



GLOBAL GOVERNANCE INSTITUTE

National Backgrounders – European Foreign Policy

Country Profile

Denmark

Capital:	Copenhagen
Geographical Size:	42 915.7 km ²
Population:	5 627 235 (2014)
Population as % of total EU population:	1.1% (2014)
GDP:	€ 284.974 billion (2013)
Defense Expenditure:	€
Official EU language(s):	Danish
Political System:	Parliamentary constitutional monarchy
EU member country since:	1 January 1973
Seats in European Parliament:	13
Currency:	Danish Krone (DKK)
Schengen area member?	Schengen Area member since 25 March 2001
Presidency of the Council:	7 times between 1973 and 2012

Source: Europa.eu

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a. Political System

The Kingdom of Denmark is a parliamentary constitutional monarchy, whose framework for democracy is developed in the Constitutional Act of Denmark and in a set of fundamental principles and rules for society. The Danish Constitution provides for a division of power between the parliament, government, and courts of law. The power of the Danish monarch (currently Queen Margrethe II) is limited by the latter document, which specifies the monarch has no political power but does perform some official functions related to political life.¹

The Danish Parliament (*Folketinget*) exercises legislative power in the country. It is responsible for adopting the budget, approving the state's accounts, and exercising control of the Government. A multiplicity of political parties are represented in it, of which the most influential ones are the Liberal Party (*Venstre*), the Danish Social Democrats, the Danish People's Party, the Social Liberal Party, the Socialist People's Party, and the Red-Green Alliance. Of the total 179 members, two are elected in the Faeroe Islands and two in Greenland (part of the Unity of the Realm).²

The Government exercises executive power in Denmark. It also has a legislative influence, as most laws projects are drafted and introduced by the Government. It also acts on behalf of Denmark in its international relations (after consultation with the Parliament). It is composed of about twenty ministers, of which the Prime Minister (currently Lars Løkke Rasmussen, *Venstre*) is the head. The Danish system of government works according to 'negative parliamentarism', which means that the Government does not need to have a majority in the Parliament, but it must not have a majority against it. Therefore, it is necessary for all political parties represented in it to be able to agree and cooperate.³

The cabinet is currently made of a single-party minority government (led by the Liberal Party *Venstre* who obtained 20% of votes), the weakest formation in forty years. To secure there is no majority against it in the Parliament, Lars Løkke Rasmussen decided to ally with the anti-immigration Danish People's Party rather than with the former leading center-left Social Democrats. Rasmussen will have to rely on members from the Danish People's Party, the Liberal Alliance and the Conservative People's Party to pass any legislation.⁴

b. Foreign Policy

Since the beginning of the 21st century, Denmark has been facing new international opportunities and challenges, to which the country aims to respond by means of a foreign policy that includes **European, transatlantic, and global dimensions**⁵. Denmark is part of many international organizations in order to pursue its aim of promoting security and stability together with democracy, development, and reconstruction. It is a member of the European Union (EU), the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the United Nations (UN), and also actively participates in the Nordic and Nordic-Baltic Cooperation frameworks.⁶

¹ Jayasinghe, A. M., "Democracy", *The Danish Parliament (Folketinget)*. Web. Accessed June 2, 2015. <http://www.thedanishparliament.dk/Democracy.aspx>

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Crouch, D. "Denmark set for Liberal-led government after rightwing coalition talks fail", *The Guardian*, June 26, 2015. Web. Accessed November 10, 2015. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/26/denmark-set-for-liberal-led-government-after-rightwing-coalition-talks-fail>

⁵ "Foreign Policy", *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark*. Web. Accessed June 2, 2015. <http://um.dk/en/foreign-policy/>

⁶ "Factsheet Denmark – Foreign Policy", *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark*, October 2007. Web. Accessed June 3, 2015. http://www.netpublikationer.dk/um/8466/html/entire_publication.htm

According to the official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, the country's foreign policy currently focuses on four aspects: Denmark in the EU, the Arctic, trade Policy, and Global Green Growth. Denmark's foreign and security policy is very active, according to Bo Lidegaard's *Letter from Copenhagen* for Carnegie Europe. He says Denmark has been "one of the most **energetic** European countries in this regard". The country is strongly engaged internationally, especially relative size, which it sees as a means to achieve national interests. It is especially willing to engage with EU Member States and the United States (US). Despite Danish commitment to the European integration process, a growing portion of the population however expresses strong **Euroskepticism**.⁷ The refugee crisis deepened such thoughts with regards to migration, as the Danish Immigration Ministry led by Inger Støjberg attempted to dissuade migrants from heading to Denmark through publications in foreign newspapers and by closing motorways and rail links with Germany in September 2015⁸.

