Foreign and security policy strategy

Ministry of Foreign Affairs Asiatisk Plads 2

Asiatisk Plads 2 1448 København K

Phone: +45 33 92 00 00 um@um.dk

Design: Regeringens Kommunikationsenhed Layout: Kontrapunkt

ISBN 978-87-93760-96-7 (printed version) ISBN 978-87-93760-98-1 (digital version)

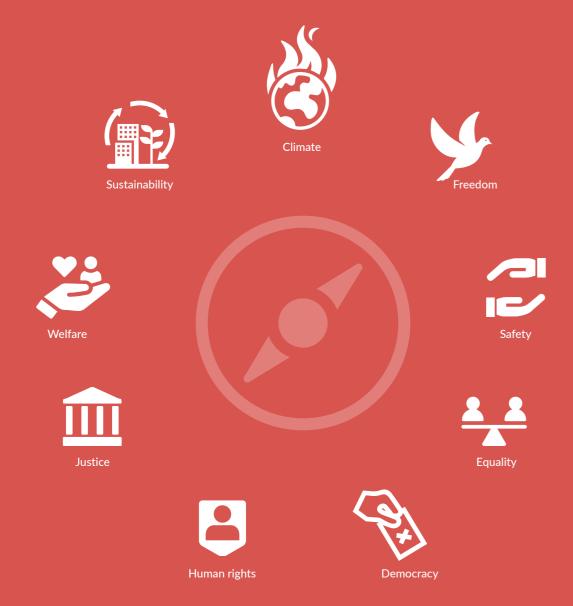
January 2022

Find the strategy online at www.um.dk

Contents

1.	Preface 4
2.	Value diplomacy A strong voice for Denmark in the world 8
3.	Safety diplomacy A more secure world that creates safety for Danes 18
4.	Climate diplomacy Denmark as a green superpower 30
5.	Migration diplomacy A robust response to the pressure from migration and refugees
6.	Economic diplomacy Fair and sustainable economic development that ensures Danish jobs
7.	A Denmark that can take action in the world

A compass for Denmark's values-based foreign and security policy



FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY STRATEGY

1. Preface

With this strategy we are setting the course for Denmark's foreign and security policy in the years ahead. As a response to a historically unpredictable world, the strategy presents a new value compass that will provide a course when difficult choices must be taken. Specific challenges come and go, but our values endure. Therefore, it is with our values as a guide that we can best advance Denmark's interests and safeguard Denmark's safety, prosperity, and social cohesion. Danish foreign policy must not become rigidly locked into a false contradiction between our interests and our values. We are setting a course that promotes our interests by fighting for our values.

We see new threats flare up, while old threats storm back onto the scene – from the Baltic Sea to the Arctic, from cyberspace to the race for the technology of the future and for supply chains.

Throughout the world, democracy is on the retreat.

The climate crisis threatens. Protectionism is on the rise. The world has not seen such refugee flows since 1945, and in the meantime, the international asylum system has broken down. And in the shadow of globalisation, inequality and injustice thrive.

Russia's aggressive conduct towards Ukraine is a disturbing attempt to return foreign and security policy to the Cold War's cynical thinking in terms of power and spheres of influence in Europe. In this context, we must protect the principle that every country has the right to freedom and self-determination. And we do that both in words and action.

At the same time, the economic and political gravity continues, to an increasing degree, to shift towards Asia. This is also reflected in the tensions and the greater insecurity we are seeing in the Indo-Pacific, which is an important region for a major shipping country such as Denmark. In this context, there is a need for forging stronger bonds and establishing new partnerships. And we are already well on our way to doing that.

In Afghanistan, 20 years of international efforts ended with the return to power by the Taliban extremists. It is heart-breaking to think of the consequences for the Afghan people – especially for the Afghan women. That was not the way it was supposed to end. But even though the international community's exit from Afghanistan ended both

suddenly and chaotically, we must not give up the efforts to combat international terror and make the way for peace, development, and fundamental rights.

Denmark must continue to actively bear its responsibility – also when it is difficult. We must do that together with our allies and partners. It is also a matter of our own security and safety.

The world is in the midst of a global struggle over values, which puts pressure on core Danish interests. We no longer live in a world where the strong international institutions, which we have long benefitted from, can be taken for granted. Where rights trump power and agreements are upheld. Where the shared rules that promote international security, fair global trade, and transparent working relations between nations are respected.

We risk becoming the first generation that passes on a poorer, less secure, and less equal world. We cannot let that happen.

Therefore, in the future, Denmark's foreign and security policy must set its course according to a values-based compass. So that we know what we are fighting for. Whom we are fighting with. And what we are fighting against. That is how we best advance Danish interests in a world without fixed points of reference. Without a compass that faithfully points towards our Danish values, we will lose our way.

We must dare to lead the way when we have the most at stake and can make a difference. But taking

FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY STRATEGY

the lead does not mean going alone. Because we must fight wisely. Through strong international institutions such as the EU, which are crucial for Denmark. Through NATO and together with allies such as the USA, which are the linchpin for securing Denmark's security. Through the UN, because when the countries of the world can reach consensus, we can make progress – together. In green strategic partnerships that open the doors to increased cooperation with the world.

We must choose tailor-made approaches. Because there are few easy answers when interests and values meet. Thus, we must allow space for analysis and room for nuances. A Danish foreign policy based on values must never become empty political rhetoric or meaningless political promises.

The way forward is built on three key words: values, realities, and instruments – in that order and interdependently.

The strategy takes its point of departure in everything that we stand for and everything that we will protect: the Danish welfare state. Our Danish model. The actual freedom of individuals, equality, democracy, strong cooperation, rights and duties, safety, community spirit, and social cohesion. These are our fundamental values.

Next, we must make it clear exactly what we are facing. Thus, the strategy looks at the world exactly as it is. A sober analysis of the challenges we are facing and the opportunities we can choose to seize if we take a step forward. These are the foreign policy realities.

And, finally, the strategy presents the tools and initiatives we must bring into play in order to make a difference for Denmark. These are our instruments.

With these three building blocks, the strategy introduces our values diplomacy approach where we work harder for the defence of democracy and strong international institutions. A safety diplomacy approach that is to increase our security in a world with an ever more complex threat landscape. A climate diplomacy approach where we lead the way in raising the global level of ambition.

A migration diplomacy approach in which we fight for a more just and humane asylum system that will

help more people, in a better way, and more rapidly than the current international asylum system is able to. And an economic diplomacy approach where we promote a triple bottom line; a strong Danish economy with more new Danish jobs which is to ensure that we are in the black. A green, just, and sustainable global transition – with Danish solutions at the centre – is to ensure that the green accounts are balanced. And a strengthened focus on workers' rights and conditions is to ensure that our values and the Danish model is not just protected but is also strengthened internationally.

