeed, Denmark has been one of the leading donors of development assistance for many years. We believe in the vision of reducing and eradicating poverty. But visions alone are not enough. We will, and must, continue working to make this vision a reality. And China can help the world to achieve the goal of global welfare.

Secondly, in twenty years China will also be a leading political power. Many of today's problems are international in nature. Health, energy shortages, the environment, terrorism, drugs, nuclear proliferation and transnational crime. These matters can only be addressed through strengthened international cooperation. It is vital that we reinforce the Global outlook.

Thirdly, international politics, trade and culture are now interwoven in ways that nobody could envisage just a few decades ago. In another twenty years this will be even more significant. Given these circumstances we must continue to respect diversity while ensuring the free flow of information, news, and ideas. We can no longer cling to nationalism. Instead, we need freedom, democracy and basic human rights for all. The people and leaders of tomorrow should aim at a better global intercultural understanding.

And finally, in twenty years I believe that China and Europe will both be leading players in international affairs. We will be competitors, yes. But, as I said earlier, free competition leads to greater distribution of labour and supply. China and Europe should, first and foremost, be global partners – global partners in promoting peace and stability both in our regions and throughout the world.

Thank you very much for your attention and for allowing me to share my thoughts with you, and I will be happy to hear your comments and questions.

WORKING TOGETHER POST 9/11: NEW GLOBAL CHALLENGES FOR AMERICA AND EUROPE

Speech by Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen Rice University, USA, 22 April 2004

Ambassador Djeréjian, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Thank you for inviting me to this prestigious and renowned university today. It is an honour and a privilege to be here.

Yesterday, at the Holocaust Museum in Houston, I received an award on behalf of the people of Denmark commemorating the events of 60 years ago, when many of my fellow countrymen acted to save our Jewish community from Nazi persecution.

The award bears the name of one of the great sons of Texas, Lyndon B. Johnson. When accepting this award I compared his moral achievement in creating the "Great Society" in the 1960's to the civic duty performed by countless Danes in 1943, when they helped rescue most of our Jewish population.

But, of course, Lyndon B. Johnson is not the only great Texan. Another is Secretary Baker.

After a generation of service, at many senior levels of government, he is still an active statesman.

In Europe, he is mainly remembered as one of the chief architects of our security after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the unification of Germany. I think we could safely say that the enlargement of the European Union, which takes effect 10 days from now, may be said to owe a great deal to his steady hand at the helm of U.S. foreign policy during that crucial period.

But his work does not stop there. James Baker was, and still is, active in the troubled area of the Middle East. I would, therefore, if I may, like to say a few words about the present situation in the Middle East before moving on to my second theme, the transatlantic relationship.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I think that we are all agree that the challenges facing both the United States and Europe today are of a radically different nature than those of the Cold War.

Throughout the 1990s, we struggled to adapt to a state of affairs without a single adversary or guiding principle to keep our alliance together. In our relief at the end of the Cold War era we were, perhaps, slow in realising that we were being faced with a new crisis. Namely, nationalism, ethnic hatred and instability in South East Europe.

A first, we did not regard the unfolding events as a menace of such magnitude as to warrant the use of force. But we all know what happened and just what it took to restore some semblance of peace to the Balkans. Albeit an uneasy one. We are grateful to the United States for the role it has played in this area from the middle of the decade to the present time.

Terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction were certainly in focus during those same years. But, even so, India's and Pakistan's acquisition of a nuclear capability and North Korea's attempts at nuclear blackmail failed to galvanise us into a general reassessment of Western Strategy.

It took the terrible events of 9/11 to do that. Especially in this, your country, where they took place. The emotions and determination felt by the American people post 9/11 are deep and lasting. A fact that we in Europe do not always fully appreciate, although our initial expressions of deeply felt sympathy and solidarity were, and are, truly genuine. We were all in a state of shock because, for the first time since the darkest days of the Cold War, America was under mortal threat.

In Europe, there was a more mixed reaction to the unfolding events. I think that we all felt, and feel, that the new global challenges presented us with problems just as difficult to solve as the long standoff with the Soviet Union. However, there was considerably less unanimity about which of these problems should or could be dealt with by the use of military force. Many Europeans have had their own cross to bear when it comes to military might.

My country, Denmark, is among the nations which have acted on the basis of the conviction that Europe and America have far more to gain as allies than as neutrals, competitors or even adversaries. Especially in a situation just as, if not more, complicated and dangerous than during our shared trials of the past.

Therefore, when the United States requested our assistance in combating terrorism in Afghanistan, we gave a positive response and contributed within our means, which are relatively modest considering that our population is not much larger that that of Houston's metropolitan area.

Our special forces took part in difficult combat operations and our fighter aircraft provided close air support in the Afghan mountains. We are proud of their performance. Denmark also joined the coalition in Iraq, where we have a contingent in the British sector outside Basra. I recently visited our troops there and can report that they are doing a splendid job.

But working together post-9/11 means more than taking military measures. In tackling the terrorist threat, we have to address its root causes, which are manifold.

Miserable living conditions and poor governance in a number of, mainly, Arab countries have created a sense of hopelessness. Leading to breeding grounds for extremism and fanaticism. A commitment to apply political, economic and social measures is urgently needed to deal with these conditions and their causes.

More, perhaps, than any other single issue, the Israeli/Palestinian conflict demonstrates the limitations of the military instrument in resolving an underlying political issue. The longstanding and tragic situation we see today is undeniably a major contributory factor to Islamic terrorism. It has to be faced and dealt with.

Without American leadership this cannot be done.

Despite the all too apparent difficulties in implementing the Quartet Road Map for a two-state solution, adopted after President Bush's visionary speech in June 2002, it remains the only agreed basis we have for reaching a peaceful and negotiated settlement to this conflict.

We have noted the plans for Israeli withdrawal from Gaza and President Bush's statement last week. Withdrawals may represent a welcoming step towards resolving the conflict but this depends on the context in which they take place. They must not leave behind a trail of chaos. Ultimately, a final settlement bringing lasting stability and security to both Israel and the Palestinian people can only be achieved through negotiations. This would include any adjustments to the pre-1967 borders, which was also suggested by President Bush.

The United States enjoys an unsurpassed position of influence with the parties in the region. We rely on, and will strongly encourage and support a renewed American commitment, even in this election year, to use that privileged position to make the two-state solution a reality.

The increased U.S. presence in the central part of the Middle Eastern region is obviously a factor which cannot be ignored in this equation. No stone must be left unturned in overcoming the present setbacks and easing Iraq's transfer to sovereignty on the basis of the Transitional Administrative Law. Denmark intends to stay the course and maintain its military presence in accordance with Security Council resolution 1511 – this is the view of all major parties in our parliament.

I agree with the recommendations of the Council on Foreign Relations Task Force report ("Iraq: One Year After"), to which you, ambassador Djeréjian have contributed. These recommendations are as relevant in the difficult phase in which we now find ourselves as when they were first written.

The modernisation and reform of the Wider Middle East begins in Iraq.

Progress in the Middle East Peace Process – and in Iraq – would go a long way towards facilitating the other tasks that face us in the region as a whole. Yet it has become clear to most observers that the long term challenges posed by the underlying problems extend much further than today's conflicts. They should therefore not be allowed to block progress in solving the broader challenges.

In the wider area, covered by North Africa, the Levant and the Gulf conditions vary but most societies cry out for modernisation and reform. To a large extent this important region has lost out on the opportunities presented by globalisation. Present regional trends in respect of governance, rule of law, market economics, education, demographics, the role of women and human rights in general are far from encouraging. Ladies and gentlemen, this situation is untenable. Domestic reforms must happen. I hope that, with our help, they will.

It is encouraging to note that most countries in the region show a commitment to buck these trends. I believe we should actively support positive changes by engaging in strong partnerships with the local forces for reform and modernisation.

I see here another field for active cooperation between America and Europe in working together with those countries of this region that need a genuine sense of ownership to make the necessary changes in their societies.

Much attention is focused on the series of summit meetings in June – G8, EU/US, and NATO – as venues for coming to grips with these challenges.

For its part, the European Union has been undertaking regional engagement with the Mediterranean and the Middle East for some time. It is, after all, our immediate neighbourhood. The Barcelona declaration of 1995 set in motion a process of dialogue – and aid and assistance to a value of more than $1 billion has since been distributed annually. We intend to target these funds at supporting political, social and economic change.

As an integral part of its new security strategy, the EU now looks with greater urgency and increased focus at a long term partnership for reform in the region including:

- an enhanced security dialogue,
- increased support for internal political, economic and social reforms, backed up by performance-driven conditionality in assistance,

- promotion of WTO membership and improvement in the business environment for all countries in the region.

A plan of action is due to be presented at the EU summit in June in order to put this new strategy in operation.

Our aim is for complementarity, coordinated EU and U.S. initiatives to remedy the problems plaguing these countries and societies so that they can eventually turn their back on stagnation and measure up to the demands of the modern world.

Our motive is certainly to strike at the recruiting of potential Islamist terrorists but also, more generally, to achieve good neighbourly relations in the interest of all.

But detailed plans and summit declarations are not enough. It has occurred to some of us that it might be useful to draw upon the experience of the Helsinki process (CSCE) in the 1970s and 80s as we go about the necessary tasks together with the countries in this region, which lacks cooperative structures in the area of security, economic development and the human dimension (the Helsinki process' original three "baskets").

The kind of review mechanisms that made CSCE commitments stick in Europe would be especially useful.

Naturally, a "CSCM" for the wider Middle East must be particular to the region and developed accordingly. No existing model can be imposed. But the CSCE experience does demonstrate the value of a regional cooperative process. Such a process can only be set in motion by the region's own governments.

Together with Canada, Denmark is presently undertaking a mission throughout the region, including Israel, Turkey and Iran as well as most Arab nations, to shape the awareness of policymakers and civil society of the merits of a regional Security Charter. Reactions have so far been varied but, on the whole, quite encouraging.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Let us now move from the specific to the general level.

Joint policies and initiatives concerning modernisation and reform in the wider Middle East are an obvious and, in view of the magnitude of the task, appropriate subject for American and European post-9/11 cooperation.

But, in my opinion, this is but one of several areas ripe for transatlantic cooperation under new conditions.

The increased awareness of global challenges represents an opportunity we must seize to renew our strategic relationship.

The European Union is about to enter the world stage in a new shape and size. As of 1st May of this year, the EU will have 25 member states and 450 million

inhabitants. Its combined GDP will total over $11 trillion, making it the world's biggest economy.

At our June summit, we hope to reach agreement on a new Constitutional Treaty which will provide us with the means to act in a more unified and determined manner in foreign and security policy.

Improved decision making is, of course, necessary for realising our ambition to contribute to solving tasks of a size and importance comparable with our increased weight in world affairs. Our present construction was designed for the original six member states and working methods suitable for a much smaller organisation. Reforms are urgently needed.

In the words of the security strategy presented last year by the EU High Representative for foreign and security policy, Javier Solana, "the European Union and the United States can be a formidable force for good in the world when acting together". It is my firm conviction that we, in Europe, must place our relations with America at the very heart of our efforts in strengthening the position of the EU in global affairs.

This does not entail reinventing the wheel. The successful adaptation of NATO to the defence and security environment of the early 21st century means that the Alliance will remain the cornerstone of transatlantic cooperation in its new areas of responsibility, such as Afghanistan. The same goes for the classical defence of our territories.

What it does mean, in my view, is creating a more action-oriented global partnership between the U.S. and the EU in which due account is taken of our relative assets and strengths. We could explore the great potential of a positive transatlantic dialogue in policy areas not previously covered by our cooperative structures. We could then envisage drawing up a Charter with this in mind, alongside the North Atlantic Treaty. At present NATO is the only formal framework for our dialogue.

We must ask ourselves, "Which areas would be covered in such a reinvigorated transatlantic partnership?"

Well, firstly, counterterrorism:

Recent events have reminded us yet again that we face a common security threat. Our response must go beyond military cooperation into the Homeland Security domain, where the EU has just named a coordinator who can act as the counterpart of the new U.S. Department. Measures against financing of terrorist activities remain a central objective and should be further developed. We need improvements in joint law enforcement, intelligence-sharing and other precautionary measures.

Since the threat is global, we must actively monitor and assist third party implementation of commitments under United Nations' SCR 1373.

Secondly, non-proliferation:

We should seek a more coordinated approach to preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction. This means strengthening the provisions and inspection rules in place under the United Nations regime in its Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Utilising our comparative advantages when dealing with the issues at hand such as Iran. Enhancing the role of the Security Council with regard to preventing the spread of WMD to non-state actors. Funding joint projects such as the destruction of chemical stockpiles in Russia. Supporting the naval search and seizure programme (the Proliferation Security Initiative) initiated by the U.S., among others, by ensuring EU-wide implementation of interdiction principles.