In the European neighborhood, Denmark supported the sanctions imposed on Russia following the annexation of Crimea. The country has been cooperating closely with **Ukraine** since the beginning of the crisis in 2013. Furthermore, Denmark is a fervent advocate of EU enlargement based on the achievement of the Copenhagen criteria. The country emphasized the need to not favor accession on a political basis.⁹

European Union (EU)

Denmark became part of the EU in 1973, together with its important ally the UK. The Faroe Islands are not part of the Union, as well as Greenland, which left it in 1982. Denmark also obtained **opt-outs** in the fields of justice and home affairs, the European Monetary Union (EMU), and defense policy through the **Edinburgh Agreement**, following the country's rejection of the Maastricht Treaty (1992). Today, the European Affairs Committee of the Danish Parliament controls the Government regarding its EU policy. Danish public opinion considers Denmark as being well above the EU average, trusts its national institutions more than the EU institutions, and supports a 'differentiated integration'.¹⁰

Denmark has had a **dualist approach** when it comes to the EU integration process, trying to preserve its autonomy while influencing EU policy-making (like many small states). In *Denmark and the European Union*, Lee Miles says this dualism is essentially pragmatic, depoliticized, incremental, and reactive. Danish policy-makers effectively seize opportunities and use creativity in order to pragmatically influence all EU policy fields, mostly by means of informal and ad hoc based cooperation. Moreover, most of the Danish approaches to EU policy areas (e.g. internal market, Common Agricultural Policy) have been depoliticized and normalized, with the exception of citizenship and border policies (due to the divisive Danish approach to migration). As a result, Danish policy-makers increasingly tackle European integration and thus boost their influence in the EU. Finally, Denmark's approach to the EU is reactive: as many small states, it focuses on defending its autonomy and thus take actions in reaction to new developments in the Union".¹¹

⁷ Lidegaard, B. "Letter From Copenhagen", *Judy Dempsey's Strategic Europe*, Carnegie Europe, February 13, 2015. Web. Accessed November 10, 2015. <http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/?fa=59052>

⁸ Gotev, G. "Denmark closes borders with Germany as migrants head to Sweden", *EurActiv*, September 10, 2015. Web. Accessed November 10, 2015. <http://www.euractiv.com/sections/justice-home-affairs/denmark-closes-borders-germany-migrants-head-sweden-317510>

⁹ Lidegaard, B. "Letter From Copenhagen", *Judy Dempsey's Strategic Europe*, Carnegie Europe, February 13, 2015. Web. Accessed November 10, 2015. <http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/?fa=59052>

¹⁰ Miles, L., "A Smart State Handling a Differentiated Integration Dilemma? Concluding on Denmark in the European Union", p. 1-13 In Miles, L. and Wivel, A. (ed.), *Denmark and the European Union*, London: Routledge, July 2013. Web. Accessed June 2, 2015. http://uaces.org/documents/papers/1302/miles_wivel.pdf

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1-13.

As explained by Lee Miles in the volume *Denmark and the European Union*, Denmark tends to pragmatically adapt to its external environment and seeks to influence international organization through its membership, like many small states in international relations. The author argues that Denmark has moved towards a “**smart state strategy**”, by defining political bastions on selected matters of particular interest for the country. Indeed, rather than trying to directly influence policy-making at the EU level, which would be difficult due to the low bargaining capacity of Denmark, the Danish political elite effectively communicates – nationally and internationally – its core spheres of interests and its possibilities for negotiations, which indirectly influence the supranational level. Lee Miles exposes that the key characteristics of a “smart state strategy” are: clear goals and means, focused resources and indicated willingness to negotiate, initiatives presented as being in the interest of the supranational entity, and a search for consensus among the different great powers’ interests. In that sense, Denmark takes advantage of the “differentiated integration”, increasingly becoming popular in the EU.¹²

The Arctic

As the Kingdom of Denmark (including Denmark, Greenland and the Faroe Islands) is located in the Arctic region, it is part of the country’s values, interests, and responsibility to protect it. Denmark’s Foreign Policy is greatly focused on promotion of sustainable growth and social sustainability in the Arctic, in order to advance the Danish people’s interests and to protect the region’s environment.¹³ In the Arctic Council, Denmark maintains a special link between Greenland, the Arctic and the EU to promote cooperation based on international law and mutual understanding¹⁴.