With this strategy, we are setting out the collective direction and framework for Denmark's foreign and security policy across Danish priorities and instruments. Thus, the strategy also constitutes a framework for other strategies with an international focus – including the Global Climate Strategy, the Strategy for the Danish Defence Industry, the Government's Action Plan for Economic Diplomacy, and the Strategy for Development Cooperation that are based on broad support from the parties of the Danish Parliament (Folketinget). And for future strategies as well as a new European political agreement that the Government will take action on together with the interested parties of the Folketinget.

The priorities of the strategy reflect the fact that, today, foreign policy and domestic policy are intrinsically linked. The changes we are fighting for in Denmark require that we also fight for Danish interests and values throughout the world. Defending the Danes' safety, welfare, and social cohesion does not stop at the Danish borders. It requires a global engagement. And the changes we are creating here at home must be shared with the world.

Yes, we do have great ambitions on behalf of Denmark. If we are to achieve our goals, we will need to prepare the Danish Foreign Service for the task. Thus, the Government has carried out a comprehensive structural reorganisation of the Foreign Service to ensure that we maximize our diplomatic clout in the places where we can reap the biggest benefit for Denmark and for Danish values. Finally, the Government has broken with the many years of massive cutbacks in the Foreign Service.

Enjoy!

Jeppe KofodMinister for Foreign Affairs

January 2022

FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY STRATEGY

Significant foreign and security policy initiatives since the Government's accession 2019

Based on the Government's foreign and security policy line – from which the new strategy takes its starting point – a range of significant initiatives have already been carried out since the Government's accession in summer 2019:

Support to democratic forces in our eastern neighbourhood region —

In the spring of 2021, the Government established The New Democracy Fund with 50 million DKK. The fund supports democratic forces and civil society in Belarus, Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. In Belarus, Denmark has, i.a., supported advocates of human rights in the fight against authoritarian regimes by suppling camera equipment to journalists and legal assistance in connection with the regime's assault. In Ukraine, Denmark is contributing to the support for the key anti-corruption institutions that are leading the way when it comes to investigating and providing evidence – an effort that has led to convictions in a number of major corruption cases. And in 2020, the Government brought about the creation of a Ukrainian-Danish Youth House in Kyiv, as a platform for developing a strong local civil society that can hold the people in power responsible.

Green pioneer country and climate diplomacy

Immediately after the Government's accession, Denmark's first climate ambassador was appointed. Denmark has managed to create a significant green footprint by entering into green strategic partnerships with, among others, India, in the fight against coal and fossil fuels and especially at COP26, where Denmark succeeded in assembling more than 150 private actors in the Getting-to-Zero Coalition, which is working for climate-neutral shipping in 2025. And, from 2023, the Danish contribution to international climate financing will amount to approx. DKK 7-8 billion - a significant boost for the Danish green climate financing to developing countries.

Danish candidature for a seat on the UN Security Council in 2025-2026

Denmark takes responsibility for preventing, managing, and solving the conflicts of the world that cost lives, create instability, and lead to migration flows and irregular migration. Therefore, the Government has launched the Danish candidature for a seat on the UN Security Council. Denmark will be the shop steward to the world in the Security Council and stand guard for an international order based on rules and rights.

Maritime security and free navigation

As one of the biggest shipping nations in the world, the right to free navigation is part of Denmark's DNA. Therefore, the Government has appointed a special representative for maritime security and boosted funding for initiatives to counter maritime crime. Denmark has provided another naval contribution and has led the maritime mission in the Strait of Hormuz, EMASOH, since 2020 as well as contributing to the engagement in the Bay of Guinea in 2021-2022.

Boost and future-proof Danish exports in the light of the pandemic

With the export packages, the Government has mobilised a swift, strategic effort, in close cooperation with the business community, for placing Danish solutions at the centre with regard to economic recovery projects, especially in the EU and the USA. 27 missions were strengthened with 65 advisors to assist in bringing Danish solutions in the fields of digitisation, health care, and a green transition into play.

Active value-based Danish membership in the UN's Human Rights Council

Through three years of membership, we have achieved a range of important victories. Among other things, in September 2021, Denmark first brought together the EU and subsequently a wider group of countries in order to gain broad backing in the Council for establishing a special rapporteur for monitoring the human rights situation in the Taleban-controlled Afghanistan. At a meeting in the Council in September 2020, Denmark was responsible for a statement that received record backing (33 countries). The statement criticised the human rights situation in Saudi Arabia with a focus on the suppression of women's rights, the continued use of torture, and the persecution and the use of the death sentence for political dissidents. Denmark has had, moreover, a significant role in the adoption of the strong resolutions regarding the situation in Belarus, Ethiopia, and Myanmar.

A stronger EU must lead the way in the international fight for values

The Government has played a key role in connection with the establishment of the EU's joint human rights sanction regime so that we in the EU can respond strongly to human rights violations. With Denmark leading the way, the EU has, e.g., imposed sanctions on the Lukashenko regime in Belarus in connection with the absolutely unacceptable attempt to instrumentalise migration in 2021.

Defence for digital democracy

The Government has launched the Tech for Democracy initiative, where Denmark leads the way in a strong defence of online democratic dialogue and for setting the parameters for, among other things, the work of the major tech companies, so that neither human rights nor democratic values are suppressed. The Tech for Democracy initiative is a key Danish contribution to the US Summit for Democracy meeting.

The Danish Realm and the Arctic capacity package

The Government has decided to spend DKK 1.5 billion for a capacity package that, starting from 2023, will strengthen the Danish Armed Forces' monitoring and presence in the Arctic and the North Atlantic. With investments in, for example, long-range drones, radars, and satellite monitoring, both the Armed Forces' military capacity and its ability to support civil society through rescue operations, environmental monitoring, inspections of fishery activities, climate monitoring, and research. The Government has a strong focus on increasing the cooperation in the Danish Realm, and when the American Secretary of State visited Denmark in the summer of 2020, for the first time a joint meeting was held with the participation of a Danish foreign minister, and Greenlandic and Faroese colleagues.

Trade policy forum for a fair and sustainable trade policy

The Government has set a new focus on trade policy – not just free trade, but fair and sustainable trade. And a strengthened focus on the conventions of the International Labour Organisation. Therefore, as early as in the autumn of 2019, the Government established a new trade policy forum. In this forum, representatives from the trade union movement, business organisations, civil society, and experts are to provide inspiration for the Government's trade policy.







secure technology



the EU's global



engagement in the UN



A strong voice for



Strengthened democracies of

the world



FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY STRATEGY

2. Value diplomacy

A strong voice for Denmark in the world

Denmark must engage more strongly in the fight for common rules, democratic values, and respect for human rights. With swifter help to the defenders of democracy and human rights who are fighting on the front lines. By objecting when countries, including countries within Europe, do not respect shared rules and principles. And by standing together with other democracies around the word in a stronger defence of the democratic societal model. In this context, American and EU value-based leadership are crucial - and they must have our support. The EU can and should become a significantly stronger value policy actor on the international scene. Because when Europe stands strong, transatlantic cooperation and the West as a collective actor is also strengthened in the global fight over values that has been picking up speed in recent years.