Thirdly, irresponsible states:

Terrorism, possibly combined with the possession of non-conventional weapons, becomes especially threatening if sponsored or used by states willing to challenge the international order. Europe and the United States should seek to develop compatible policies to deal with such irresponsible states. Such states are, by definition, less amenable to dialogue and negotiation on our terms. Practice has, however, shown that they can be won over by inducements as part of a policy realistically balanced with coercive measures. In view of recent events, there is a need for more clarity with regard to the legitimacy of military intervention, including preventative intervention. In the words of Kofi Annan, we "need to begin a discussion on the criteria for an early authorisation of coercive measures to address certain types of threats".

Fourthly, development aid and sustainable development:

We can never be secure and healthy in Europe or America if the majority of the world's population remains impoverished, sick and without hope. We can therefore allow ourselves no respite in the fight against world poverty, epidemics – most particularly HIV/AIDS – and for sustainable development, including ensuring and securing a clean and viable environment. We carry a joint obligation to ensure that the benefits of globalisation are shared by all mankind. Our efforts can be enhanced through common action. The US has significantly raised its aid budget, while the EU remains the world's largest donor. Africa merits special attention. We should, and must, launch programmes of assistance earmarked for combating terrorism in developing countries.

Finally, trade:

The US and the EU entered the current trade round of talks in Doha on a joint platform. We should maintain a common drive for free trade and market access to re launch the round with the aim of facilitating growth in the developing world. Legislation and regulation on both sides of the Atlantic does not fully take into account the degree of our economic integration. We share a vital interest in a smoother management of our mutual trade to reflect the fact that the bulk of transactions pose very few problems. We should commit ourselves to responsible methods of the settlement of disputes and expand cooperation regarding rules, regulations and other issues. Our long term aim should be to create a transatlantic free trade zone.

So, to sum up, we seek a substance-driven expansion of the transatlantic agenda to cover global problems beyond security policy in the stricter sense. I firmly believe that these are areas of cooperation in which the EU can offer added value on the basis of its experience and resources. A start could be made at the June EU/U.S. summit in Dublin.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

This is the direction I propose we take in giving new impetus to our transatlantic relationship.

The need to provide such new momentum is there for all to see. We have just been through a crisis as severe as anything since Suez. Policy discord over Iraq did, admittedly, have an intra-European aspect. Denmark found itself on one side of the argument with a number of partners while others remained on the other side of the fence. However, there is now a widespread desire to regroup and move on.

Other disagreements – on climate change, the IGC and trade in GMOs to mention but a few – have set us more neatly apart on both sides of the Ocean.

We should not assume that we will always be able to avoid serious turbulence in our shared road ahead. It may be a long and winding one and there are disagreements in the best of families. But we should approach the issues with an open mind and take as our point of departure a shared desire to achieve progress.

America and Europe share a political and cultural heritage. We share our destiny. Faced with new global challenges, we should seek to cooperate with other emerging regional centres of power and influence. We can hope to establish strong links with them as we struggle to overcome problems affecting us all equally.

It is in the nature of the world political stage for prominent actors to seek to secure their vital interests. So will we. In addition, we will always be conscious of our responsibility to uphold our ideals of freedom and democracy.

This is why I am convinced that we owe it to ourselves to re launch our cooperation, possibly on new foundations while preserving and developing our well-tested Alliance.

Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for your time and thank you for your attention.

Speech by Minister of Foreign Affairs Per Stig Møller at the "Copenhagen seminar on Civilian Crisis Management" Copenhagen, 9 June 2004

Members of the Panel, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen.

It is a pleasure for me to welcome you here today to the hearing on civilian crisis management. Yesterday, some of the world's leading experts – politicians, military officers, UN and EU staff, researchers and Danish players – met here in Copenhagen to discuss, how the world community may, in future, become better at tackling the civilian aspects of peacekeeping and peace building operations. I find it very fruitful that a larger group of people should have the opportunity today to hear about the discussions and present their comments.

In the book Power and Powerlessness I use Machiavelli as a starting point for some reflections on what it means to "bring the state in order". The division of power – its pluralism and separation into several power centres – is a prerequisite for ensuring that rulers do not act to the detriment of the state and the citizen. Therefore, institutions must be structured in such a way that they curb the rash decisions and whims of both rulers and the masses. This requires power and counter-power. Institutions and rules to prevent and minimise mistakes. This is basically what this Copenhagen seminar will endeavour to contribute to. How do we ensure that conflict-ridden countries are enabled to "bring the state in order" as soon as possible?

We are all aware, which elements are necessary to create an open stable and democratic society. We have learnt that from the long development of our own countries – economically and politically – towards democratic societies governed by the rule of law. We know that what is needed includes national constitutions, the support of citizens through democratic elections, an effective legal system, efficient local administrations, service delivery for the citizen, and also a public revenue base to sustain it all.

Nevertheless, it often looks as if we start from scratch in every new crisis situation by having to invent the stable and democratic state. Even though huge ethnic, cultural and religious differences make no tasks alike, it is our duty to

challenge ourselves, and the international community by asking, if this cannot be done in a better, more systematic manner, and without the enormous human and economic costs.

In his speech at the opening of the 58th UN General Assembly in September 2003, Secretary General Kofi Annan referred to the farsighted leaders who founded the UN after the Second World War. He noted at the same time that the fundamental principles of the responsibility and primary role of the nation state, which have sustained the UN since its foundation, are now being challenged. Today, the world faces new complex threats: terrorists may be in possession of weapons of mass destruction, and nation states are no longer always behind the threats.

Our international order is based on nation states that assume responsibility and obligations. Today, there are new actors, who are opposed to nation states, and as a matter of course, also opposed to an international system based on common principles. It means that the adequacy and general validity of the principles are being challenged. How can we, through collective action, effectively counter the new threats?

In his speech, Secretary General Kofi Annan also said that it is not enough to denounce unilateralism unless we face up squarely to the concerns that make some states feel uniquely vulnerable. The international community must show that these concerns can, and will, be addressed effectively through collective action.

The question is whether the principles and instruments – including the Security Council – that the UN has at its disposal today are the best and the most effective? As a contribution to answering this question, the Secretary General established a high-level panel in November 2003 for the purpose of examining current challenges to peace and security, identify the contribution which collective action can make, and recommend the changes necessary to ensure effective response. The Panel includes 16 eminent personalities. And they are to submit a report with recommendations to the Secretary General no later than December 2004. I wish to take the opportunity to thank two members of the Panel – Gro Harlem Brundtland and Nafis Sadik – for having found the time to come here today and tell us about the Panel's work.

The UN and NATO, and in recent years also the EU, have worked very hard to improve their efforts of intervention when armed conflicts occur. Coordination and burden-sharing in peacekeeping operations have improved considerably. This is especially the result of the vast experience, which has accumulated over the years in the UN. The solid analyses, which, among others have been carried out by Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi – the Secretary General's special advisor on Iraq – are important contributions.

There is a need for further developing the instruments we have at our disposal. Instruments that paired with empathy and understanding of both cultures as well as the political game of the international community, can put in place the first vital stepping stones on a path leading to a new stable and democratic state.

We know that it is no simple thing to reach agreement on collective military action to separate the fighting parties in a conflict trying to create some sort of stability. We also know that it is far more difficult to establish a situation where a stable development is secured to a degree, where international missions can be withdrawn.

In Iraq, the removal of Saddam Hussein and the Baath Party led to the collapse of the entire system of administration. The Baath Party was not only a political organisation, but also the binding glue of an exceptionally brutal regime. Without this binding glue, even simple authority tasks could no longer be performed. This is just one of the factors that have made the reconstruction of the Iraqi society, despite the country's enormous human and economic resources, far more difficult and more extensive than anticipated. Considering this, it is positive that the Iraqi authorities and the Coalition – despite acts of terrorism and bomb attacks – have succeeded in restoring a considerable number of basic functions, such as education, health and electricity supply.

In the discussions on how to manage a crisis in all its phases, we are moving from the principled and philosophical level to the very pragmatic level. Two of the most important questions here are: Firstly, which institutions must be swiftly made to function in order for there to be power and counter-power? And secondly, who does what and in cooperation with whom? Answering these questions requires that we understand the background of the conflict in question, and it requires close cooperation with local forces.

We, in Denmark, view this seminar as a contribution to the work of the Secretary-General's Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, and thereby as a contribution to Mr. Annan's efforts to create a strengthened UN in a world of increasingly complex threats and crises.

The UN Security Council is the primary organ for maintaining peace and security in the world. It is in everyone's interest that the Security Council continues to be able to fulfil its role in an effective manner.

In a few months, Denmark will – if all goes well – for the fourth time since the founding of the UN in 1945 be elected member of the UN Security Council for a two-year term beginning January 1st, 2005. Here, we have a unique opportunity to make our contribution to ensuring that the UN is equipped to face the new global challenges of the 21st century.

Denmark must be an active player from day one and be regarded as a serious and credible member. Effective multilateralism and a strengthening of the UN will be at the heart of our efforts. We will focus on addressing new threats – terrorism and weapons of mass destruction – as well as on eradicating poverty and achieving the Millennium Development Goals. The UN's crisis management capacity must be strengthened and so must the coordination of UN interventions. And we will make a special effort for conflict-ridden African countries.

The Security Council, though in need of reform, still retains the ability to perform its many tasks effectively. Denmark will, during its forthcoming membership of the Security Council, actively seek to ensure that the mechanisms and initiatives that are to translate the Council's decisions into action also come to function in the best possible way. Making the UN and the rest of the international community – the EU, the World Bank, the OSCE, the regional organisations – better at cooperating and playing active roles, will be part of the Danish contribution.

The objective of bringing some of the world's leading experts and practitioners to Copenhagen is to contribute to create a framework for the future efforts to improve our ability to manage the civilian side of conflict prevention and peace-building.

We must help to create a deeper understanding of how planning is not only feasible, but in most cases crucial. Crucial for our ability to move swiftly towards a transfer of responsibility to the local population, that needs to be included at every step of the way.

At the same time, we must strengthen efforts to seek collective coordinated response. Failed efforts are a waste of resources and do not increase respect for the great work that is actually taking place in the hotspots around the world.

Those who have been to these hotspots have observed the existence of a small mobile and dedicated community of international experts and aid workers, who move from one hotspot to the next. A number of them are present here today in Copenhagen. They are people who possess extensive and valuable experience. We must work out how to systematise and learn from their experience. And we must make sure that the UN and the rest of the international system is organised in a way that allows for expertise to be immediately available "when and where" it is needed. By doing this we can avoid starting all over every time, and risk loosing time, money and opportunities.

Reaching agreement on how to respond to a threat or a concrete crisis requires patience. However, if the outcome is a collective and coherent response, it is worth the time and effort. And moreover, it could be used as a starting point next time we

face a large international challenge of post-conflict reconstruction – it could be in Sudan.

It is the hope that the seminar and the time and the collective experience invested here in Copenhagen, will be returned many times over, in the form of a strengthen-ed international response to the complex threats of our time.

Thank you.

Speech by Minister of Foreign Affairs Per Stig Møller at a Signing Ceremony Greenland, 6 August 2004

I am very pleased to meet today with my colleagues from the United States and from Greenland. It was from here the Vikings went out to discover – and civilise – America. And now the United States is discovering that Greenland is more than Thule as we today are turning a new page in our joint relationship and in the United States' engagement in and with Greenland.

I would like to express my sincerest thanks to the Home Rule Government of Greenland and to Josef in particular for hosting this "seminal" event, and for the cooperation, which gave the results we celebrate today.

Let me go back in time. In 1125 the first bishop of Greenland was appointed. He took seat here in Igaliku. This is understandable; I would have taken the same seat. It was also host for a yearly moot by the cathedral bringing together people from all over the country. Today Igaliku is again the centre of the world and of people coming together from far apart, yet united in a common vision to strengthen cooperation and understanding.

The US engagement in Greenland is by most associated with its presence in Thule. Thule has, as we know, a semantic origin of some symbolism. It means "the end of the world".

To much of the world Greenland was for many years the "Ultima Thule": extremely remote. The United States is, of course, an exception to this rule. They know where Thule is. For 53 years now the United States has maintained a military presence in Greenland. This presence has contributed significantly to ensuring the security of not only Greenland, Denmark and the US, but of the North Atlantic Alliance as a whole. Thule is thus far from being "remote" when it comes to defending the free world and the values we share and stand for.

The agreements you have seen us sign today signal a new step in our relations. They represent an increased US awareness and appreciation of Greenland as a cooperation partner. From being a one item relationship linked to defence, US engagement in Greenland will now be based on much broader cooperation on issues ranging from research and energy over environment to trade and tourism. The process has also brought a new dynamic into the relationship between Denmark and Greenland.

The negotiating process with the US during the last two years has shown how fruitful Denmark and Greenland can work together on security and defence issues of special importance to Greenland. But it has also shown a USA, which wanted to listen to and be constructive with partners. We had frank, direct and tough negotiations but they were also fair, and we ended up with a good result. Thank you, Colin. Coming to Igaliku has – in more than one way – been a long journey but certainly worth making. We are now embarking on a modern and mutually beneficial partnership. We update the defence agreement. Start cooperation, as I mentioned, on environment, development and many more things.