Denmark has established the *Kingdom’s Strategy for the Arctic 2011-2020*, in which steps are organized towards:

- A peaceful, secure and safe Arctic.
- Self-sustaining growth and development.
- Development with respect for the Arctic’s climate, environment, and nature.
- Close cooperation with our international partners.
- Implementation and follow-up.¹⁵

It is principally focused on development, in the interest of the Arctic’s inhabitants, and based on cooperation between the different policy actors of the region. It aims at taking decisions on use and management of resources and on environmental protection that are in accordance with international obligations and based on the best possible solutions. Also, the *Kingdom’s Strategy for the Arctic* provides for a security policy based on prevention of conflicts and of militarization of the region. Finally, the objective of this strategy is to focus on Denmark’s priorities for future development in the Arctic, and to strengthen its status as a global player in the region.¹⁶

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 13-17.

¹³ “Foreign Policy”, *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark*. Web. Accessed June 2, 2015. <http://um.dk/en/foreign-policy/>

¹⁴ Lidegaard, B. “Letter From Copenhagen”, *Judy Dempsey’s Strategic Europe*, Carnegie Europe, February 13, 2015. Web. Accessed November 10, 2015. <http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/?fa=59052>

¹⁵ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, *Kingdom of Denmark Strategy for the Arctic 2011-2020*, August 2011, p. 5. Web. Accessed June 2, 2015. <http://um.dk/en/~/-/media/UM/English-site/Documents/Politics-and-diplomacy/Greenland-and-The-Faroe-Islands/Arctic%20strategy.pdf>

¹⁶ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, *Kingdom of Denmark Strategy for the Arctic 2011-2020*, August 2011, p. 5. Web. Accessed June 2, 2015. <http://um.dk/en/~/-/media/UM/English-site/Documents/Politics-and-diplomacy/Greenland-and-The-Faroe-Islands/Arctic%20strategy.pdf>

Nordic Countries

Through the **Nordic Council** and the **Nordic Council of Ministers**, Denmark participates in the Nordic Cooperation (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden), which is a very comprehensive regional partnership. The cooperation is based on Nordic common values and willingness to improve dynamic development and Nordic competencies and competitiveness. In 2015, Denmark held the Presidency of the Nordic Council of Ministers, which focused on growth, welfare, common values and the Arctic. A concrete example of outcome of the Nordic Cooperation is the common Nordic embassy complex in Berlin, Germany. It also has created a research partnership (**NordForsk**), which actively participates in the EU research and innovation policy, particularly the European Research Area (**ERA**).¹⁷

c. Peace & Security Policy

According to the Danish Defence Agreement of 2014-2017, the country's defense principal aims are:

- Enforcing the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Denmark.
- Ensuring the continued existence, integrity and safety of the nation.
- Continuing to gain international recognition through participation in international operations.
- Contributing to the protection of Danish foreign and security policy, and of Danish national security, through international deployment of military capabilities.

The country pursued a neutrality policy before the Cold War, but eventually focused on its alliance with NATO, which resulted in strong bilateral relationship with the USA.

Its defense is focused on a **pro-active** foreign and security policy in the prevention of conflicts and in the promotion of democracy, freedom, and human rights. Its approach to peace and security is **comprehensive** and looks forward to collaborate with international organizations such as the EU and UN, and especially NATO.¹⁸

Since 2001, Denmark has increased its military contributions to interventions overseas within NATO and EU frameworks. Today, political willingness to engage in the latter remains high. Denmark's emphasis on civilian efforts appears to have weakened over time, as demonstrated by its involvement in Afghanistan¹⁹. This however did not compromise the Danish focus on **social and institutional development**. It is likely that Denmark will promote the development of the EU's strategic capacity related to post-conflict reconstruction and nation-building in the future.²⁰

¹⁷ "Factsheet Denmark – Foreign Policy", *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark*, October 2007. Web. Accessed June 3, 2015. http://www.netpublikationer.dk/um/8466/html/entire_publication.htm ; Foreign Policy", *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark*. Web. Accessed June 2, 2015. <http://um.dk/en/foreign-policy/>

¹⁸ Ministry of Defence of Denmark, *Danish Defence Agreement 2013-2017*, Copenhagen, November 30, 2012. Web. Accessed June 4, 2015. <http://www.fmn.dk/eng/allabout/Documents/TheDanishDefenceAgreement2013-2017english-version.pdf>

¹⁹ In Afghanistan, Denmark provided fifty training and advisory personnel, support and staff (two helicopters and about 75 personnel), and logistical, administrative and technical support (about 20 persons) to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) (n.a. "The Danish engagement in Afghanistan", Denmark Ministry of Defence, March 20, 2015. Web. Accessed November 10, 2015. <http://www.fmn.dk/eng/allabout/Pages/TheDanishengagementinAfghanistan.aspx>