Around the world, democracy has been on the retreat for over a decade. Human rights violations are on the rise. Inequality and a lack of freedom are increasing. Religious fanaticism, including militant Islamism, is spreading. Protectionism is increasing. An agreement is no longer an agreement. And the rules that provide predictability and security between countries are coming under increasing pressure.

Denmark is safer in a world with common rules that are based on the values we believe in. Denmark is bigger in a world where cooperation between countries is on an equal footing, where the biggest countries cannot just steamroll the small ones. And Denmark's welfare increases in a world with fair trade.

The fight over values is also a fight for the trust in our strong international institutions such as the EU, the UN, and NATO. Multilateral cooperation has promoted security, justice, and social progress throughout the world for 70 years. But we must also face the truth: Many people feel that this very same international cooperation seem distant. That not enough is being done to solve the problems that concern them in their daily lives. Or that they do not share in the prosperity that globalisation has created. That they are being left out of the community. This is a valid criticism – we must do better.

We must work for an EU that, to an even greater degree, creates results that are close to home and that everyone in Denmark can share in. And we must push the EU up into the global weight class so that we in Europe can better promote our own values and interests in an ever more cynical and insecure world. We must work for a NATO that is prepared for the future, supported by an even stronger transatlantic bond and with Denmark at the centre. We must work for a UN that gives Denmark a bigger voice in the world and makes Denmark safer. With the Danish candidacy for the UN Security Council, we will make Denmark the world's shop steward and renew the Danish UN engagement. We will fight for a global community that brings the world together around real and sustainable solutions - to inequality, irregular migration, sustainability, the climate crisis, and conflicts.

In brief: Values under pressure and Denmark's response

Strengthened cooperation between the democracies of the world



We must strengthen the bonds to the democracies of the world in a time when the global fight over values is raging. We must build further on the global alliance of countries that puts the respect for democracy and human rights first - and we must dare to look inward and also take on the internal challenges. That is why Denmark assumes an active role in a number of American high-level meetings on democracy. With our strong tradition of democracy and human rights, we are building broad alliances within, for example, the protection of democratic rights online. And we are strengthening the cooperation with democracies around the world, for example in the Indo-Pacific.



Responsible, democratic and secure technology

Digital technologies have become a regular part of our democratic debate. This entails enormous benefits for society, but it also provides authoritarian regimes new opportunities for surveillance, behaviour control, oppression and censorship. With the Tech for Democracy initiative, Denmark wishes to focus attention on how technology can support democracy and human rights rather than undermine them. Together with the EU, the US and likeminded countries, we are engaging in a strong defence for the democratic conversation – not least online where we must provide the framework for, among others, the big tech giants' role in society, so that neither human rights nor democratic values are oppressed.







Denmark leads the way in strengthening the EU's influence around the world

The EU constitutes Denmark's most important foreign policy platform – and is therefore key lever for promoting Danish values and interests around the world. Therefore, we work determinedly to strengthen the EU's global clout and ensure that the EU has the right instruments to assert its influence. Denmark has, for example:

- Gathered 22 countries together to provide concrete proposals for strengthening the EU's foreign and security
- Played a key role in establishing the EU Global Human Rights Sanctions Regime so that we can respond strongly to human rights violations.
- Led the work for a general strengthening of the EU's sanctions policy so that the Lukashenko regime in Belarus could be sanctioned in connection with its completely unacceptable attempt to instrumentalise migration.
- Pushed for the adoption of the EU's first sanctions in response to a cyberattack.



iournalists were

killed in the 2010s

in connection with

their work(4)

Denmark leads the way in supporting the democratic forces in Belarus

Denmark led the way in condemning the attacks on the peaceful demonstrators in Belarus and mobilised support for significant EU sanctions against the people responsible for gross human rights violations and manipulation of the presidential election in August 2020. With a New Democracy Fund with DKK 50 million, we are supporting the ever-more beleaguered Belarusian civil society as well as the people and organisations that are fighting for democracy and free media in Belarus and other countries in the eastern neighbourhood region. The people of Belarus must know that Denmark continues to support their demand for a free and democratic future.



The degree of freedom in the

countries and territories of the world in 2020 according to Freedom House

Denmark is strengthening its engagement in the UN and is a candidate for a seat in the UN Security Council

Denmark is strengthen-

ing its engagement in the UN and is upgrading its diplomatic presence because as bridge builders, we will contribute to ensuring a modern UN that contributes to tackling the global challenges that are of importance to Denmark's values, safety, and welfare. Especially regarding the UN Security Council, where we have undertaken the difficult role of facilitating negotiations on reforms Therefore, we have also injected new resources in the form of posted diplomats to our UN mission in New York and the UN

Denmark is a candidate for a seat in the **UN Security Council in**

because we take responsibility for preventing, managing and solving the conflicts of the world that cost lives, create instability and lead to refugee flows and irregular migration. Our candidacy is about safeguarding the international order based on rules and rights. Denmark will be the shop steward for the world in the Security Council. Looking out for our world and thus looking out for Denmark. Our expected membership in the UN Peacebuilding Commission in 2023-24 will contribute to this endeavour



A strong Danish voice for human rights

11

Human rights are under pressure in a number of countries and also in the international communities that are supposed to protect them. For example, in 2020, 87% of the world's population lived in countries where civil society has restricted or no room to maneuver. (3) That is something we cannot accept. That is why Denmark is a significant voice in the fight for human rights.

In September 2021, Denmark led the way - first in the EU group later with regard to a wider group of countries - in obtaining a broad mandate in the UN **Human Rights Council** for establishing a special rapporteur on the human rights situation in the Taliban controlled Afghanistan.

Also historically, Denmark has played an active role in building the rule-based international protection of human rights. And we must continue to take an active leadership role in the UN. Thus, the Government adopts another of the UN's human rights conventions: the eighth core convention on protecting people from enforced disappearance. We must transform the good intentions into action and keep a sharp focus on ensuring that the rights are realised in practice. To get governments to live up to their human rights commitments.