The opportunities are many. It is now up to all of us to make use of them: to put flesh on the bones and create tangible results. It will take hard work. It will take imagination. It will take willpower. But I can assure you that the Danish government will continue to give high priority to these efforts also in the day-to-day implementation.

It is a very special day in the Danish/Greenlandic/US relationship. Let us today celebrate this endeavour to bring our cooperation in Greenland to a qualitatively new level. And then let's get to work.

I am confident that there will be many more occasions to celebrate good results in the future once we start picking the fruits of the cooperation, we are initiating today.

Thank you. I look forward to starting the Danish-Greenlandic-US cooperation with the agreements signed today.

Speech by Minister of Foreign Affairs Per Stig Møller at the UN General Assembly USA, 23 September 2004

Mr. President,

When we met a year ago, there was widespread concern that we had reached an impasse that threatened to paralyse the UN. I am happy to note that there is evidence that this looming threat of division is receding and is being replaced by a renewed commitment to multilateralism.

In this spirit, Denmark welcomes the Security Council's unanimous adoption of resolution 1546 on Iraq. The resolution is first and foremost of great significance for the prospects of peace and stability in Iraq and the region. But it is also of great importance for the Security Council's ability to perform its role as the custodian of international peace and security.

The United Nations must play a leading role in the political process and in the reconstruction of Iraq. The wisdom and skills of the Secretary-General and his Special Adviser brought the process forward and we hope that the advisory role of the United Nations will be further enhanced. We urge all Member States to support the interim Iraqi Government in its endeavours to establish peace and security in Iraq.

Mr. President,

2005 will be the year where Member States' willingness to work towards a strong, united, and effective United Nations will be tested. The challenge is to develop credible, effective, and comprehensive UN responses to the threats and challenges of the new Millennium. Be it conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peace building. Be it the fight against terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Be it respect for human rights and international law. Or last, but certainly not least – be it the enormous challenge of achieving the Millennium Development Goals.

Denmark strongly supports the Secretary-General's High-Level Panel and looks forward to its report later this year. The efforts to reform the organisation, including enlarging the membership of the Security Council, must continue if the UN is to

meet the new challenges. Democracy is also a question of representation, and if large parts of the world do not feel represented in the Security Council, there is a risk that they will not feel bound by its decisions. The Security Council must reflect the realities of the world of today – not that of the past.
We live in a world where the distinction between military and non-military threats is increasingly blurred. Most current threats are complex and combine elements of both. Creating synergies between development, political, and security components will be key to the success of the UN. Denmark will endeavour to assist in this process across the full range of UN activities.

Mr. President,

Denmark is a candidate for election to the Security Council during this session of the General Assembly. If elected, the focus of Denmark's tenure in the Security Council will be to seek new and more effective ways of integrating security and development, as well as strengthening international law.

In this connection, I welcome the Secretary General's important opening statement to this debate in which he outlined the fundamental principles for a world order based on international law.

Mr. President,

Greater coherence is needed in international peace operations. We firmly believe that the UN needs to give civilian crisis management the same priority that is accorded to military crisis management. More than 40 percent of countries emerging from conflict slide back into conflict. In order to build sustainable peace, much more attention needs to be given to civilian aspects of crisis management. This includes demobilisation and reintegration of combatants, as well as social, economic, and legal reconstruction of war-torn societies.

We must make state building a central goal of conflict management and peace building, alongside the provision of basic security. Whatever mechanism we set up, the challenge is to ensure the involvement of all stakeholders. This includes national governments, the UN-secretariat, UN development funds and programmes, the Bretton Woods Institutions, regional organisations and bilateral donors.

In order to improve compliance with Security Council resolutions, the process towards targeted and "smarter" sanctions should be continued. The challenge is twofold: Firstly, the Security Council must rigorously implement its resolutions, also when they stipulate serious consequences in case of non-compliance. Secondly, the

countries concerned must be given positive incentives to comply with the resolutions.

Mr. President,

Terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction are serious threats to peace and security and impede progress towards stability and prosperity. Terrorists threaten everyday life and values of millions of innocent individuals. Terrorists must be stopped by hard power and soft power to prevent decades of unrest and terror.

Countering new threats require multifaceted, integrated responses by the UN and its partners. Success demands synergy, a finely tuned mix of diplomacy, aid, police efforts, intelligence, legal assistance – and if need be – military power. The United Nations must take a leading role in the fight against terrorism, providing both the framework for global efforts and the legitimacy for collective action.

Terror must not lead to isolation – it must not stop globalisation. In the world of today, the huge global disparities in resources have become apparent to everybody. Social and economic exclusion – as well as deficient democracies, the lack of rule of law and respect for human rights – contribute to political radicalisation and religious extremism. It is a global challenge to ensure that new generations have access to the benefits of globalisation, such as democracy and hope for a better future. The main responsibility for fighting terrorism lies with individual states. This includes compliance with relevant Security Council resolutions as well as ratification and implementation of the twelve UN Terror Conventions. Denmark supports efforts to reinvigorate the Counter Terrorism Committee, CTC. We support the efforts to renew and upgrade the offer of technical assistance to countries that need it. The work of the CTC must be better focused and linked with the assistance extended to countries that have the will – but lack the means – to meet the requirements of Security Council resolution 1373.

Just as importantly, we must strengthen international agreements to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Denmark therefore supports Security Council resolution 1540, and looks forward to its full implementation.

Mr. President,

The UN has been instrumental in establishing the core international Human Rights conventions. This year we are celebrating the 25th anniversary of one of these conventions – the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination

Against Women. The importance of the elimination of discrimination and the respect for the right of women to decide freely over their own life – including in matters relating to marriage, reproductive health, and HIV/AIDS – is self evident. This main message of the Cairo Programme of Action, adopted 10 years ago, is as relevant today as ever.

With a view to eradicate torture, Denmark calls upon all states to sign and ratify the Optional Protocol to the Convention Against Torture so that it may enter into force at an early date.

We are now in the "era of implementation" of the human rights commitments undertaken. As the main body in its field, the Commission on Human Rights has a crucial role to play in this respect and should be further strengthened.

Mr. President,

2005 will be a defining moment for the United Nations. World leaders will meet in New York to take stock of progress in implementation of the Millennium Declaration. This meeting will provide a unique opportunity to break new ground and push ahead the interlinked agenda of peace, security and development and to follow-up on the recommendations from the High-Level panel.

A key priority for Denmark will be to speed up the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals. The results so far are not encouraging, particularly not in Africa. Denmark attaches the highest priority to Africa's development and wants its situation and prospects high on the agenda for the 2005-summit.

To reach the Goals, an effective partnership will be required between developed and developing countries. The gap between goals and resources must be closed. We are deeply concerned about the inadequacy of the current level of development financing. Further resources are needed as well as better coordination in their allocation.

Last year, Denmark took the lead in making our commitments transparent in a Millennium Development Goals report. A new report will be published next month. We call on others to do the same.

Development efforts and conflict resolution in Africa must go hand in hand. Progress achieved in economic and social development will only be sustainable if we manage to put an end to the conflicts on the African continent. We stand ready to support the significant and sustained efforts undertaken by the Africans themselves in this regard. There is a need to further strengthen the African Security Architecture in cooperation with the African Union, sub regional African organisations,

the UN, the EU and bilateral governments. We also need to strengthen regional approaches of the UN in the field. Denmark stands ready to contribute actively.

Furthermore, recent natural disasters illustrate the importance of dealing with international environmental issues, such as climate change as well as bio diversity, deforestation, and desertification.

Mr. President,

The Secretary-General has shown great leadership in pressing for strengthened and effective multilateralism. And things are slowly starting to come together. Our common voyage is far from over with the 2005 Summit. The High Level Panel's report, renewed focus on post-conflict intervention, and the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals can herald a new age of strong and effective multilateralism, if we collectively rise to the challenges.

The task of this generation is to hand over the world to the next generation in a better shape than we received it.

Denmark will spare no effort in our endeavours to translate this vision into reality.

Thank you for your attention.

WHY VALUES ARE CRUCIAL IN THE EU
Speech by Minister of Foreign Affairs Per Stig Møller at the "Conference on the Role of Values in a Reunited Europe" Copenhagen, 25 October 2004

"Kære kollega", distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen,

Four days from now we will sign the Constitutional Treaty in the Campidoglio Palace in Rome. In many ways it will mark the closing of a circle – from Rome to Rome. The European Union being the framework for a peaceful development and economic growth in Europe for almost half a century, was founded exactly the same place almost fifty years ago.

The vision of bringing peace and democracy to Europe was born on the ruins of World War Two. But the vision is not new to European humanists. Let me just remind you of the Italian poet Dante, the king of Bohemia, king Podiebraad, and the politician Briand. But each time, it has just been a pipe-dream. This time the dream seems to come true. The means have been economic cooperation. But the aim is still a peaceful and united Europe. That aim is now closer than ever before.

The success of the EU depends to a large extent on its adaptability. Since the formation of the European Economic Community in 1958, the organisation of Europe has undergone many changes. The six became nine in '73. Ten in '81. Twelve in '86. Fifteen in '95. 25 on May 1st this year. And more will follow. Romania, Bulgaria and Croatia will be next.

The sheer number of member states requires an efficient decision-making process in order to maintain the capacity to act. Meanwhile, the EU has constantly been able to adapt to new challenges. Not a single word was said in the first treaty of Rome about the environment, development assistance, the fight against terrorism or for that matter the many other areas where cooperation has proved necessary. Necessary for the sake of the European citizens or necessary because we live in an ever more globalised world, which compels the EU to take a responsibility.

First of all, however, the EU is based on a voluntary cooperation between independent states sharing a set of common values. The Union only has those

powers, which we – the member states – confer on it. Our values do not originate from above or from the outside, they emanate from ourselves, from our common culture. Our objective to create sustainable growth and prosperity in Europe, to further the cause of freedom, security and justice for the European citizens, and to promote security, stability and development among our neighbours on the continent and in the wider world – that is a common objective for Danes and Latvians as well as other Europeans. It is also a common objective to improve the democracy, transparency and efficiency in how the EU goes about its business.

For the first time ever, the Constitutional Treaty unites all these elements in one single document. It enables the enlarged EU to meet the new and global challenges in an efficient, democratic and sustainable way.

The Constitutional Treaty is truly a treaty of values. Let me therefore focus on this today. My aim will be to explain how the European Union of today has become the central platform for transforming our common European values into concrete policies and actions on the ground. I will also try to demonstrate that values in the EU are not just essential as a framework for our external policies, but also important as an internal point of reference between the peoples and member states of the new Union.

Allow me to begin by asking a question:

How is it possible to build a stable and just society of free and equal citizens, who nevertheless are profoundly divided by conflicting religious, political and moral doctrines?

This question constitutes a fundamental challenge to any democratic government today. And it is particularly important to the European continent in which diversity has always been the hallmark.

What we will be doing in Rome on Friday is ultimately to affirm a number of basic rights and values that unite 25 independent nation states. We will do this despite – or rather because of – the fact that our countries have fought countless wars against each other, despite the fact that we each have our own separate historical and specific cultural background, and despite the fact that we speak 21 different languages.

Achieving the signatures of 25 member states has not been a smooth ride. We have had many ups and downs along the way and of course many key challenges still remain. One is the need to change the public perception of the EU and make it a more relevant body to the European citizen. Too often, a thirty second time slot in the evening news on what has transpired in the EU leaves people with the impression that it is mainly about busy politicians stepping out of fancy cars in Bruxelles. No wonder that some people begin to doubt whether it all makes sense.

I believe that there are two ways to overcome this misrepresentation. One is to continue pushing for more democracy and transparency in the EU as Denmark has been doing. In this respect, the Constitutional Treaty contains significant steps forward, but we should not be complacent. Secondly, we need a more balanced and reflective debate about Europe where we focus on concrete EU policies and specific pieces of legislation. That is not only a task for the Governments of member states, but to a large extent also a job for the European Parliament. Public awareness and accept across Europe of the values and the work of the EU is crucial as we move forward.

If history has shown anything, it must be that building a lasting community of people is not done by subduing individuals to a political authority or simply by establishing governmental institutions. The Roman empire, the Ottoman empire, the Napoleonic Empire, the Austrian-Hungarian empire and so on have all one way or the other collapsed while trying to enforce political control upon foreign nations or maintain obedience among diverse ethnic groups already incorporated into the empire.

The fundamental problem between the ruler and the subjects was, however, to a large extent the same. A lack of values shared by the ruler and the subjects that could underpin the political institutions and make them last.

How the importance of values has been increasingly recognised in the EU

The European Union is of course by no means an empire and not even a state. What distinguishes the new Union and what separates it from all the previous attempts to overcome the dividing lines in Europe, is our continuous commitment to a certain number of basic values.