²⁰ Lidegaard, B. "Letter From Copenhagen", *Judy Dempsey's Strategic Europe*, Carnegie Europe, February 13, 2015. Web. Accessed November 10, 2015. <http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/?fa=59052>

European Union (EU)

As Denmark is a member of the EU since 1973, it is involved in the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP). It however obtained **opt-outs** in the field of defense policy through the **Edinburgh Agreement**, and thus is not part of the European Defense Agency (EDA), which works on developing defense capabilities of EU countries and promoting cooperation in the field. In fact, “Denmark does not participate in the formulation and implementation of EU decisions and actions which have defense implication”²¹. The country can however participate in the civilian aspects of the CSDP²². Denmark overall weakly supports the defense role of the EU. In fact, the Danish public opinion shows the lowest agreement within EU countries on the role of EU institutions about decisions of European defense. Denmark is nonetheless considered as having a high level of control over EU military deployments, according to a study conducted by Wolfgang Wagner²³.

Denmark is the only EU country to stand out of the CSDP, which was initially not supported by the political elite but pushed by public opinion. It is a clear loss for the EU framework, as the CSDP functioning and thinking is overall in line with Danish defense policy. The Danish military logic that the country should prepare to a **multinational era** and be able to participate in out-of-area missions refutes the CSDP opt-out.²⁴ This situation is however probably not going to change any time soon, given the newly established Eurosceptic leverage in the Danish Parliament.

Nordic Defence Cooperation (NORDEFECO)

As part of the Nordic countries, Denmark participates in the Nordic Defence Cooperation (NORDEFECO), which focuses on political and military collaboration within its Policy Steering Committee. This structure implements cooperation activities, which are put into action by existing chains of command (e.g. the UN). It was established in 2009, merging together the previous three Nordic common defense structures: NORDCAPS (peace support education and training), NORDAC (armament cooperation) and NORDSUP (enhanced cooperation). The main objective of the organization is to strengthen the participating nations’ (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden) national defense, explore collaborations, and facilitate efficient common solutions.²⁵

The chairmanship of the organization was led by Denmark in 2012, which focused on strengthening the political dialogue between the member states, especially concerning capability building in East Africa in the framework of the UN, cooperation in the Arctic, and joint Nordic initiatives in the fields of materiel, education and training.²⁶

²¹ “European Defence Strategy”, *Europa*. Web. Accessed June 4, 2015.

http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/foreign_and_security_policy/cfsp_and_esdp_implementation/r00002_en.htm

²² “Factsheet Denmark – Foreign Policy”, *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark*, October 2007. Web. Accessed June 3, 2015. http://www.netpublikationer.dk/um/8466/html/entire_publication.htm

²³ Hill, C. and Smith, M., *International Relations and the European Union*, 2nd Ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 131, 146.

²⁴ Rynning, S. and Rahbek-Clemmensen, J. “The Absentee: Denmark and the CSDP”, In Fiott, D. (ed.) *The Common Security and Defence Policy: National Perspectives*, Egmont Institute, No. 79, May 2015. Web. Accessed June 22, 2015. <http://www.egmontinstitute.be/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/ep79.pdf>

²⁵ “About NORDEFECO”, *Nordic Defence Cooperation*. Web. Accessed June 9, 2015. <http://www.nordefco.org/The-basics-about-NORDEFECO>

²⁶ “Nordic Defence Cooperation (NORDEFECO)”, *Ministry of Defence of Denmark*. Web. Accessed June 9, 2015. <http://www.fmn.dk/eng/allabout/Pages/NordicDefenceCooperation.aspx#>

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

Denmark was one of the founding members of what later became **NATO**, and thus has been part of the military alliance since 1949. Former Prime Minister of Denmark Anders Fogh Rasmussen (in office from 2001 to 2009) was the Secretary-General of the organization from August 2009 to October 2014. As a large majority of the Danish population supports the country's partnership with NATO, it has not been difficult for Denmark to recruit military personnel for NATO-led missions.²⁷ Denmark participated in NATO's missions in Yugoslavia and Afghanistan, and became the largest troop-contributing nation to ISAF (as measured per capita) in 2008. It was one of the occupying powers in Iraq between 2003 and 2007, and also took part in the war on Libya (2011), becoming one of the most active nations in bombing operations in the latter.²⁸

In fact, NATO is a vital element for Danish security and defense policy, and thus is the main multilateral frame for deployment of the country's armed forces in international operations²⁹. As a core NATO member state, Denmark will remain committed to the organization and its transformations, including the **NATO Smart Defence** initiative. The country aims to increase its collaborations in order to benefit from the advantages of large-scale operations and joint operational capacities. For instance, Denmark re-entered the **NATO Alliance Ground Surveillance** (AGS) project based on the use of unarmed aircraft³⁰. In 2014-2015, Denmark participated in 1,21% of the NATO common-funded budgets and programmes³¹.