Denmark is strengthening the fight for democracy in a time when the democracies of the world are under pressure

of the world's population in 2020 lived in "non-free" or only "partially free" societies(1)

For 15 years in a row, there has been more decline than progress for democracy around the world, according to Freedom House, (2) That trend must be reversed And now is the time that there is the momentum for mobilising the democracies of the world. We have been naïve for too long, but it has become all too clear what is at stake. Denmark is therefore strengthening the fight for promoting democratic values and human rights. Especially through our development cooperation, through our strong Danish and locally anchored civil society partners and through international organisations.



The USA - an unrivalled and crucial partner for Denmark



Denmark and the USA have a close bilateral relationship that we must protect and expand. Because a close relationship with the USA – bilaterally and in the international institutions – is crucial for promoting our values and interests around the world – for our security and our welfare.



The USA is crucial for the rules-based international order

We have a strong sense of solidarity with the USA with regard to values, and we need global American leadership. It is together with the USA, the EU, and our other partners that we must handle the pressure on the strong international institutions and the challenges that come from, among other things, China's more self-assertive behaviour and Russia's hybrid warfare and military escalation in our neighbouring area. In this context, we need a strong transatlantic response. Therefore, we must support American leadership and together safeguard multilateral cooperation where common rules, democracy, and human rights are respected.



The USA is Denmark's most important security policy ally

NATO and a strong transatlantic bond are the guarantors for Denmark's and Europe's security. Denmark and the USA stand together for our shared values of peace, security and freedom. Therefore, it is important that we have a timely division of tasks with the USA. We stand side by side with the USA in many of the hotspots of the world. When the USA orients itself more in the direction of Asia, it is in our shared interest. Also when it means that Europe must take more responsibility in our neighbouring areas.



The USA is an absolutely crucial partner in the Arctic

We stand together with the USA in handling the increasing tensions that are a result of, among other things, the Russian military build-up in the Artic. In maintaining the objective of the Arctic being a low-tension area through strengthened monitoring and having a presence in the area. And in combatting climate change, protecting the environment, collaboration on research and in creating sustainable development to the benefit of the people who live in the region.



The USA is an important partner in the climate fight

The American engagement in the climate fight creates international momentum and the foundation for a strong collaboration with Denmark as a climate pioneer. Because the USA is also looking to Danish experience with green innovation and a green transition where no one is left behind.



The USA is Denmark's biggest trading partner outside of Europe

Exports to the USA create Danish jobs and contribute to our welfare. The strong American focus on the green transition creates opportunities for the export of Danish expertise and sustainable solutions – opportunities that we must seize



Democratic development and respect for human rights

The Government will work for a more democratic world. Because when we advance a democratic development, we also safeguard our own safety and our societal model. And the Government will place focus on the positive importance that human rights have for the democratic development and internal cohesion of states. For the freedom of individuals and for equal opportunities.



We will be an active voice for democracy

We will mobilise Danish development assistance, political pressure, and our likeminded partners in a common front to support democracy. And we will hold the tech giants responsible and ensure that democratically adopted laws take precedence over their terms of use. In this context, we must work closely together with the EU and, especially with the USA – because American leadership is crucial in an international partnership rooted in democratic values. If the democracies of world do not stand together and rise to the occasion, we are facing a world that is less free, more disorderly, and more unjust.

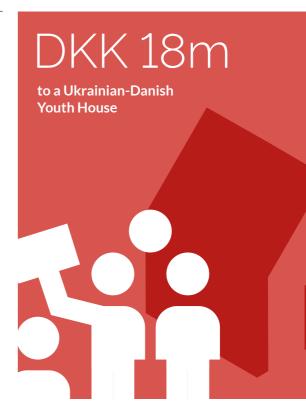


We will provide the democratic forces in our eastern neighbouring region with a buttress

We will strengthen the forces that stand up to autocratic leaders and orientate themselves towards the EU's community of values. Through our efforts, we will ensure both swift and flexible support in acute situations and follow-up with long-term democratic initiatives. The support is to target especially civil society and the youth, the democrats of tomorrow.

We will actively make use of the entire multilateral toolbox in order to take a clear stand against autocratic behaviour and work for progress that will benefit the oppressed. This also applies to sanctions when we see systematic attacks such as we have seen, for example, in Belarus. Because eastern neighbours who move towards democracy advance Denmark's and Europe's security.

Denmark lends a helping hand to young democratic voices in Ukraine



Through the establishment of a Ukrainian-Danish Youth House in Kyiv, we are giving the Ukrainian youth a platform for developing a strong civil society that can hold the people in power responsible.

13

This takes place through, for example, the exchange of experience and by creating networks with strong Danish youth organisations that promote democracy. In this way, we also strengthen the Danish youths' understanding of the fight for democracy, independent media and a reality without corruption.

We will lead the way in defending human rights

We will assume leadership in the fight for women's and girls' sexual and reproductive rights, for combatting torture, for the rights of indigenous peoples, for freedom of expression and faith, and for a strong and independent civil society. We will protect vulnerable population groups, including LGBTI+ persons and religious minorities.

Our impact is strongest when we gather together likeminded parties in a united front. Through the EU, the UN, the OSCE, and the Council of Europe, we will build coalitions for raising the price of human rights violations and protest repression loudly and clearly.

Strong international institutions

The Government will act as an agent of reform that works for modern international organisations that promote safety, justice and welfare - globally, regionally, and in Denmark. Because it is through strong international institutions that everyone's true freedom grows.

We will be at the centre of an EU that delivers results for its citizens

We will increase our efforts to promote Danish interests and values in the EU, which constitutes a critical platform for ensuring Denmark's values, security and welfare. Seamless trade across borders creates growth and jobs in Denmark, and shared high standards create demand for Danish solutions and ensure high quality products for Danish consumers. And when facing challenges we cannot take on alone, the EU is the strongest card we can play. This applies even more in a tougher world with growing geopolitical tensions and economic rivalries, the climate crisis, global health crises, and pressure from migration. Therefore, we must dare to confront, with our eyes wide open, the challenges that cooperation with the EU entails and what is required to meet them. Ensure that the EU differentiates more sharply between where joint European solutions are required and where the member countries can best tackle them themselves. We will strengthen Danish alliances within the EU cooperation and actively set an agenda that promotes Danish and European values. And ensure that what started as a Coal and Steel Union becomes a Climate Union with global clout. The Conference on the Future of Europe is a forum to have this debate - not in the rooms of Brussels where the negotiations take place - but with the people who are the very reason for the EU.

We will hold the EU to its core values

We stand on the frontline when it comes to maintaining the principle of the rule of law, democracy, gender equality, and the respect for human rights as the cornerstones of the EU cooperation. Unfortunately, we are seeing that the respect for these values is increasingly being disregarded in certain countries. This development must be reversed. These fundamental values are the lifeblood of the EU's strength, credibility, effectiveness, and impact. The EU is not just an economic community; it is also an absolutely necessary partnership to defend our values.