And what are then all these values, we are talking about? They are values, which we have inherited: From Christianity with its respect of the individual and the neighbours. From Greece with its democracy, the freedom of thought and expression, the right to doubt. From Rome with its respect for the rule of law. And from the Enlightenment with its tolerance, limitation of the state and its free economy. These values are now implemented in the human rights, the gender equality, the free market, the welfare society, democracy, and the rule of law.

These values have taken an ever more important place in Europe. A process culminating in the new Constitutional Treaty for Europe. Commitment to a certain number of values will clearly become a precondition for membership. Furthermore, membership can also be suspended, if the Government in question seriously violates these values. A clear procedure will prevent a repetition of the unfortunate Austrian case.

Values need to be followed up by action

This process has, however, also shown that while values are crucial in framing our policies, they also need to be vigorously backed by action. International terrorism is one obvious threat that requires us to be vigilant in this endeavour. Likewise, the complex challenges posed by failing states, civil wars, humanitarian disasters, illegal immigration and climatic changes makes it imperative that we – the Union and its member states – have the resolve and ability to turn our values into concrete policies and actions on the ground.

The EU as a platform to implement European values in practise

Let me illustrate this by some examples. Poverty, child malnutrition and death from preventable diseases offend our values, because for us every human being is unique. We believe that it is politically and morally unacceptable that more than one billion men, women and children of the world's population have to subsist on less than one Euro per day. Nevertheless, it is only gradually beginning from the late seventies and onwards that we in any meaningful way have addressed the huge challenge of development in the third world. Today the European Union is the world's largest provider of development assistance accounting for over 50% of the global amount. Last year alone that corresponded to some 29 billion euros.

Another example could be food safety. In 2002, the EU's General Food Law entered into force, which introduced a long list of sanitary requirements through the entire food making process in member states. It also imposed regular sanitary control inspections at all levels of the food production chain to ensure compliance with these requirements. Existing food law at national level has been harmonised in order to ensure that a free movement of food between EU countries does not entail health risks. Instead of 25 different food safety regimes across Europe, we now have a common high-quality system in Europe that guarantees the safety of imported food products for 450 million consumers.

A third example could be East Timor. Since East Timor's vote for independence in 1999, the situation in this newest of states has improved dramatically thanks in part to large-scale external assistance. East Timor became independent in May 2002 and is now a democratically governed, independent nation with an elected President and Parliament. The EU as one of the largest donors to East Timor has been heavily involved in this process. We have supported programmes ranging from voter education, reintegration of refugees, capacity building of local government and promotion of human rights. More than 100 million euros has been committed by the EU to help an independent East Timor become a stable democracy and viable member of the international community.

As these examples illustrate, the EU or "Brussels" as critics often call it, is actually providing concrete meaning to our common ideals of international solidarity, environmental protection, public health and promotion of human rights.

But as I said earlier, the EU cooperation has had a bumpy ride and setbacks have occurred along the way. Fraud and misuse of EU funds as identified on several occasions by the European Unions Court of Auditors is an obvious and unacceptable example. Corrective measures such as OLAF – The Commission's Anti-Fraud Office – have been put in place. But we should not rest satisfied as long as such problems and the potential for fraud exist.

Progress takes sometimes more time than we would like. But setbacks serve to remind us not to be naïve towards the EU. They should also not be allowed to put our overall purpose and direction in doubt.

Why values are also crucial internally in the EU

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The reason why values are crucial in the EU is not just that they frame our external policies and actions vis-à-vis our neighbours and the wider world. They are also crucial internally as the Union expands. We must know from where we came, where we go, and why we move.

Reference to shared values is necessary in any negotiation, when a balance has to be struck between competing rights and interests. Our modern pluralist societies by definition mean competition between various rights and interests. And here I return to my opening question. How to reconcile or balance sometimes conflicting political, cultural or moral views? The question is actually posed by the American philosopher, John Rawls. His answer is that it is necessary to build an overlapping consensus across the different groups in a pluralist society. A consensus that is based on a conception of justice, which all reasonable citizens enjoying the same rights and liberties may be expected to endorse.

The emphasis here is on "reasonable". It is for example not reasonable for one group to take advantage of certain rights guaranteed to all just to suppress the same rights for another group. Such a conception of justice needs to be as detached as possible from specific religious or cultural doctrines. Detached, but not empty of values. Liberty, equality, tolerance and solidarity are still underlying values, but they do not prevent a Muslim, a Christian or a Jew from exercising his faith or to hold political views on any number of issues.

I believe that idea holds merit. It is also what we have worked hard to achieve at the European level. The fact that the EU is on the verge of taking a final decision on whether or not to begin accession talks with Turkey is perhaps the clearest

indication of this development. It is no coincidence that the question whether or not to mention Christianity and to give our values a Christian labelling in the Constitutional Treaty was a difficult one. The final result represents in my view a successful balancing act between remaining sincere about our spiritual and cultural heritage and avoiding a wording that would prevent the EU from being an inclusive rather than exclusive Union. One of our fundamental inherited values is exactly tolerance!

No one can deny that our European values historically originate in Christianity and that the church has shaped our moral judgements for centuries. Europe is, however, ethnically and culturally much more diverse today than ever before. This increased diversity requires us to be open and tolerant. The continuing challenge is to strike the right balance between embracing diversity and being firm on defending our values. As the motto of the EU says, it is about creating "Unity in Diversity".

Ladies and Gentlemen,

By the end of the 19th Century, the American historian Frederick Jackson Tyler developed the frontier thesis on how the frontier had shaped the American Nation. Tyler's thesis was that when there were no more frontiers to conquer it closed the first period of American History. A parallel can be made to the EU's Constitutional Treaty. Over the years the European Union has expanded in numbers and policy areas. We sat out from Rome in 1958 and we return to Rome 46 years later as a reunified Europe.

Latvia and Denmark have gained tremendously from this journey. As two small countries, both with a difficult big neighbour at times, our position and interests are best promoted through a close but adaptable cooperation within a European framework. The EU is the key institution in this framework, which is why the Constitutional Treaty so important. You might say that the EU is the big countries gift to the small. In the EU, the small countries are no longer intimidated by the big, but are on the same footing. Here, the arguments count – not the number of cannons.

I have tried to illustrate why values are crucial in the EU and how the EU is the platform today to translate our values into concrete policies and actions on the ground. Both at home and in the wider world.

Let me conclude by underlining that we need the EU to be able to do this with the consistency and impact that we would like. We cannot afford to be passive or confuse tolerance with indifference against the challenges in a globalised world. We have to develop our common Europe and enable it to play its part in a world, which – whether we like it or not – is on the move!

Article on EU-Russia by Minister for Foreign Affairs Per Stig Møller and the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz *Wall Street Journal*, 23 February 2004

When EU foreign ministers meet today, Russia will be atop the agenda. The time has come for the many political declarations between the EU and Russia to be translated into results. This is a win-win situation. As often, the devil is in the details. We have a framework in place. The solution is not to ignore problems, but to solve them together. Russia needs fundamental reforms in order to grasp the full potential of our equal partnership.

On 1 May the European Union will welcome 10 new members. The length of the border between the Union and Russia will be doubled. We will share a neighbourhood with many possibilities and many challenges. Many of the new member states have a deep knowledge of Russia that can endow our cooperation with fresh dynamism and a new dimension.

We need to get more specific about our four common areas of cooperation: economy, security and justice, external security, and research and education. For the first time in its history, the Union has extended to one of its partners, Russia, an invitation to such a wide-ranging scope of cooperation, which will lead to more trade, more people-to-people contact and joint action on the regional and international scene. Enlargement will benefit all of Europe. It will also benefit Russian society.

Russia has raised a number of specific problems related to the enlargement of the union, especially in the area of trade. Certainly a number of issues need to be addressed, above all the smooth and automatic extension of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement to the new member states, which Russia has called into question. Nonetheless a number of issues need to be addressed, including above all the smooth and automatic extension of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement, which covers trade and political dialogue between the EU and Russia, to the new member states. The agreement is the basis for the EU-Russia relationship in key areas such as trade and political dialogue, and it is therefore inconceivable that it does not cover the entire EU, including its newest members. If Russia is not able to

accept the enlargement of the European Union, Russia questions the basis of our strategic partnership.

The EU and Russia have clear common interests in working together in areas ranging from international politics through regional cooperation to specific economic policies. Poland and Denmark want the closest possible cooperation between the EU and Russia based on shared values. Events in Russia have always influenced the rest of Europe. A democratic and stable Russia with sustained economic growth is a common goal of Russia and the European Union. An equal partnership between the EU and Russia will strengthen not only the Union and Russia, but the whole of Europe.

Realisation of the Common European Economic Space with common standards and rules from Vladivostok to Lisbon will lead to an increase in trade and business. Simplified visa procedures will increase people-to-people contact. A dialogue on the development of Russia's Kaliningrad Region will benefit all of the Baltic Sea area. Together the Union and Russia might successfully encourage Belarus to take the road towards becoming a prosperous democratic state.

Russian President Vladimir Putin has made a European choice. This is a wise choice. The markets for Russian industry are in Europe. After enlargement, more than 50% of Russia's export will go to the EU. The vision of a new and strong Russia is based on these markets and the political cooperation with the rest of Europe. The EU is Russia's best friend in developing its economic potential.

The time for political declarations is over. It is time for concrete action. We meet often. We discuss many subjects. But not enough results have been achieved.

One of the essential challenges in the EU-Russia relations remains the creation of the mutual trust. We should refrain from viewing our relations in competitive terms and begin seeing each other as genuine partners who are willing to be engaged for the mutual benefit. Breaking with the old ways of thinking is of utmost importance. For that to happen, we should consider organising a wide information campaign about the European Union in Russia. We need to get to know each other better.

A true partnership is based on reciprocity. The union for her part must show more consistency in her policy towards Russia. We must speak with one voice. In this regard the policy of the union toward Russia is yet another test case of the overall success of our common foreign and security policy.

The people of Europe want stability and growth. A genuine strategic partnership between the EU and Russia is the best way of securing both. We must all make a special effort to change the present unsatisfactory situation. If not, important opportunities will be lost.

THE DANISH DEFENCE POLICY AND NEW SECURITY CHALLENGES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Speech by Minister of Defence Søren Gade at the "Conference on Democratisation and Democracy in the Middle East" DIIS, Copenhagen, 6 December 2004

INTRODUCTION

Director Carlsen, Ambassadors, Professors, ladies and gentlemen.
First let me thank the Danish Institute for International Studies for giving me the opportunity to speak here today on "The Danish Defence Policy and New Security Challenges in the Middle East". I find that the conference is very timely in relation to the great challenges that lie ahead for the countries in the Middle East.

I feel that I have a personal relation to the area. In 1991 I was fortunate to be a military observer in the UN observer mission UNTSO. And the experiences I gained there have given me a broad and personal view of the situation which I would not want to have missed.

In my speech today I would like to focus on a number of subjects which I find are – or will be – important for the Danish policy in relation to the Middle East. The topics include the Danish involvement in Iraq, NATO's initiatives for the broader Middle East and our future membership of the UN Security Council.

IRAQ

The Danish military commitment in Iraq totals 525 soldiers at present. They are located in the Basra province in Southern Iraq, as part of the British led division.

Our contribution and effort has great importance for the local community, which we have helped protect and rebuild. Unfortunately, there have been many

setbacks in the security situation due to the terrorist attacks on Coalition Forces, Iraqi authorities and on civilians. These terrorist attacks are carried out by elements who do not want a democratic Iraq.

In spite of these negative elements the new Iraq is moving towards its first free elections. 14 million voters are being registered. 524 government centres have been created to this end. And the process will continue.

I believe that the coming elections will prove an important milestone in the rebuilding of Iraq. For this reason, it is important that our efforts remain steadfast and determined. This is the only way to break the terrorist spirit and make them abandon their hopes of preventing the Iraqi population from enjoying their freedom.

CIVIL/MILITARY COOPERATION AND HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

Let me say a few words on civil and military cooperation and our new defence agreement. In Denmark we have looked at the lessons learned from taking part in international operations. Creating a secure environment cannot be accomplished with military means alone. There has to be a broader approach which addresses all the needs of the Iraqi population. A substantial effort is being made in favour of the civilian population in Iraq. Clearly distributing humanitarian assistance and providing aid for the reconstruction of a country is not a core military task. But when civilian actors are stopped in doing their work in a region for reasons of security, our soldiers can be the only way to provide the needs for the local population.

For example, Danish soldiers have helped renovate primary health clinics in Al Qurnah, added a second wing to the Al Qurnah hospital, restored water supply and many other efforts. This improves the daily quality of living for around one hundred thousand Iraqi citizens.

Based on experiences from international operations the government launched a new initiative concerning the Danish contribution in a mission area. An initiative that is included in the new Danish Defence Agreement. The aim is that a stronger and more effective coordination of the military and humanitarian efforts will ensure the maximum effect of the total national contribution in a mission area.