United Nations (UN)

Denmark is actively engaged in the UN (joined in 1945) and regularly contributes to international operations led by the organization or by a coalition of nations. Denmark is notably one of the major contributors to the three main UN funds and programs in the development field (UNDP, UNICEF and UNFPA). It recently served in the UN Security Council (UNSC) from 2005 to 2006 as a non-permanent member, focusing on the fight against terrorism, conflict resolution, Africa, and the strengthening of international law. During this mandate, it actively supported the Council's involvement in nuclear issues in North Korea and Iran, and actively pursued the non-proliferation mission, for example through its chairmanship of the **Missile Technology Control Regime** (MTCR) from 2006 to 2007. Denmark greatly participated in the creation of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) in 2005 by organizing a workshop in Copenhagen in June 2003 focused on the coordination of international assistance in post-conflict situations. In 2009, Denmark also held a conference (**COP15**) on one of its favorite topics, i.e. climate change.³²

²⁷ "NATO Nations: Denmark", *Allied Command Operations*. Web. Accessed June 4, 2015.

<http://www.aco.nato.int/page12730928.aspx>

²⁸ "Denmark – Foreign and Security Policy", *Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research*. Web. Accessed June 4, 2015. http://www.transnational.org/page5_5.php ; "NATO Nations: Denmark", *Allied Command Operations*. Web. Accessed June 4, 2015. <http://www.aco.nato.int/page12730928.aspx>

²⁹ "Factsheet Denmark – Foreign Policy", *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark*, October 2007. Web. Accessed June 3, 2015. http://www.netpublikationer.dk/um/8466/html/entire_publication.htm

³⁰ Ministry of Defence of Denmark, *Danish Defence Agreement 2013-2017*, Copenhagen, November 30, 2012. Web. Accessed June 4, 2015. <http://www.fmn.dk/eng/allabout/Documents/TheDanishDefenceAgreement2013-2017english-version.pdf>

³¹ "NATO Common-Funded Budgets & Programmes", *The North Atlantic Treaty Organization*, Web. Accessed September 22, 2015. http://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_2014_06/20140611_20140601_NATO_common_funded_budgets_2014-2015.pdf

³² "Denmark's Permanent Mission to the UN in New York", *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark*. Web. Accessed June 4, 2015. <http://fnnewyork.um.dk/en/denmark-and-the-un/> ; Factsheet Denmark – Foreign

The country has a tradition of active engagement in peacekeeping operations and had more than 120.000 civilian and military stationed personnel in more than twenty peacekeeping operations under UN auspices. It has also been contributing to the first UN mission in the Middle East (UNTSO, 1948).³³ Danish personnel (contingent troops and experts on mission) is currently deployed in UN missions in Mali (MINUSMA), Liberia (UNMIL), South Sudan (UNMISS), and in the Golan Heights (UNTSO)³⁴.

Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)

Since 1973, Denmark has been a member of the OSCE. It held its chairmanship in 1997. The **Parliamentary Assembly** and the three committees handling daily work of the OSCE are situated in Copenhagen. In 2014 and 2015, Danish-led multinational teams of OSCE observers went to carry out an inspection in East Ukraine, in order to give the international community an insight of the conflict in Ukraine³⁵. In 2014, Denmark participated in 2,1% of the OSCE's unified budget with €2.944.617, and had four nationals part of its staff.³⁶

Council of Europe (CoE)

Denmark is a member of the Council of Europe since its creation in 1949. For the year 2015, Denmark will contribute to the CoE's unified budget with € 4.421.220.³⁷

Strategic Culture

As part of the Nordic countries, Denmark strongly shared with its neighbors (Finland, Sweden, and Norway) the desire to establish a **Nordic model** based on the exceptional character of their approach to economic and international affairs. The Nordic ideas of peaceful societies and bridge-builder states, international solidarity, and egalitarian social democracy are however becoming less clear according to Christopher S. Browning from the University of Warwick. In his article *Branding Nordicity: Models, Identity and the Decline of Exceptionalism*, he explains that the Nordic countries clearly lost interest in a pan-Nordic epistemic community simultaneously as the European Union adopted many of the Nordic norms after the Cold War. The Nordic model thus appears outdated, and slowly replaced by a Baltic model that surpassed its past mentor and that is better accepted due to their more neo-liberal conception of capitalism.³⁸ However, the previously obsolete Nordic bridging role between the West and Russia could resume in view of the recent events, depending on the Baltic States' activism and on NATO developments.