We will work for a stronger EU on the global scene that leads the way in the fight over

We must continue to work for a significant sanctions policy in the EU, so that we can crack down hard on violations of human rights, the repression of democracy and breaches of international rules. Sanctions need to be used wisely and not be an automatic reaction. But when we do make use of this instrument, it needs to be done more effectively so that it can be felt. And we must use the entire toolbox that the EU has, so that it continues to be us setting the global standards that ensure our values are respected in both the EU and around the world.



We will work for a strong NATO that defends our shared values

Denmark is an active and engaged NATO ally. Today, NATO is more than a defence alliance; it is also a community of values against increasing autocratic pressue. We must strengthen NATO, both politically and militarily, up to 2030. We must hold on to our strong alliance and our cooperation across the Atlantic. It is a prerequisite for solving the difficult security policy challenges that we are facing. Especially when it comes to deterring totalitarian regimes from attacking democratic states and allies.

15



We will work for a strong UN

We will work for a UN that guards our international rules, promotes a more progressive world and fights injustice. We will support reforms that ensure that the UN can continue to carry out and expand its role as the place where the world comes together to define the fundamental rights, the rules for peaceful cooperation, and the ambitions for sustainable development. Denmark's appointment as facilitator of the discussions on reform of the UN Security Council demonstrates that Denmark assumes its responsibility of acting as a bridge builder and working for joint solution in the UN - also when it comes to the difficult issues. We will assume responsibility for future-proofing the UN. With our EU family, the strong transatlantic bond, and in cooperation with other likeminded parties, we must be the driving force for a more dynamic and effective UN - both internationally and at country level. We are working also to ensure that the UN's Member States, and especially the richest countries in the world, pay their full contributions to the UN, and that they do it on time.



We will be the shop steward in the UN Security Council

We will increase our engagement in the UN's work for a secure world. Because the UN is crucial for international peace and security and is a major player on the world's unstable frontlines - not least in Europe's neighbouring region. With a strengthened UN effort, we can create more safety and security. Therefore, we are working to ensure that Denmark is elected to the UN Security Council in 2025-26. A seat on the Security Council would give Denmark direct influence on the management of conflicts that have major significance for Europe and Denmark. Denmark will be the shop steward for the whole world within the Security Council. We will stand firm on our values and positions and seek out the difficult compromises in a Security Council that is often divided. This applies especially in regard to conflicts in Africa that can lead to instability, terrorism, refugee flows, and irregular migration. We will contribute to ensuring that to a greater degree the UN works preventively with an eye towards climate change and human rights violations as causes of conflict or elements that can make conflicts worse. And we will work to ensure that the UN's peacekeeping operations become better at effectively and responsibly fulfilling the mandates that the Security Council has assigned them. This applies especially with regard to promoting inclusive political solutions and ensuring women's meaningful and equal participation in peace processes. The UN neither can nor should manage conflicts and crises alone. We will work to strengthen the UN's partnerships with regional organisations, especially the EU and the AU, and for creating cohesion across of humanitarian, development, and peace initiatives



We will take steps to counter the forces that create cracks in the strong international institutions

The strong international institutions – the UN, NATO, the Council of Europe, the EU, and later the OSCE – all grew out of the horrors of World War II and built on a strong defence for international diplomacy instead of conflict and war. Together with our allies and other likeminded partners, we will work, across the multilateral arenas, to ensure that the forces that challenge the common rules and values do not gain ground. When countries such as China and Russia and other authoritarian regimes attempt to hollow out the values our institutions are built on, we must use our economic power and our democratic foundational values to safeguard the rules based international cooperation.

China is, at one and the same time, an economic competitor, a partner, and a systemic rival. Internationally, China is adopting a more assertive line that challenges the global rules on numerous issues. Because China's view on fundamental human rights diverges significantly from ours, and China puts collective state interests above the rights of individuals. This has contributed to increasing the distance between China and the democratic countries of the world on the value-based multilateral agendas and requires that we, together with our like-minded partners, insist that all countries must live up to their commitment to respect human rights.

In both the EU and NATO, there is an increasing attention on China, which regularly takes advantage of hybrid tactics such as cyberoperations and influence campaigns in order to advance strategic goals. In addition, China is working determinedly to be the leading country in terms of technologies that, in the future, will have a considerable impact on global security and defence policies as well as

economic competition. This requires that we, together with our allies and partners, are ready with a response when our values and interests are trampled underfoot and that we work to maintain the international institutions as the framework for forming norms and rules.

At the same time, China is an unavoidable partner when it comes to solving a number of the global challenges we face - especially the climate crisis. China also constitutes a significant market for Danish and European companies and plays an important role in the global value chain. There is a constant need for promoting equal economic relations and improving market conditions for Danish and European companies in China. We will work to maintain a strong and constructive Danish-Chinese relationship with cooperation and dialogue in select areas, including the green transition within the framework of a new green joint timetable for the strategic partnership. Because it constitutes an important lever for promoting our interests and values - bilaterally and multilaterally.

The political and economic weight is shifting to Asia – Denmark is increasing its focus on the Indo-Pacific

The world's economic and political centre of gravity is shifting towards the Indo-Pacific. The region is marked by increasing security policy tensions, geopolitical competition, and disputes regarding territorial rights. And the region is a junction point for the world's shipping.



We will, bilaterally and pursuant to the EU's Indo-Pacific strategy, strengthen cooperation with the Indo-Pacific countries that share our values and stand firm with regard to multilateralism, free trade democracy, and a world order based on rules.



We will work for the right of free navigation and respect for the UN's Convention of the Sea.



We will strengthen our influence by seeking to enter into partnerships and cooperation with other countries in the region, including Australia, Vietnam, and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, (ASEAN). Therefore, we have acceded to ASEAN's treaty for peace and cooperation (TAC). ASEAN is the most advanced regional cooperation organisation in the world after the EU, and, with a collective population of 650 million people, the third largest market for the EU.

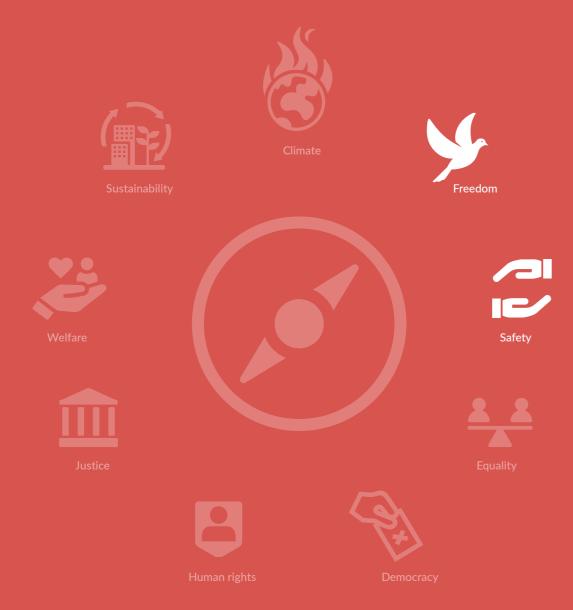


We will, build on Denmark's existing strategic partnerships with Japan, India, South Korea, and Indonesia.