From operations, especially Iraq and Afghanistan, we have learned how important it is to strengthen the cooperation between the military forces and the civilian organisations. This secures progress in the standard of living conditions for the general population. Besides these obvious advantages, this would also improve

the security for our forces. This initiative has been taken because stabilisation and normalisation of a conflict area is both a military and a civilian task. Hopefully the improved coordination of the total national contribution will assist in shortening the military operation, thereby ensuring the maximum effect of the Danish resources spent.

NATO

Turning to the rest of the Middle East the real challenge is to promote values such as democracy and freedom in the region. I believe that the main causes of terrorism are societies characterised by suppressive regimes. Therefore I see the election in Iraq as a stepping stone towards introducing people's right to vote for and elect their own leaders.

To achieve this in the Middle East it is necessary to increase the dialogue and cooperation between the countries in the Middle East and their neighbouring countries and regions.

The Danish Government has established a forward looking policy on relations with the countries in the Wider Middle East. The objective is to establish the basis for a strengthened dialogue with countries in the region – from Morocco in the West to Iran in the East. The Danish Wider Middle East initiative focuses on four elements, one of which is strengthening cooperation with NATO.

At the Istanbul summit the countries in NATO decided to enhance the Mediterranean Dialogue and to develop new relationships with countries in the broader Middle East region through the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative. The initiative seeks to establish cooperation with interested countries in the region starting with the Gulf States.[105]

The cooperation with the countries around the Mediterranean and in the Middle East will therefore focus on cooperation which has issues such as modernisation and transformation of the security sector as a goal. It doesn't make much sense to talk about democratic control over armed forces if the country is not a democracy. But you can talk about downsizing, recruitment, career planning and training based on democratic values. Here it is important that all the efforts we are making in the cooperation are focused on reforming the security sector in a more open and democratic way.

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[105] Gulf Cooperation Council consist of the States around the Persian Gulf.

Practical activities added to increased dialogue will build confidence and allow the gradual development of greater understanding at a political level between NATO countries and the countries of this region. It is through the development of greater understanding of each other that distrust is reduced and positive relationships are developed. Practical activities will also enable us to demonstrate alternative solutions to defence issues. In order to assist Denmark's participation in this process and in support of the outcomes of the Istanbul Initiative, Denmark will find strategic partners to optimize its involvement.

With regards to the Israel-Palestine conflict it is important that the peace process will be put on track again. That also includes the road map for peace which should be an important factor in the way ahead for the solution of the conflict.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I will now turn to our upcoming membership of the UN Security Council. It is a great honour – but also a great responsibility – for Denmark to have this seat. Ever since the establishment of the United Nations the organisation has been involved in the developments in the Middle East.

Many peacekeepers from many countries have been deployed in one or more UN missions in the area. Denmark has participated in a range of these missions, with both troops and military observers.

One of the priorities for the Danish membership of the Security Council will be the fight against terrorism. As I see it, terrorism is the challenge of our time and it is important that the threat is taken seriously, and that all efforts are made to counter it. In this respect it is Denmark's ambition to assume the chairmanship of the Counter Terrorism Committee in the United Nations. Here we will work to ensure that the member countries comply with Security Council Resolutions on combating terrorism and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. It is my view that the adherence to the resolutions are of vital importance to avoid state sponsored terrorism.

Denmark is serious about fighting terrorism. This is why we supported operation Enduring Freedom after the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11th. And this is why we are still supporting Afghanistan's efforts to recover after the Taliban regime.

As in Iraq, we also have Danish forces in Afghanistan in the NATO-led security assistance force, ISAF. A contribution that will increase in 2005 when we will join the German Provincial Reconstruction Team in Feyzabad and deploy a C-130

Hercules to the area. However, no matter how great the efforts from NATO troops are in Afghanistan, there is one important lesson to be learned from the situation in the country: Afghanistan must never again become a safe haven for terrorists as we saw when the Taliban ruled the country.

I've just returned from a visit to Sudan and Ethiopia with my colleague Per Stig Møller. Even though you might say that Sudan is on the perimeter of the broader Middle East, it was still a main venue for the al-Qaeda network in the nineties. When the peace initiatives in the country succeed, Denmark will be ready to contribute peacekeepers to a UN mission. Furthermore we will positively support the capacity building of the African Union and the sub regional security organisations, so that the African countries are ultimately able to handle the conflicts on their continent.

Today I have mainly spoken on Iraq, the NATO initiatives and our position in the UN. It is my hope that the debate of this conference will be fruitful and enlightening. The Middle East has been an issue on the international agenda for many years; and will – unfortunately one might add – be on the agenda for many more years to come.

All the challenges I have mentioned need an effective response. And it is my firm belief that without close transatlantic cooperation the chance for success is limited.

With these words I will once again thank you for the opportunity to present my views and wish you all an excellent conference.

Thank you.

THE NEW DANISH DEFENCE AGREEMENT 2005-09
Speech by Minister of Defence Søren Gade
DIIS, Copenhagen, 1 July 2004

Mr. Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, Director Carlsen, Ambassadors, ladies and gentlemen,

First let me thank the Danish Institute for International Studies for giving me the opportunity to speak here today. Let me also apologise for the one day postponement. I hope that it will be "better late than never".

I have only been in office for about two months now. And I have already had the privilege of two important events for our armed forces: The new defence agreement and the NATO Summit in Istanbul this week. Both events will be central for the transformation of the Danish Defence in the years to come.

For 55 years NATO and its transatlantic link has been the bedrock of Denmark's security. And NATO remains the central pillar and the ultimate guarantee for our security. Therefore, we listen very carefully to the advice from NATO when we structure our armed forces. And NATO requirements and demands have been very central for the new defence agreement.

THE NEW DEFENCE AGREEMENT

On 10 June a large majority of the Danish political parties accepted a new defence agreement covering the period 2005-2009. With 90 % of the Parliament "Folketinget" behind the agreement, we have secured political stability for the development of the Danish Armed Forces.

The new defence agreement will imply a comprehensive transformation of the Danish Armed Forces. Let me present the main points of the defence agreement as I see them:

- Denmark will double its capacity to continuously deploy forces for international operations. We currently have more than 1000 soldiers in

international operations. In the future our ambition is to be able to sustain 2000 soldiers in international operations continuously.
- The budget will be the same in fixed terms. This means that it will be adjusted for inflation.
- We have earmarked the necessary funding for the deployment of the forces.
- The agreement includes more money for investment in major equipment.
- The agreement is fully in line with NATO initiatives like PCC, that is the Prague Capabilities Commitment.
- As a consequence of the changed security environment Denmark abandons the mobilisation force structure and transforms the Armed Forces in order to meet the new challenges.
- Total defence is being strengthened.
- A modernised conscription system.

Denmark is now fully taking into account the new security situation. There is at present no direct conventional threat against Danish territory. And it is not likely that one will emerge in the near future. And Europe has been reunited. But new and unpredictable, asymmetric threats, primarily in the form of international terrorism and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery have emerged.

International operations capability

Let me elaborate on some of the main points of the defence agreement. First, realising that the defence of Denmark's security and interests is likely to take place far from our territory, the new defence agreement will double the capacity for participation in International Operations. This means that on average, our contribution to International Operations will be increased. From a thousand soldiers today up to two thousands soldiers when the new structure is implemented.

This level of ambition equals a nation with a population of 50 million to be able to continuously deploy – on an average – about 20.000 troops for international operations.

The Armed Forces must be able to participate in all types of missions, ranging from high intensity war fighting to peace keeping missions. We want our capabilities to be self-sustained to the greatest extent possible. A Danish contribution for international operations should in this way include combat units, support units and logistics. With regard to the means to deploy them, some of the strategic transport means will be provided through international cooperation as in the Prague Capabilities Commitment, others by national means like our ARK-project where we

have fulltime chartered two large roll-on-roll-off ships. Funding for these strategic transportation projects is part of the new defence agreement.

With regard to the three services, let me highlight the following: The Army's toolbox of capabilities ready for international operations will be substantially increased. And there will be an increased ability to tailor self-sustained Army contributions to a specific mission.

The evolution of the Navy will continue to build on our natural specialization in littoral operations. The capacity to participate in littoral operations far from Denmark will be greatly enhanced with new patrol ships and new flexible support ships. This will also enhance the capacity for blue water operations. In other words operations on the oceans.

The capacity of the Air Force for participation in international operations will be increased. It is focused on deployment of aircraft either by Denmark alone or in cooperation with other nations. The ability to operate Danish aircraft contributions or aircraft contributions from other nations will be enhanced with support units and logistics.

Funding

As I mentioned the budget will not be changed. The transformation will thus primarily be carried out through reorganisation and downsizing of the staff and support structure, leading to an increase in operational capabilities.

In order to free funds for the operational structure, certain support structures will be centralised. This includes management of personnel, materiel & equipment and real estate.

The restructuring will lead to a significant shift in favour of the operational structure. With the new defence agreement we emphasize the importance of the Armed Forces delivering essential military products.

I will admit that transformation also entails difficult decisions. We have chosen to give up the submarine capability, the ground based air defence system (DEHAWK) in the Air Force and the Multiple Launch Rocket System in the Army. But it has been necessary in order to provide funding for modern equipment and adequate training for the units which we have chosen to keep.

In line with NATO needs and more investments

During the development of the new defence agreement we have had a close dialogue with NATO about NATO needs and priorities. This has been instrumental in getting the priorities right in the defence agreement. The Alliance is dependent on

nations providing usable forces. And this is exactly what the defence agreement will do.

The agreement includes increased funding for major procurements. Over the five year period, 14.2 billion Danish Kroner will be allocated for procurement of major equipment. The amount also includes increased funding for PCC initiatives such as strategic airlift and air-to-air refuelling. And you may notice that we also reserve funding for investments in Air to Ground Surveillance.

Total defence

Let me offer some remarks on what we call Total Defence. Should disaster strike Denmark – whether it is caused by terrorism or by natural disaster – the society's ability to cope with such a disaster is what we call total defence. Another more popular term might be "Homeland Security". The defence agreement implies an enhanced contribution from the Armed Forces to Total Defence.

We have our professional branches – police, community or state emergency agencies and, if needed, the professional part of the Armed Forces – as our "first in" capacity. As a supplement to this we have our volunteer forces within the Civil Emergency Agency and the Home Guard which can reinforce the professional forces within hours.

But the combined professional and volunteer force will only have the needed manpower for a shorter period of operations. Securing airports, bridges, power plants, government buildings and other vital infrastructure for a longer period requires larger numbers of personnel. Therefore a Total Defence Force with personnel strength of 12,000 will be introduced.

Conscription

The conscripts in the Total Defence Force will receive four months of training. Approximately 6,500 conscripts will be called up each year (today we call up 9,000). Let me address a common misunderstanding:

We do not intend to train traditional soldiers in only four months.

We will train conscripts for four months for national total defence or "homeland security" tasks. Training soldiers for our internationally deployable forces requires at least 9 month additional training.

Our experience with recruitment from our conscripts today shows that this ambition of recruiting 20% of the 6,500 conscripts is realistic. It is also our experience that recruitment of conscripts offers a broader and better recruitment

base for the professional armed forces. All segments of society will be represented: The rich, the poor – the smart, and the not quite so smart guys.

THE ISTANBUL SUMMIT

Let me finally elaborate a bit on the decisions at the Istanbul Summit. I find that some of the media coverage in Denmark of the Istanbul Summit has not given NATO enough credit. You will have seen headlines in the media like "NATO's continued disagreement on Iraq displayed at the Summit".

Sometimes there is very much focus on areas where there may not be total agreement in NATO, and less attention to what the Alliance achieves in its results in many other areas. To me it is clear: The Alliance is very much alive and kicking! NATO makes a difference every day, for countries as well as for individuals.

NATO projects stability. Ask the people in Srebrenica. The city was once the sad testimony of ethnic hatred. For the people in the Balkans NATO has made a difference. The difference between life and death, the difference between despair and hope, the difference between progress and decline.

NATO engages partners in cooperation promoting democratic rule, individual liberty, and the rule of law. Partnership for Peace has been the untold story of success. In 1999 NATO could welcome three new members in the Alliance. And in March this year NATO welcomed seven new additional members! It is a healing of a European continent that too often has been torn apart by war.

So, NATO makes a difference every day. But it has required and still requires transformation of the Alliance and of the Armed Forces of the member states. The Istanbul Summit brought the Alliance forward in this respect.

Let me give you my five headlines from the Summit:

- "NATO expands its presence in Afghanistan",
- "NATO is ready to get more involved in the reconstruction and stabilisation of Iraq",
- "NATO presence no longer needed in Bosnia Herzegovina",
- "NATO widens and deepens partnerships and offers cooperation to the countries in the Middle East" and last but not least
- "NATO strengthens its military capabilities".

Let me say a few words about each of these headlines.

Afghanistan

At the Istanbul Summit it was decided that NATO will expand its presence in Afghanistan. ISAF – NATO's stabilisation Force – has brought stability and order to Kabul after three decades of war. At the Istanbul summit NATO decided to expand ISAF to provide stability and to enhance support for the upcoming elections. Denmark is ready to enlarge its contribution to ISAF in 2005. It is still on the drawing board. But Denmark is looking into the possibilities of a contribution to a Provincial Reconstruction Team in Northern Afghanistan, probably in cooperation with Germany.