Policy”, *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark*, October 2007. Web. Accessed June 3, 2015.

http://www.netpublikationer.dk/um/8466/html/entire_publication.htm

³³ “Denmark’s Permanent Mission to the UN in New York”, *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark*. Web.

Accessed June 4, 2015. <http://fnnewyork.um.dk/en/denmark-and-the-un/>

³⁴ “UN Mission’s Summary detailed by Country”, *United Nations Peacekeeping*, September 30, 2015. Web.

Accessed October 13, 2015. http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/2015/sep15_3.pdf

³⁵ W., C., “Another Danish-led OSCE team monitoring east Ukraine”, *Online Post*, May 11, 2015. Web.

Accessed June 4, 2015 ; Jayasinghe, A. M., “The OSCE Parliamentary Assembly”, *Committees and Delegations*, The Danish Parliament (Folketinget), November 2013. Web. Accessed June 4, 2015.

<http://cphpost.dk/news/another-danish-led-osce-team-monitoring-east-ukraine.html>

³⁶ Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), *Annual Report 2014*, July 2015. Web.

Accessed September 1, 2015. <http://www.osce.org/secretariat/169971?download=true>

³⁷ “Denmark – Member State”, *Council of Europe*, 2015. Web. Accessed June 5, 2015.

<http://www.coe.int/nl/web/portals/Denmark>

³⁸ Browning, C. S. “Branding Nordicity: Models, Identity and the Decline of Exceptionalism”, *Cooperation and Conflict: Journal of the Nordic International Studies Association*, Vol. 42, No. 1, March 2007, p. 44.

<http://cac.sagepub.com/content/42/1/27.full.pdf>

According to both Håkon L. Saxi and Graeme P. Herd, the Danish strategic culture changed after the Cold War, especially following Denmark’s Armed Forces’ successful intervention in Croatia and Bosnia. It is today of a twofold nature, as it based on “‘**cosmopolitanism**’ (neutrality, conflict resolution through non-military means, support of international institutions) and ‘**defencism**’ (military preparedness, NATO alliance)”, which resulted in a compromised strategic culture based on **deterrence** and **activism**³⁹.

Within the Nordic States from the Geneva Centre for Security Policy, Denmark is a special component. In opposition to Sweden, Finland and Norway, the country’s anti-militarist stance has remained important for a long time. Indeed, despite its EU membership, it has opted-out of common EU defense, preferring the use of civilian power during conflicts. However, the recent deployment of Danish forces in Afghanistan and Iraq suggested a shift toward a position of “**strategic actor**” providing support for key allies when necessary. Furthermore, increasing negative attitudes concerning immigrants (also seen in Norway) recently blurred Denmark’s previously strong internationalist solidarism, and the growing success of liberal-conservative politics resulted in decreased development aid.⁴⁰

Today, Danish strategic culture mainly focuses on “the successful use of the Armed Forces as instruments of Danish foreign policy”, which the military views as “its main *raison d’être*”⁴¹. Indeed, Danes now see Armed Forces as a useful tool to achieve security and be internationally active, in a context of uncertainty and multiplicity of threats to peace and security on the continent and abroad. As a result, the country established a priority of internationally deployable capabilities, together with a readiness to engage in high-risk combat operations. It is thus now considering “armed interventions as a natural part of its foreign policy”⁴² and organizing its defense accordingly. Overall, Danish strategic culture and defense policy became similar to those of the USA, as it views the possession and use of military force necessary to achieve security and liberal world order.⁴³

d. Economic Policy

European Union (EU)

Denmark has one of the strongest economies in Europe, with a balanced state budget, stable currency, low interest rates and low inflation. Its main trading partners in Europe are Germany, Swede, the UK, and Norway. Because of its focus on foreign trade, the country cooperates with organizations such as the European Union (EU), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (**OECD**), and World Trade Organization (**WTO**) in order to benefit from the economic agreements they offer. Denmark however stayed outside

³⁹ Herd, G. P., “EU-Turkey Clashing Political and Strategic Culture as Stumbling Blocks on the Road to Accession”, *Geneva Centre for Security Policy*, 1999, p. 51. Web. http://mercury.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/ISN/109335/ichaptersection_singledocument/311ad7c4-8512-4d5b-81f4-075f4fd3639e/en/Chap3.pdf.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 32-40.