17

- We have adopted a joint plan of action with Indonesia with 86 concrete action points leading up to 2024. For example, we will establish a bilateral climate dialogue and build up a concrete cooperation regarding sustainability and energy. And we are establishing a dialogue on human rights and building collaboration for preventing violent extremism.
- In our joint working plan, we have come to agreement with Japan regarding concrete cooperation projects within, for example, the fields of energy, digitisation, agriculture, healthcare, and maritime matters.











Military operations





Peaceful development in the Arctic







FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY STRATEGY

3. Safety diplomacy

A more secure world that creates safety for Danes

Safety and security for Denmark and the entire Danish Realm is about protecting us from the currents that threaten our values, freedom, and cohesion.

Denmark's security starts with strong alliances. We need to foster and strengthen them – also by bearing our part of the responsibility in the hotspots of the world where we have the most at stake. Side by side with our allies.

We will promote peaceful development in the Arctic, which increasingly represents a geopolitical battlefield. It starts with concrete steps towards even closer foreign and security policy cooperation within the Danish Realm, where the toasts and speeches of the past are put into action. And so we will seek even closer cooperation with our closest allies in the Arctic and support NATO's increased focus on the region.

We must take steps to counter instability and dark militant Islamism by coming down hard on terror groups, preventing conflicts, and working to promote sustainable and democratic development in our southern neighbouring regions. Because Denmark and Europe are facing a zone of instability in the South. If we look towards the East, Afghanistan is in a very serious humanitarian and economic crisis following the Taliban's seizure of power. The situation risks making regional insecurity worse and leading to an increased risk of conflict. If we look to the Sahel in the South, there is an entire region in danger of breaking in half as a result of crises and conflict.

We will once again sign Denmark in to fight for disarmament and arms control. An area that was given less priority by the previous Government, while military tensions and the risk of an arms race have only grown bigger. This is not a time for Denmark to stand on the side-lines. We must promote modern international agreements that reduce the risk of military escalation between countries in a world with ever more weapons. And offer diplomatic solutions for avoiding a new arms race, on Europe's doorstep but also in a region such as the Indo-Pacific where, to an increasing degree, there are security policy tensions.

We must work together with the EU, NATO, and our allies to provide a robust response to new threats. Defend our democratic institutions, critical infrastructure and enterprises against cyber-crime and attacks, disinformation, and hostile interference.

Last but not least, we must apply a security policy point of view regarding our security of supply in a broader context. We are experiencing an increasing geostrategic competition and significant pressure on the international supply chains. This applies to vaccines in response to COVID-19, but also to a high degree with regard to energy and raw materials. Therefore, Denmark and the EU must – preferably in cooperation with the USA and other partners – enhance Danish and European supply security. Otherwise, we risk losing terrain.

In brief: Key threats to our safety and Denmark's response



Stabilisation and combatting of militant Islam in Syria and Iraq

Since 2014, Denmark

has increased its military and civil contributions tointernational coalitions' efforts to combat ISIL and to stabilise Iraq and Syria And since December 2020, Denmark has led NATO's Mission in Iraq (NMI), Denmark thus has an absolutely central role in regard to strengthening the Iraqi security forces' ability to safeguard Iraq's security on their own. The military efforts do not stand alone but are part of the broader framework of political and civilian initiatives in the region. Because we must prevent ISIL from again gaining an ideological and geographical foothold and, at the same time, work to prevent irregular migration. Therefore, in connection with the NMI leadership, Denmark has re-opened the Danish Embassy in Iraq - with posted staff from both the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defence. In addition, the regional stabilisation programme for Syria and Iraq contributes positively to stabilising areas that previously have been under ISIL's control through, for example, mine clearing efforts and

civil society support.







Current and expected Danish military contributions to missions and operations within the framework of NATO, the UN and/other coalitions or in a national capacity as of 27. January 2022

In addition, with their national and regional deployments, Danish Defence has a presence throughout the Arctic and the North Atlantic and the Baltic. We will continually adapt our engagement so that we are there where we can make a genuine difference for Kingdom of Denmark's and our allies' security and safety



Low tension in the Arctic

An absolutely crucial part of the Kingdom's efforts in the Arctic is the goal of the Arctic being a low-tension area. It is both a goal in itself and also a prereguisite for sustainable economic and social development to the benefit of the people in the Arctic. The ongoing international cooperation in and about the Arctic, including within the Arctic Council, supports this goal. In addition, the Government is working specifically to avoid a military escalation and to prevent an arms race in the Arctic. This is being done, for example, through initiatives in cooperation with the other players in the Arctic that are

working for increased

transparency and re-

ducing the risk of

misunderstandings



cooperation in the Danish Realm with regard to the foreign and security cooperation is well un-Specifically, it involves a involving the day-to-day Council, and regarding joint participation in the Kingdom's Arctic partners such as the USA.

billion Danish kroner - that is how much the Government has decided to spend on the Arctic capacities package



Strengthened cooperation in the Danish Realm

We are strengthening the policy. The work for closer inclusion and stronger derway and will continue. broad range of initiatives work in the international cooperation in the Arctic for example in the Arctic ministerial meetings with

Arctic capacities package

From 2023, the Arctic capacity package will strengthen Danish Defence's surveillance of and presence in the Arctic and the North Atlantic and contribute to NATO's overall situation in the region. We must keep an eye on developments and ensure that we can exercise our sovereignty and carry out both civil and military tasks in the Arctic and the North Atlantic. The package focuses on initiatives that also benefit the Greenlandic and Faroese societies



Russia's illegal annexation of Crimea in 2014 and continued attempts to destabilise Ukraine with both hybrid threats and military build-up constitute a serious threat. And the majority of the Russian demands for security guarantees from the USA and NATO are irreconcilable with the fundamental principles for the European security order that Russia itself had a part in establishing following the fall of the Berlin wall. Denmark stands side by side with its allies in NATO and the EU in the defence of ensuring that all countries in Europe have a right to freely choose their alliance partners. And we stand firm on the basic principles for European security. At the same time, we stand ready to pursue possible diplomatic tracks in NATO and the OSCE in order to de-escalate the situation and find solutions. But we do not accept the use of military power or threats. Either in Ukraine, Georgia, Belarus, or other countries in our neighbourhood area.