And we should not forget that Denmark has had a substantial military contribution in Afghanistan for two and a half years. Currently it stands at 72 soldiers.

Iraq

10 days ago I visited the Danish troops in Iraq. A force of 520 soldiers. They are doing a very fine job and giving the local Iraqi population hope for a better future. Those troops are – together with other forces in the coalition – on the leading edge of NATO's transformation efforts, and their operational circumstances reflect the new realities.

It is my firm belief that our military presence has created the grounds for stabilisation in the area, and it is important to stay until Iraqi security forces can protect the population against criminals and extremists – we owe that to the Iraqi people.

I therefore find it very positive that NATO at the Summit decided to answer the call from Prime Minister Ayad Allawi of Iraq by offering NATO's assistance to the Government of Iraq with the training of its security forces.

We are also looking into the possibility of Denmark supporting this NATO initiative. Denmark has already given similar support with an amount of DKK 10 million in 2004 to the Afghan National Army.

Let me also welcome the decision to hand over power from the coalition to the Iraqi people. If we think about the many sceptic voices we have heard about the ability of the Iraqis to take over power, this development is truly remarkable.

SFOR

At the Summit NATO agreed to conclude the successful SFOR Operation. Think back ten years: Most of us will remember the TV-pictures of children in Sarajevo running in zigzag trying to avoid sniper bullets. Today the situation has been stabilised. And the EU will launch a new mission based upon the Berlin Plus agree-

ment with NATO and drawing upon the full spectrum of means available to the EU.

Partnerships

The Istanbul Summit decided to refocus PfP so that it can better support the fight against terrorism and assist in building democratic defence institutions in the partner countries. Of special priority are the partners in the regions of Central Asia and Caucasus. In light of this development, it was decided at the Summit to appoint a Special Representative of the Secretary General to Central Asia and Caucasus.

Furthermore, in Istanbul it was decided to strengthen Mediterranean dialogue by applying some of the tools which have proved their worth in the PfP. The cooperation with the countries in the Mediterranean will thus become more practical and tailored to the needs of the single country.

It was also decided to invite countries in the wider Middle East area to increased cooperation with NATO. If we can be just half as successful in cooperation with these countries as we have been with the PfP countries, we have a success in the making.

I find these outreach activities very relevant, as they strengthen the fight against terrorism and foster defence reforms.

Transformation, Capabilities

Finally, but very important – and with a solid Danish fingerprint – NATO also took steps to encourage and facilitate transformation and strengthen military capabilities. I find this crucial for our ability to cope with the new threats and security challenges. The capabilities needed today and in the future are different from the capabilities needed during the Cold War. We must be able to deploy and sustain our forces in areas far beyond Alliance territory – and our forces must be able to undertake the full range of missions, ranging from peacekeeping to high-intensity war fighting. This is a major challenge, not only for the Alliance but for all allies, including Denmark.

Among the new initiatives on the Istanbul capabilities agenda, I would like to highlight the revision of NATO defence planning procedures and the initiative to increase usability of NATO forces.

Denmark has been an active contributor to the work on improving NATO's mechanisms for development of military capabilities. I therefore welcome the results of the revision of NATO Defence Planning Process as agreed in Istanbul. To name a few other elements of the new process, it is now more transparent and streamlined. It includes a prioritised step-by-step approach to delivering the needed

capabilities, and the planning horizon is extended to ten years. We have taken an important step in the right direction that should facilitate capability improvements and lead to greater commitment and ownership by nations.

For NATO's operations, it is essential that member states can deliver the number of usable and deployable forces that are required. The demand is high. However, too great a proportion of the military forces of the NATO countries cannot be deployed and used for operations outside Alliance territory. I am therefore pleased that we at Istanbul managed to take a first step towards increasing the usability of Alliance forces. One element was to agree on intensifying national efforts, so that 40% of each nation's land forces are structured, prepared and equipped for deployed operations, and that 8% of the land forces' strength can be continuously deployed.

When the new defence agreement is implemented, Denmark will be able to fulfil this target.

After Istanbul, we need to continue efforts to develop deployable and usable forces that can be used for the full range of Alliance missions. Setting a sharper focus on output criteria can be an important driver in the transformation of the Alliance. Focusing more on what nations can deliver for operations should be a transformation incentive to nations. And it should increase the pool of available deployable forces. Supplementing the more traditional input criteria, output indicators will also contribute to a better picture of how we share the burden within the Alliance.

For me the NATO Summit was a success. In the words of the Secretary General, the summit gave further shape and substance to the new NATO – and ensured that it can play its new role to the full.

CONCLUSION

Let me sum up: Implementation of the new defence agreement covering 2005-2009 will mean a comprehensive transformation of the Danish Armed Forces.

I believe that the new defence agreement will substantially strengthen Denmark's toolbox both in a national and international perspective. In my regard the new Danish defence agreement is fully in line with the continued transformation efforts in NATO.

I think it is fair to say that in the past years we have certainly made our fair share of contributions to Peace Support Operations in the Balkans, in Afghanistan as well as in Iraq. But in the future we will be able to double that effort if needed.

Thank you.

Speech by Minister for Integration and Development Cooperation Bertel Haarder at the "Conference on Women, Peace and Security", Copenhagen, 9 September 2004

It is a pleasure for me to address members of the panel and all the participants at the closure of today's Conference on Women, Peace and Security.

Unfortunately, I have not been able to participate in your discussions due to urgent government obligations.

The conference has introduced the topic of women, peace and security in light of Security Council Resolution 1325. I will carefully consider how your discussions on possibilities, challenges and dilemmas can be used in our humanitarian assistance and development cooperation.

A few weeks ago I introduced the new Strategy on Gender Equality in Danish Development Cooperation. Its objective is to promote gender equality in rights, access to and control over resources and access to political and economic influence. Violence against women in times of peace and conflict and resolution 1325 are some of the priority areas.

Security Council Resolution 1325 focuses on the need to protect the human rights of women. It also underlines the need to use the resources possessed by women before, during and after a conflict situation. Actors at all levels need to consider how to do this in the best and most effective way. We need both mainstreaming and targeted interventions. That is the approach in the new Strategy for Gender Equality in Danish Development Cooperation.

As a starting point, there is a need to promote gender equality and human rights in general. Improving women's rights will have a bearing on how they are affected by armed conflict. In the long run, improved equality between women and men will also increase the integration and participation of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, at the peace negotiating table, when drafting the new constitution or preparing for elections. In this respect education for girls and women is very important. So are efforts to empower women and girls in order for them to demand and make use of their rights, to think and to act freely, to take decisions and to fulfil their own potential as full and equal members of society.

Building democratic state structures, institutions and mechanisms that can mediate and reconcile conflicting interests in a non-violent way is very much what development cooperation is about. Such institutions – if considered legitimate by all parties – are perhaps the best conflict prevention mechanisms that exist. They can translate conflicting interest into becoming a non-violent dynamic force that moves societies forward to the benefit of women and men. In that respect they are necessary for sustainable peace and security, for addressing poverty reduction and the development potential of countries and their human resources – both those of women and men.

In South Africa and Uganda and other countries Denmark has assisted in drawing up new constitutions that include gender equality. In Afghanistan we have supported the preparation for presidential and parliamentary elections. 40 per cent of the registered voters in Afghanistan are women. That is impressive in light of the history of the country.

In many parts of the world state structures do not work in a conflict preventive way. That has devastating consequences for millions of people.

So, we both need to prevent and resolve conflicts.

Unfortunately, conflicts tend not to evolve along a straight line from destructive violence to peace, security and development. Rather, they tend to move in circles. It is estimated that 40 percent of countries emerging from conflict, slide back into conflict. In Africa this figure constitutes 60 percent. When we all thought that Sudan was on the way to peace, the situation in Darfur arose. And in Central Africa around the Democratic Republic of Congo, war seems to re-erupt in many places.

Armed conflict affects women and men in different ways. And I have been shocked by the scale and character of violence committed against women and girls and sometimes boys in conflict situations. Disgusted by the deliberate use of rape, sexual abuse and HIV/AIDS as a weapon of war, which is completely unacceptable and utterly deplorable from all points of view. Even more so, in the rare but existing instances, where the people sent to protect and assist have used their position to abuse. We will apply zero tolerance in such cases.

However, women are not only victims. The resources they possess have struck me. They tend to be the sole providers and protectors of their families under extremely difficult circumstances in the local community, in the refugee camps or as internally displaced. They engage in peacebuilding initiatives and reconstruction efforts.

We need to do everything we can to improve the protection of their human rights and to make use of their resources to the benefit of themselves, their families, communities and countries. Everything but that would be a violation of rights and a waste of valuable resources.

To respond efficiently to conflicts in both the short and long term, we need to improve our humanitarian assistance and our assistance in the region of origin. We need to able to provide these women and men affected by conflict with a perspective and a future in their own countries.

It is also necessary to improve the coordination between our different interventions better. It is important to establish better links between humanitarian assistance, reconstruction and development assistance.

Finally, coordination between the various actors involved and their civilian and military instruments and capabilities must be improved. That applies to the UN, the multilateral and regional organisations, bilateral donors and countries, humanitarian organisations and NGOs. The Danish Government is working to that effect.

The Government has launched initiatives to improve the coordination of Danish civilian and military contributions to conflict resolution as well as our humanitarian and civilian efforts. Up to 15 million Danish kroner has been allocated to humanitarian interventions by Danish armed forces abroad, which is especially relevant where the security situation makes it impossible for NGOs to work.

A lot can and must be done in different areas. Let me mention a couple of examples to illustrate the diversity of possible interventions

At the international level, Denmark has been an active supporter of the international criminal tribunals, which prosecute those responsible for crimes against humanity, war crimes and genocide. That includes the tribunals for Rwanda, Ex-Yugoslavia, Sierra Leone and The International Criminal Court. In 2001 the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia was the first judicial body to define mass rape and sexual enslavement as crimes against humanity. I can only agree with Amnesty International, which called this landmark decision "a significant step for women's human rights" and called for all the perpetrators of these crimes to be held to account.

At the multilateral level, the Danish Government has supported the development of the gender resource package for the Department for Peacekeeping Operations in the UN. The objective was to strengthen mainstreaming of gender in all aspects of multidimensional peacekeeping operations and reporting and monitoring of the effects.

In a regional context, Denmark's Africa Programme for Peace will promote the implementation of resolution 1325 within the African Union and the regional orga-

nisations dealing with peace and security on the continent – ECOWAS in West Africa, IGAD in East Africa and SADC in Southern Africa.

Bilaterally, Denmark has contributed police officers as civilian observers to international missions in Sri Lanka and the Nuba Mountains in Sudan. They observe and report misconduct to the local authorities. This may serve as a basis for dialogue between involved parties and a possible first step towards legal proceedings.

In Iraq, Denmark supports the training of local police middle management in what it means to carry out police work in a democracy with respect for good governance and human rights, to make all citizens gradually trust their own police force.

There is a need to break new ground because the issues of women, peace and security cut across all our areas of intervention and cooperation. I will strive to do so. I expect to become inspired by your discussions here today. I also hope that all of you have been inspired to take the work forward in your own context and to cooperate and share experience in the future.

Thank you.

Article by Minister for Integration and Development Cooperation Bertel Haarder in *Development Today*, 2 November 2004

Danish Minister for Integration and Development Cooperation Bertel Haarder calls for coherent policies in aid and trade, tax laws, anti-corruption efforts and foreign investment, as well as refugee policies at home and abroad. Critics who argue that helping refugees in regions of origin is simply a way of blocking their entry to Denmark are missing the point.

Development cooperation is all about change. The objective is to change the root causes of poverty. But even as we attack poverty the world is twisting and turning in ways we never expected. Only by constantly questioning and adjusting our development policies can we hope to be up to the task.

In many ways our development policies are under swift transformation. These last years we have seen very positive trends in effective delivery of aid and ownership of policies by developing countries. But there is still a lot to be done by the governments in the recipient countries, as documented in the World Bank's study Removing Obstacles to Growth 2004. One issue that seems to elude change is the persisting lack of coherence in donor policies towards the developing countries.

When it comes to coherence, action is almost as pitiful as the words are plentiful. The lacklustre support for the EU Commission's effort to open development contracts to EU bidding is one example. A hefty development budget combined with subsidies and prohibitive agricultural tariffs is another.

But in fact we need to go even further than just looking at coherence between our trade and development policies. We need much more coherence across the board: between our tax laws and our anti-corruption efforts, between development assistance, foreign investments and remittances from overseas workers and between our refugee policies at home and abroad, just to name some examples.

The Danish government's decision to have one minister in charge of the Ministry of Integration and the Ministry of Development is one way of trying to approach the world on a more global scale. It is the logical consequence of looking at Danish domestic and foreign policies as complementary – not separate – issues.