⁴¹ Saxi, H. L., “Norwegian and Danish defense policy: A comparative study of the post-Cold War era”, *Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies*, Oslo: Brødr. Fossum AS, 2010, p. 92. Web. Accessed June 5, 2015. <http://brage.bibsys.no/xmlui/bitstream/id/12593/DSS0110.pdf>

⁴² Saxi, H. L., “Norwegian and Danish defense policy: A comparative study of the post-Cold War era”, *Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies*, Oslo: Brødr. Fossum AS, 2010, p. 94. Web. Accessed June 5, 2015. <http://brage.bibsys.no/xmlui/bitstream/id/12593/DSS0110.pdf>

⁴³ Saxi, H. L., “Norwegian and Danish defense policy: A comparative study of the post-Cold War era”, *Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies*, Oslo: Brødr. Fossum AS, 2010, p. 92-94. Web. Accessed June 5, 2015. <http://brage.bibsys.no/xmlui/bitstream/id/12593/DSS0110.pdf>

the third phase of the EU's EMU and thus does not have the Euro.⁴⁴ Within the Union, Denmark advocates a liberal trade policy. Its main exports are machinery, instruments, and food products, and its main imports are food and energy. Its main trading partner in Europe is Germany, and the USA outside the continent.⁴⁵

In its country report on Denmark of 2015, the European Commission points out the slow but sure recovery of the Danish economy, which should reach a GDP growth rate of 2,1%, keep a stable unemployment rate around 6%, and reach an inflation rate of 1,6% in 2016. In addition, the country's public finances are expected to remain sustainable. Despite the flexible labor market and high employment rates the country shows, the Commission's report indicates that certain groups remain unemployed (e.g. low-skilled young people). In spite of the fact that Denmark has the highest expenditure relative to GDP on education within the EU, the country's educational outcomes are average (e.g. relatively high drop-out rates). Those issues can be resolved by effective policy measures and reforms in the years to come. Denmark should also strengthen its economic growth, and improve its competitiveness by boosting investment in the country. Finally, the Commission acknowledges that Denmark has made some progress in addressing its 2014 recommendations, especially regarding employability.⁴⁶

Economic Diplomacy & Foreign Trade

As Denmark's economy is highly focused on foreign trade, its international trade policy is of a crucial importance. It is directed towards liberal global trade, and conducted in close cooperation with international organizations such as the WTO. Being one of the most active EU states with regards to **liberal trade and development**, it also works within the EU to integrate developing countries into the multilateral trade system, and to promote common positions in the field. Denmark therefore supports EU bilateral and regional agreements, such as the EU-Mercosur Agreement under negotiation.⁴⁷ One of the country's priorities has been to strengthen the WTO, because of its interest in liberal and rule-based international trading system and its support for developing countries, which can be achieved through cooperation with the WTO.⁴⁸

e. Other Diplomatic Priorities

Priorities at the European Level

Together with the Nordic countries, Denmark participates in the Nordic-Baltic Cooperation (**NBS**) established in 1992, including today Estonia, Finland, Iceland, Sweden, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway and Denmark. It is a network that offers regular opportunities to informally discuss issues of foreign and defense policy, development assistance and foreign trade, in order to achieve concrete cooperation. Annual meetings of Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers are the main tools for cooperation. An example of outcomes of this partnership is the common Nordic embassy complex in Berlin, Germany. Denmark will

⁴⁴ "About Denmark", *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark*. Web. Accessed June 4, 2015.

<http://ukraine.um.dk/en/about-denmark/danish-business-and-economy/>

⁴⁵ Dimireva, I., "Denmark: Economic Overview", *export.gov*, July 16, 2013. Web. Accessed June 4, 2015.

<http://www.export.gov/denmark/doingbusinessindenmark/economicoverview/index.asp>

⁴⁶ European Commission, "Country Report Denmark 2015", *Commission Staff Working Document*, Brussels, February 2015. Web. Accessed May 27, 2015.

http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/pdf/csr2015/cr2015_denmark_en.pdf

⁴⁷ "Foreign Policy", *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark*. Web. Accessed June 2, 2015.