NATO and a strong transatlantic bond are the guarantors for Denmark's security and the Danes' safety, and we must contribute our share to the alliance's deterrence and collective defence. Also in Europe.

21

Therefore, Denmark provides a substantial contribution to the security efforts in our neighbouring Baltic Sea region as well as in the North Atlantic and the Arctic.

Therefore, as of 21. December 2021, Denmark contributes to 7 of NATO's operations and missions.

Therefore, Denmark has assumed the leadership of NATO's mission in Iraq (NMI) And we will contribute substantially to NMI after we have handed over the leadership. We contribute robustly to NATO's training and capacity building in partner countries such as Ukraine, Georgia and Iraq – because prevention is better than intervention.

Therefore, Denmark contributes to NATO's deterrence efforts and reaffirmation initiatives in the Baltic Sea and the Baltic States, among other things in the form of substantial military contributions to NATO's advanced presence in the Baltic States.



Cyber threats and attacks must be met with firm responses

As one of the most digitalised countries in the world, Denmark is particularly vulnerable. Therefore, Denmark participates actively in the international cooperation on deterring and increasing the costs that states and non-state actors must pay with regard to cyber attacks against Denmark, our allies and our close partners.

We are working in the EU to strengthen internal resilience and for an increased focus on the EU's cyber-diplomacy.

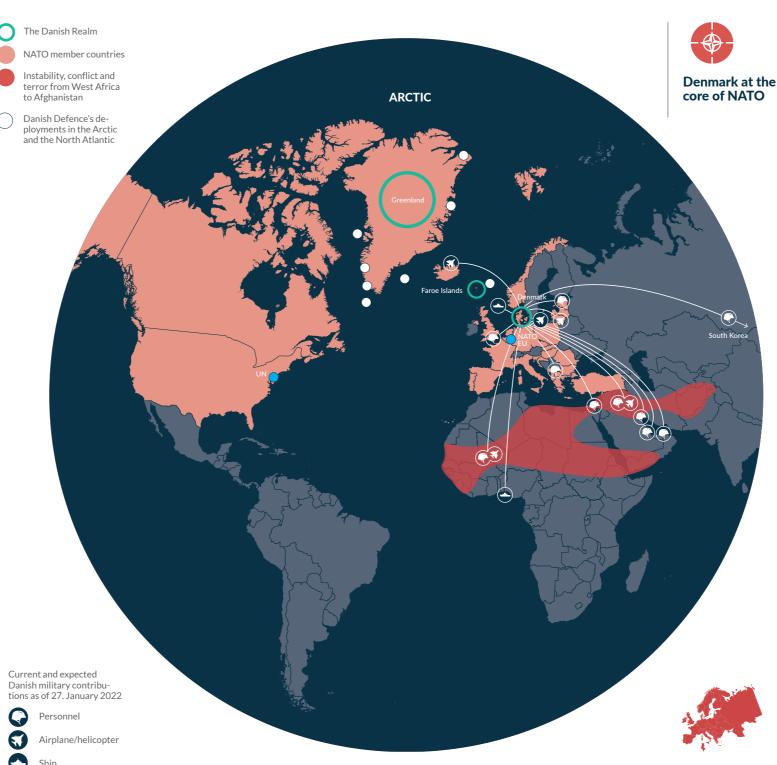
Among other things, a "cyber-diplomacy toolbox" has been put together for a united response to cyber attacks that ranges from dialogue to the possibility of sanctions. Sanctions have been adopted against state actors from Russia, China and North Korea, and work is actively being done to expand the use of the cyber sanctions regime.

We cooperate with like-minded countries regarding the joint public declarations that expose the actors responsible for cyber attacks

It is important that we, to an increasing degree, provide information on the threat of cyber attacks. Therefore, Denmark is a strong advocate for more public statements from the EU and NATO. In 2021 alone, it has been possible to bring the EU and NATO together regarding public statements following the Solar Winds and Microsoft Exchange Servers-cyber attacks and most recently in connection with the Ghostwriter campaign, which, among other things, targeted the disruption of the German federal election.

We support the efforts for advancing international laws and establishing norms in cyberspace.

Denmark works actively to promote endeavours within the UN framework to establish and implement international norms for responsible state behaviour in cyberspace as well as actively counter the attempts of authoritarian states to establish norms and rules that are contrary to Denmark's values and interests.



Strong alliances

The Government will make Denmark ready to handle the increasingly complex threat landscape by investing in the alliances and international organisations that support our security. Because it is NATO and the strong transatlantic bond that are the guarantors for our security.



We will maintain Denmark at the core of NATO and strengthen the transatlantic bond

We will work for a strengthened NATO that adapts itself to the significant military and technological changes in the security policy landscape. Because, at a time when the world is characterised by increasing geopolitical competition, new threats, unpredictability, and a continually more aggressive Russia, NATO is more important than ever for Denmark's security. Therefore, we stand side by side with our NATO allies in the fight against militant Islamism and terror in the Middle East. We participate in NATO's deterrence in our neighbourhood area to the east and are among the first to offer sought-after cyber-capacities to the alliance. The majority of the Danish international military contribution is integrated into NATO's operations. We will work to ensure that NATO to a higher degree responds to global challenges. This also applies to China's military modernization and more aggressive behaviour, which contributes to a more complex security landscape. The Danish Armed Forces must be geared for the challenges of the future and have the appropriate capacity to maintain Denmark at the core of NATO also in the future. Because Europe must assume a greater part of its security policy responsibility, and in this context, Denmark will do its share. It must not be a question of either or between NATO and Europe or between NATO and the EU. Europe must assume more responsibility for our own sake. But also to maintain American engagement in European security. Therefore, we must also strengthen the NATO-EU cooperation. And therefore the upcoming Danish defence agreement will have the Wales-targets as its point of departure. It calls for careful consideration and strategic choices. With the security policy analysis group that the Government has formed, a thorough analysis of the foreign and security policy situation and its consequences for Denmark and the Danish Armed Forces is assured.



We will strengthen our security policy bonds and contribute to international operations

We will continue to step up with contributions to international operations through NATO, the UN, or other country coalitions when our safety is at stake. We will strengthen our close defence cooperation with the USA – both in Denmark and in our neighbouring regions. And expand the strengthened Danish-French security policy cooperation. Denmark stands together with, among others, France in the Strait of Hormuz and in the Sahel to create security and stability Finally, we must continue to develop the Nordic and Baltic Defence Cooperation, the cooperation with other likeminded partners, including, especially, Germany. And the United Kingdom continues to be one of Denmark's closest defence and security policy partners. We must ensure a continued strong foreign and security policy partnership between the United Kingdom and the EU in the wake of Brexit.