Today more than 30 million people are fleeing from violence and war, either as internally displaced in their own countries or as refugees in neighbouring or more distant countries. Still more leave their homes and many their countries in the search

of a job and a future, often as illegal migrants. Influxes of refugees and migrants have large social consequences for those affected, for their home countries, which are drained of human resources, and for the countries receiving them.

Clearly we need to focus more on these people's needs at a far earlier stage. By reacting faster, by providing better security, and by engaging more effectively in conflict resolution. A quick and effective response to an international crisis is to the benefit of everyone. The costs of supporting one refugee in Denmark are equivalent to what it costs to help one hundred refugees in their region of origin.

At the same time, we need to soften the sharp distinction between humanitarian assistance and long-term development support. The distinction does not help solve the problems we are facing, providing refugees with suitable and durable long-term solutions. At the same time, we must help ensure local stability and sustainability by addressing the problems of the host populations who live in areas inhabited by refugees.

Some people see this policy as aimed at preventing refugees from coming to Denmark. They miss the point altogether. The numbers speak for themselves: 1 or 2 per cent of all poor refugees flee the developing world. Focusing more on the 98-99 per cent, who are often amongst the poorest of the poor, will make no real difference in the numbers arriving in Europe. But it can make a world of difference to the people we help.

It brings hope. To the family that finds a shelter. To the mother who finds food. To the children who can go to school.

Civilian and military cooperation is another important area to rethink. With the growing realisation that security is closely linked to sustainable development, we need to look closely at the dynamics between our civilian and military efforts. The successful election in Afghanistan is the best example so far. Yes, there were flaws and problems. But together swift military action and large scale civilian assistance have brought the Afghan people closer to democracy than ever. In three short years.

By following up on our military action with an effective civilian effort, our soldiers were seen for what they are: providers of peace and security for the civilian population. Not an occupation force or a new oppressor. Clearly a major success for everyone involved – most importantly, the Afghan people.

Coherence is an important step towards a better development policy. But there are of course no easy solutions, no quick fixes or actions that will suddenly solve the world's poverty problems. But by accepting change as part of our work, and allowing ourselves and others to challenge what we think is right today, there is a greater chance that we might just meet with success tomorrow.

CHAPTER 3
Danish Foreign Policy in Figures

Danish Official Development Assistance

Danish Official Development Assistance (ODA) 2001-2004

(Current prices – million DKK)	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**
ODA net disbursement	12,805.8	10,621.8	10,453.2	10,349.3

Danish ODA – by category (gross): The Finance Act 2004

	Million DKK	**Percentage**
Bilateral assistance	6,306.7	59.9
Multilateral assistance	4,216.8	40.1
Administration costs	-	-
Total	**10,523.5**	**100**

Danish Bilateral Assistance (by country category) 2001-2004

		2001	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**
Least developed	Million DKK	3,056.3	2,772.7	2,838.4	2,861.4
Countries	Per cent	47.5%	47.2%	49.0%	47.3%
Low income	Million DKK	1,610.2	1,532.6	1,585.5	1,823.0
Countries	Per cent	25.0%	26.1%	27.4%	30.1%
Other developing	Million DKK	921.6	713.0	531,4	730.7
Countries	Per cent	14.3%	14.3%	9.2%	12.1%
Other	Million DKK	851.5	858.1	834.7	639.7
	Per cent	13.2%	14.6%	14.4%	10.5%
Total	**Million DKK**	**6,439.6**	**5,876.4**	**5,789.9**	**6,054.8**
	Per cent	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100%**	**100%**

Source: *Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs*

Assistance to Eastern Europe

Danish Official Development Assistance to Eastern Europe 2004 (by country)

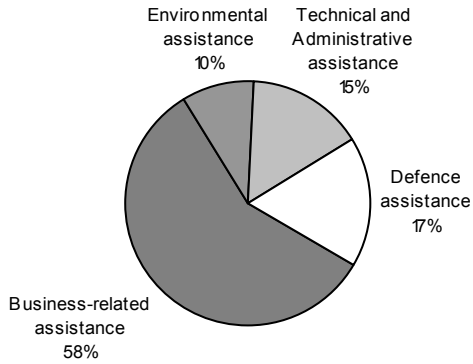
	DKK	Percentage
Albania	200.000	0,0%
Belarus	6.047.738	0,7%
Bosnia-Herzegovina	13.136.158	1,5%
Bulgaria	91.783.602	10,3%
Croatia	16.468.362	1,8%
Czech Republic	132.992.656	14,9%
Estonia	37.089.601	4,2%
FYROM	668.000	0,1%
Georgia	4.674.742	0,5%
Hungary	227.771	0,0%
Latvia	42.277.948	4,7%
Lithuania	32.315.614	3,6%
Moldova	937.500	0,1%
Poland	799.185	0,1%
Rumania	13.550.161	1,5%
Russia	171.666.331	19,2%
Serbia-Montenegro	108.529.932	12,2%
Slovak Republic	234.550	0,0%
Slovenia	378.343	0,0%
Turkey	24.071.770	2,7%
Ukraine	71.815.513	8,0%
Newly acceded and accession countries to the EU	1.275.866	0,1%
Western Balkans unallocated	48.213.842	5,4%
Baltic Sea area unallocated	35.924.946	4,0%
Neighbourhood Programme countries unallocated	37.403.134	4,2%
Total	**892.483.266**	**100,0%**

Source: *Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs*

Danish Official Development Assistance to Eastern Europe (by sector)

	DKK
Environmental assistance	86.455.936
Business-related assistance	516.181.601
Technical and Administrative assistance	134.988.853
Defence assistance	154.856.876
Total bilateral assistance	**892.483.266**

Percentage (by sector)



Source: *Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs*

The surveys reflect information received by the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs from the relevant ministries (on projects in Eastern Europe, including the investments in shares and loans from "The Investment Fund for CEEC").

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

Defence

Defence Expenditures to International Missions

(This years prices – million DKK)	**2000**	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**	**2005**
NATO[1]	646,6	658,5	650,8	726,0	912,1	973,4
Participation in UN, OSCE-, and NATO-missions[2]	1.134,7	912,5	1.037,4	1.084,7	1.003,9	1.037,0
EU-monitors and OSCE-observers[2]	11,2	6,7	7,8	5,7	5,7	5,7
East Cooperation	73,4	83,8	104,2	92,5	77,9	70,0
International expenditures in total	**1.865,9**	**1.661,5**	**1.800,2**	**1.908,9**	**1.999,6**	**2.086,1**

[1] *Including 'special expenditures regarding NATO' plus expenditures for NATO staffs (net).*
[2] *The expenditures are made up of the gross numbers including stocks.*
For 2000-2003 account numbers have been used. For 2004-2005 budget numbers have been used.
Source: *The Danish Ministry of Defence*

EU

Financing of the EU Budget 2003 (official exchange rate)

	Billion euro	Percentage
Austria	2,308	2,19%
Belgium	4,035	3,83%
Cyprus	0,144	0,14%
Denmark	**2,130**	**2,02%**
Estonia	0,100	0,10%
Finland	1,544	1,47%
France	17,303	16,44%
Germany	22,218	21,11%
Greece	1,882	1,79%
Hungary	1,003	0,95%
Ireland	1,341	1,27%
Italy	14,359	13,64%
Latvia	0,115	0,11%
Lithuania	0,221	0,21%
Luxembourg	0,241	0,23%
Malta	0,057	0,05%
Netherlands	5,552	5,28%
Poland	2,099	1,99%
Portugal	1,443	1,37%
Slovakia	0,393	0,37%
Slovenia	0,299	0,29%
Spain	8,957	8,51%
Sweden	2,832	2,69%
Czech Republic	0,932	0,89%
United Kingdom	13,739	13,05%
Total	**105,259**	**100%**

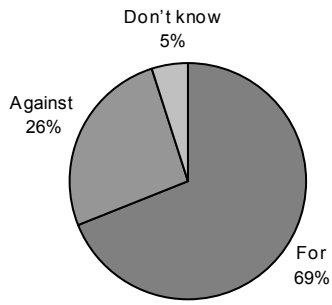
Source: *EU-Tidende*

CHAPTER 4
Opinion Polls

THE EU

Since 1972, Gallup has polled a representative sample of the Danish population (965 respondents aged 18 or older in 2004) concerning their attitude towards Danish membership of the EC/EU. The latest opinion poll was undertaken during the period 11 May – 20 May 2005.

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

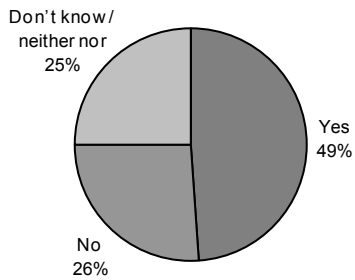


Source: *Gallup* for *Berlingske Tidende*

THE NEW EU TREATY

During the period 3 November – 7 November 2004 Gallup, in cooperation with *Berlingske Tidende*, polled a representative sample of the Danish population (994 people aged 18 or older) concerning their attitude towards the new EU treaty.

Question: *The new treaty is being supported by a large political majority in the Folketing. Will you on this background vote yes to the treaty in the coming referendum?*



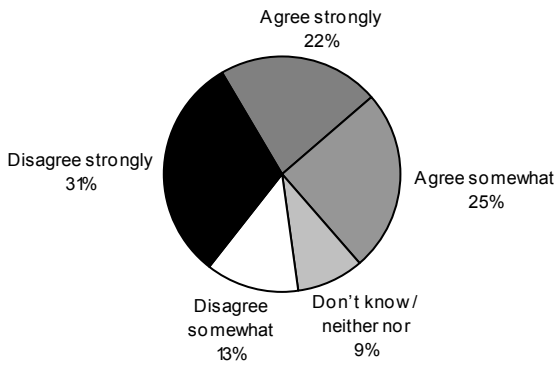
Source: *Gallup* for *Berlingske Tidende*

During the period 11 May – 20 May 2005 Gallup, in cooperation with *Berlingske Tidende*, polled a representative sample of the Danish population (965 people aged 18 or older) concerning their attitudes towards the EU Treaty proposal.

EU Presidency

At the moment, the member countries take turns to fill the EU Presidency. In the treaty proposal it is suggested that a chairman or a president is appointed to lead the cooperation for several years at a time and act as the Union's public image.

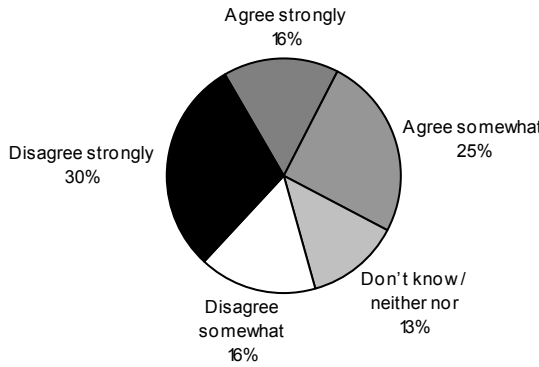
Question: *Do you agree with/support this proposal?*



Decision-making Procedure

In the treaty proposal it is suggested, in order to secure decision-making in an enlarged EU that more decisions are made by majority vote and that individual member countries cannot veto.

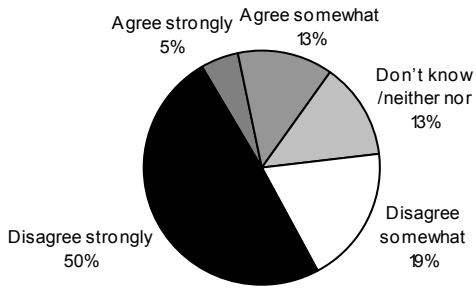
Question: *Do you agree with/support this idea?*



A and B Commissioners

According to the treaty proposal, all member countries continue to appoint an EU commissioner, but in order to secure the efficiency of the Commission only half of them are granted voting rights in major decisions.

Question: *Do you agree with/support such a grouping of the Commission in A and B commissioners?*

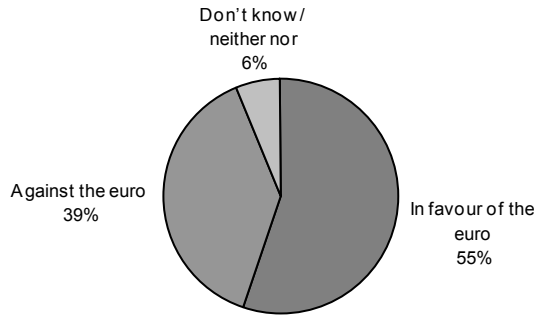


Source: *Gallup* for *Berlingske Tidende*

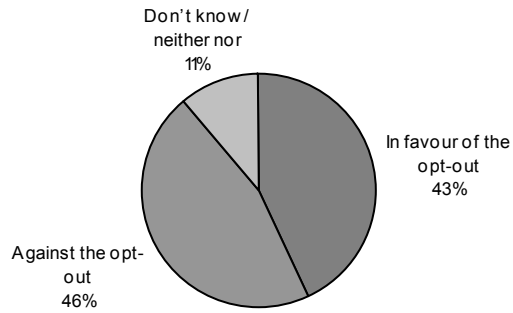
THE DANISH EU OPT-OUTS

During the period 11 May – 29 May 2004 Gallup, in cooperation with *Berlingske Tidende*, polled a representative sample of the Danish population (965 people aged 18 or older) concerning their attitudes towards the four Danish EU opt-outs.