<http://um.dk/en/foreign-policy/>

⁴⁸ "Factsheet Denmark – Foreign Policy", *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark*, October 2007. Web. Accessed June 3, 2015. http://www.netpublikationer.dk/um/8466/html/entire_publication.htm

coordinate the NB8 in the year 2015, followed by Latvia in 2016, and thus organize and host most of the meetings, and activities, and suggest priority areas⁴⁹. The NB8 established regular cooperation with the USA through the **e-PINE format**, with the UK through the **Northern Future Forum**, and with the Visegrád countries (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia).⁵⁰

During the Summer 2013, the EU adopted measures prohibiting importing herring and mackerel caught under the control of the autonomous Danish Faroe Islands, because of unsustainable fishing practices. As a result, the Islands initiated proceedings at the WTO and in the context of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. In June 2014, the European Commission and the Faroe Islands reached a political understanding to end the dispute over the management of the fish stock of **Atlanto-Scandian herring**. The Islands notably agreed to end unsustainable herring fishing.⁵¹

Priorities at the Global Level

At the global level, Denmark has various priorities despite those mentioned in the previous sections. Firstly, it is an active partner of the **Global Green Growth Forum (3GF)**, together with China, Kenya, Mexico, Qatar, the Republic of Korea, and Ethiopia. The forum was launched in 2011 on Denmark's, Mexico's and the Republic of Korea's initiative. Within the forum, Denmark specifically focuses on renewable energy, and notably aims at becoming a fossil fuel free economy by 2050 and having all electricity and heat supply coming from renewable energy by 2035. In 2013, the country established a Climate Policy Plan that intends to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 40% by 2020 (on the basis of the 1990 levels).⁵² **Green diplomacy** is an important component of Danish foreign policy, which the country promotes through research and cooperation (regionally and globally), and which gives it a significant level of soft power⁵³. Acting as a laboratory for green solutions, Denmark has developed strong cooperation in the fields of energy and green technology, both with partners in the EU and globally. Policies to combat global warming, at the European and the international level, are very much part of this effort. Bilateral cooperation on green issues is increasingly important in political and economic terms. While such cooperation is based on mutual interests, it does provide Denmark with a significant level of soft power.

Secondly, Denmark greatly focuses on **development cooperation** worldwide, and aims at reducing poverty together with promoting human rights and boosting economic growth. Danish development cooperation is an independent area of activity of the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and has its own term: **Danida**. The country's last strategy for development cooperation "The Right to a Better Life" was launched in June 2012, and established the basis for the country's development cooperation.⁵⁴ It targets human rights and democracy, green growth, social progress, and stability and protection as priority areas, through a human rights-

⁴⁹ The year 2015 will focus on energy security, media in relation to Russian-speakers, the conflict in Ukraine, and the Eastern Partnership.

⁵⁰ "Foreign Policy", *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark*. Web. Accessed June 2, 2015. <http://um.dk/en/foreign-policy/>

⁵¹ n.a. "Herring dispute between European Union and Faroe Islands nears end", Press Release, *European Commission*, Brussels, June 11, 2014. Web. Accessed November 10, 2015. http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-14-668_en.htm

⁵² "Government Partners", *Global Green Growth Forum*. Web. Accessed June 5, 2015. <http://3gf.dk/en/about-3gf/partners/government-partners-denmark/>

⁵³ Lidegaard, B. "Letter From Copenhagen", *Judy Dempsey's Strategic Europe*, Carnegie Europe, February 13, 2015. Web. Accessed November 10, 2015. <http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/?fa=59052>

⁵⁴ "Danida", *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark*. Web. Accessed June 5, 2015. <http://um.dk/en/danida-en/goals/strategy/>

based approach (participation non-discrimination, transparency, and accountability, in order to achieve its principal objective of fighting poverty and promoting human rights⁵⁵. Denmark is notably one of the only five countries in the worlds that respects the UN target of granting 0,7% GNI in development assistance⁵⁶.

In the **Middle East**, Denmark supports a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and advocates for the recognition of the State of Palestine, which the country is willing to declare without full EU consensus. Denmark recently backed airstrikes against the Islamic State (by providing F-16 fighter jets in Iraq) in support of the US-led coalition.⁵⁷



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⁵⁵ The Danish Government, “The Right to a Better Life”, *Strategy for Denmark’s Development Cooperation*, June 2012, Web. Accessed June 5, 2015. http://um.dk/en/~media/UM/English-site/Documents/Danida/Goals/Strategy/13287_DANIDA_strategiformidling_UK_web%20NY.jpg

⁵⁶ “Danida”, *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark*. Web. Accessed June 5, 2015. <http://um.dk/en/danida-en/goals/strategy/>

⁵⁷ Lidegaard, B. “Letter From Copenhagen”, *Judy Dempsey’s Strategic Europe*, Carnegie Europe, February 13, 2015. Web. Accessed November 10, 2015. <http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/?fa=59052>

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