Single European Currency
Question: *Are you for or against Denmark's participation in the Single European Currency?*

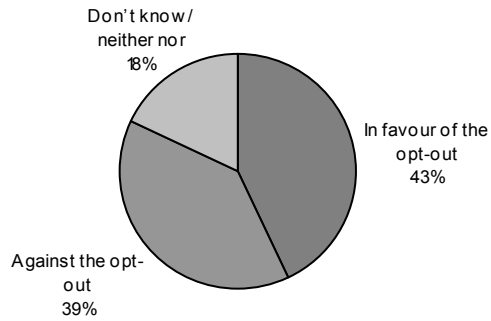


Defence Cooperation
Question: *Are you for or against keeping the Danish opt-out concerning defence co-operation?*



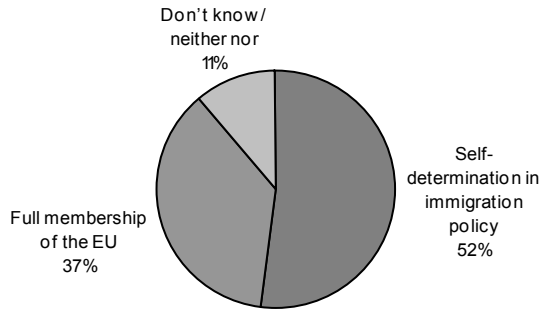
Justice and Immigration Policy

Question: *Are you for or against keeping the Danish opt-out concerning justice and immigration policy?*



Importance of Self-determination in Immigrant Policy

Question: *What do you think is most important: Self-determination in immigration policy or full membership of the European Union?*



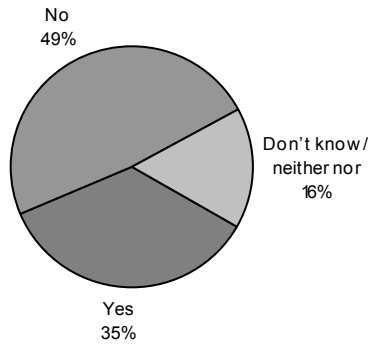
Source: *Gallup* for *Berlingske Tidende*

ENLARGEMENT OF THE EU

During the period 1 December – 7 December 2004 Gallup, in cooperation with *Berlingske Tidende*, polled a representative sample of the Danish population (1019 people aged 18 or older) concerning their attitudes towards the enlargement of the EU.

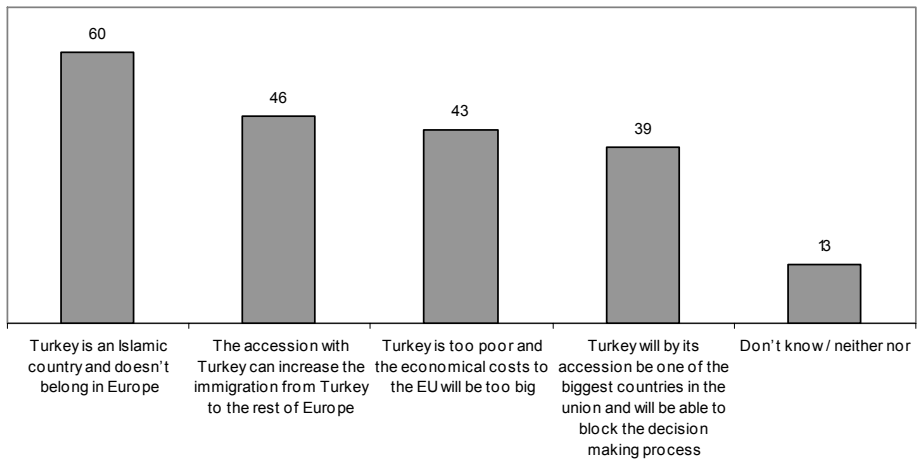
Accession Negotiations

Question: *EU's heads of State and Government are in December expected to agree on starting accession negotiations with Turkey regarding future membership. Do you support this decision?*



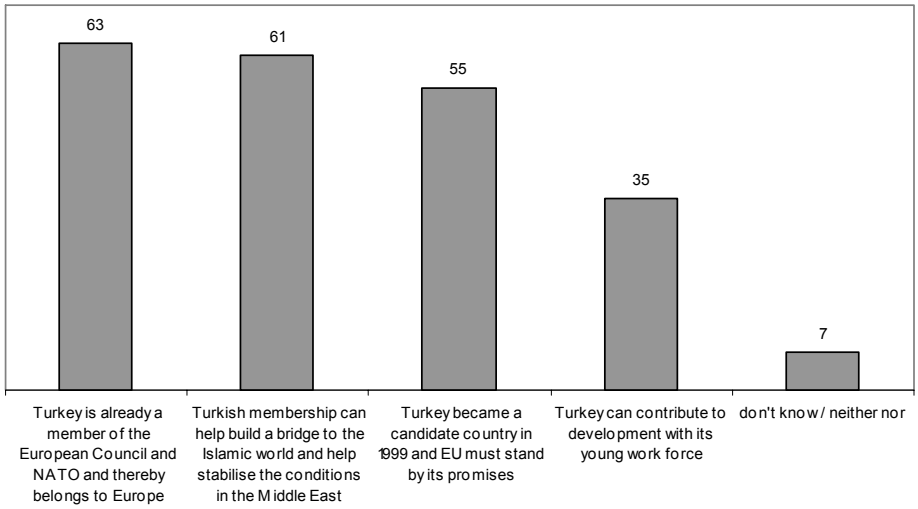
Main Reasons why EU should not start Negotiations

Question: *What are the main reasons why you believe EU should not start accession negotiations with Turkey?*



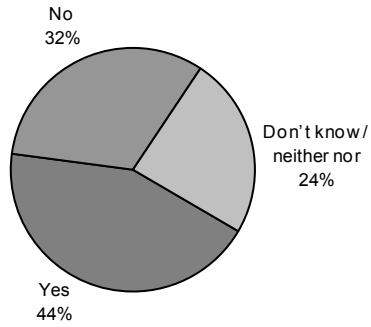
Main Reasons why EU should start Negotiations

Question: *What are the main reasons why the EU should start accession negotiations with Turkey?*



Accessions Negotiations with Ukraine

Question: *Do you think that EU should start accession negotiations with Ukraine?*



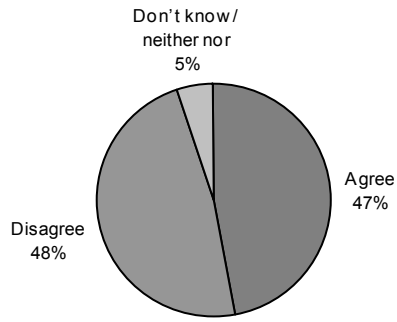
Source: *Gallup* for *Berlingske Tidende*

IRAQ

During the period 12 February – 13 February 2004 Gallup, in cooperation with *Berlingske Tidende*, polled a representative sample of the Danish population (1424 people aged 18 or older) concerning their attitudes towards the situation in Iraq.

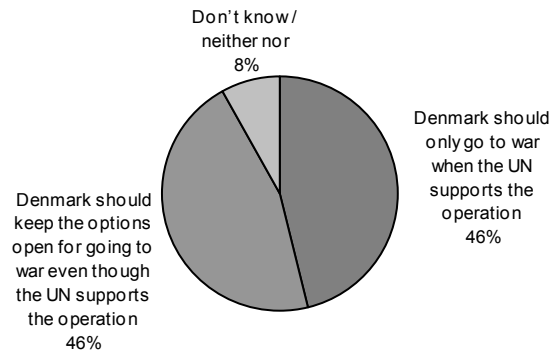
Weapons of Mass Destruction

Question: *Do you agree that the Danish explanation to go to war against Iraq has been weakened due to the fact that no weapons of mass destruction have been found in Iraq?*



UN Support

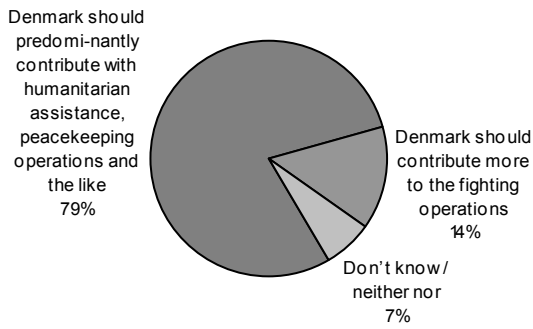
Question: *The war in Iraq was not supported by the UN. Which of these two statements do you agree with the most?*



Danish Contributions to Fighting Operations

Denmark's engagement in international conflicts has in the past been dominated by humanitarian assistance, peacekeeping military operations and the like.

Question: *Do you agree that Denmark should continue along this path or should we increase the Danish contribution to fighting operations which have been advocated in connection with the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq?*

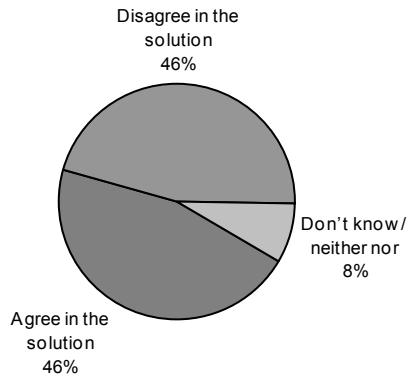


Source: *Gallup* for *Berlingske Tidende*

During the period 12 May – 13 May 2004 Gallup, in cooperation with *Berlingske Tidende*, polled a representative sample of the Danish population (786 people aged 18 or older) concerning their attitudes towards the situation in Iraq.

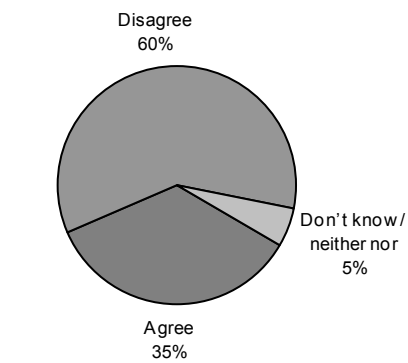
Denmark as an Active Participant

Question: *Do you agree with the solution to let Denmark participate actively in the war against Iraq with soldiers and material?*

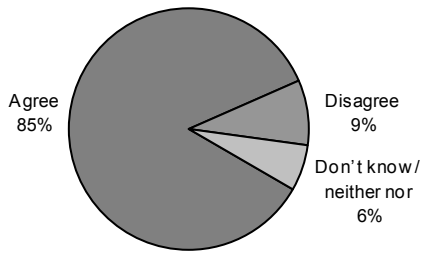


Torture of Iraqi Prisoners of War

a. Question: *Do you agree that Denmark should withdraw its forces from Iraq as a consequence of American and British soldiers being accused of abusing and humiliating Iraqi prisoners of war?*



b. Question: *Do you agree that pictures of abused and humiliated prisoners have damaged the coalition's – and thereby Denmark's – efforts to convince the Iraqi population and the Arab world about the fact, that we are in Iraq to promote democracy?*



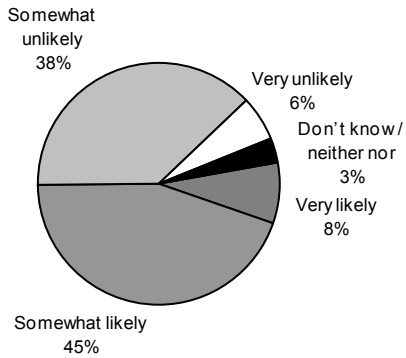
Source: *Gallup* for *Berlingske Tidende*

TERROR

During the period 14 September – 16 September 2004 Gallup, in cooperation with *Berlingske Tidende*, polled a representative sample of the Danish population (787 people aged 18 or older) concerning their attitudes towards terror.

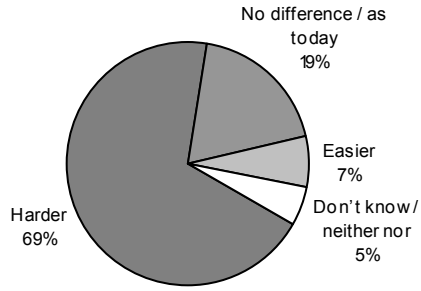
Denmark as a Target for Terrorist Acts

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



The Life of Islamic Minorities

Question: *Do you think that Islamic minorities living in the Western world in the future will find it harder or easier to live in the Western World?*



Source: *Gallup* for *Berlingske Tiden*

CHAPTER 5
Selected Bibliography

The following bibliography represents a limited selection of scholarly books, articles, and chapters published in English, German or French dealing with various elements of Danish foreign policy.

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