We will ensure Denmark's safety by increasing stability and preventing conflicts

We will support conflict prevention and peace and state building in fragile and conflict-ridden countries, especially in Africa. We will do this by becoming a candidate for the UN Peace Building Commission in 2023-2024 and the Security Council in 2025-2026 – because it is important for the safety in Denmark that the UN becomes better at preventing conflicts and countering treats. We are working in the intersection between security and development, we will work to prevent attacks against local populations, irregular migration flows, and extremism as well as to ensure the rights of women, seeing as they are particularly vulnerable in conflict situations.



We will maintain and improve national defence industry competences in strategic areas

With the Government's strategy for the Danish defence industry, the optimal framework is ensured for allowing the Danish defence industry to contribute to safeguarding Denmark's security interests. This is necessary based on the heightened threat landscape. It will strengthen the relationship with our allies, and,

at the same time, will support Danish exports when it is possible. We will continue to ensure that weapons and other military equipment do not fall into the wrong hands. To an increasing degree, innovation in the private sector will lead the way in the development of defence equipment – especially with regard to new technologies that will define the balance of power in the future. Here, together with our allies, we must keep one step ahead. And we must ensure that Danish companies and research institutions have access to the European Defence Fund.

Peaceful and sustainable development in the Arctic and the North Atlantic

Together with Greenland and the Faroe Islands, and with the USA as our most important security policy ally, the Government will work to ensure stability and peaceful, sustainable development in the Arctic and the North Atlantic to the benefit of everyone in the region. Because rising tensions in the Arctic constitute a threat against the entire Danish Realm and against global security.



We will strengthen cooperation within the Danish Realm

We will continue to strengthen the foreign and security cooperation with the Faroe Islands and Greenland – to the advantage of the Kingdom as the foreign policy player for the entire Realm. As a concrete example of this strengthened cooperation, a permanent contact committee at ministerial level as been established, which is to ensure closer dialogue regarding foreign, security, and defence policy issues. With particular emphasis on the issues that relate to the Faroe Islands and Greenland. We would like even closer cooperation and community between the three parts of the realm. A partnership based on equality, respect, trust, and mutual inclusion.



We will work for peace and stability in the Arctic

We will insist that all Arctic states live up to their commitments and resolve their disagreements through cooperation based on the Ilulissat Declaration. With an increasing Russian and military presence and build-up, and with a China that defines itself as a "near-Arctic state," the risk of military and political escalation in and around the Arctic is increasing. We will support peaceful development and increase the level of trust in the Arctic by, among other things, cooperation with the Arctic Council and resolving disputes involving issues of demarcation within the framework of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. In the same spirit, Denmark must work to prevent military escalation and avoid an arms race in the Arctic. Because increased military activity also increases the risk of mistaken calculations and unintended escalation. Therefore, we will also work for concrete initiatives that will create increased transparency and reduce the risk of misunderstandings. But we must not be naïve. We must be ready to enforce our sovereignty and interests throughout the entire Danish Realm. And ensure that we can solve both civil and military issues in the region. We will do this, for example, through the Arctic capacity package that is intended to strengthen the presence of the Danish Armed Forces and surveillance in the Arctic and the North Atlantic.



We will support NATO's role in the Arctic and the North Atlantic

We support NATO's increased attention to the region. This applies, for example, to NATO's efforts in the North Atlantic to protect the important supply lines between North America and Europe. It is a natural consequence of the increasing geopolitical challenges in the region, driven especially by Russia. Because NATO's article 5 is the foundation for the security of the entire Kingdom. Increased surveillance and other NATO initiatives must be tailored to the security situation so that the goal of low levels of tension is maintained, and consideration is given to the need for broad cooperation in the region. The NATO allies in the Arctic have a special role, knowledge, and responsibility for the development in the region.

Stability and security in Europe's neighbouring regions

The Government will continue Denmark's military and civil engagement in the Middle East, the Gulf, and the Sahel. In order to prevent terror groups from putting down roots and create additional destabilisation, to resolve conflicts that paralyse the region, and to ensure that the migration pressure in Europe does not increase. And the Government will strengthen the cooperation with allies and partners with regard to managing the threat from the east.



We will strengthen our stabilisation efforts and diplomatic engagement in the Middle East, the Gulf, and the Sahel

With our leadership of NATO's mission in Iraq, our contribution to securing the right of free passage in the Strait of Hormuz and the Bay of Guinea, and our long-term engagement in the Sahel, Denmark is already providing a significant effort to ensure stability in the hotspots close to Europe. At the same time, we are taking a leading role in the diplomatic track of the European surveillance mission in the Strait of Hormuz in order to support regional dialogue as the foundation for lasting de-escalation. Because without a robust civil effort, all the military progress will come to nothing. Therefore, we have also opened an Embassy in Iraq. And we will make use of the entire range of foreign and security policy instruments that we have in our toolbox in order to create long-lasting, sustainable stabilisation.



The Crisis in Afghanistan The consequences of the dramatic and tragic development in Afghanistan since August 2020 comprises a part of the reality that the international society and that Denmark must face. Denmark, NATO, the EU, and the UN must learn from 20 years of complex military and civilian engagement. And from the painful experiences that came at a great cost. Therefore, the Government is conducting an evaluation of Denmark's evacuation efforts in connection with the Taleban's seizure of power that is expected to be published in the first quarter of 2022, and an Independent Inquiry into Denmark's civilian and military engagement in Afghanistan in the period 2001-2021 (expected to be published before the end of 2023).

In the immediate future, we are facing a Taleban-led Afghanistan where the risk of humanitarian, economic, and security collapse is significant. This could have consequences inside and outside the region. Also for Europe and in Denmark. In the longer-term, we must, together with our partners and allies, make use of the entire toolbox available to manage the future challenges in Afghanistan and the region, especially with regard to humanitarian assistance, security and migration.



We will defend our values and interests in the eastern neighbouring region

Russia continues its aggressive behaviour, both with regard to Denmark, our neighbours, and in our neighbourhood region. It constitutes a security policy challenge on Denmark's, NATO's and the EU's doorstep. Russian violations of democratic values and human rights, serious and systematic cyber attacks on public authorities and businesses, disinformation and influence campaigns. Poison attacks, a lack of conforming to international arms control agreements, frozen conflicts as well as the illegal annexation of Crimea, continued intimidation and aggression in eastern Ukraine. We will not accept that Russia to an increasing degree ignores the common international rules. Or that Belarus under the Lukashenko-regime carries out gross violations against civilians, forces planes to land, as well attempts to put pressure on the EU through the completely unacceptable instrumentalisation of migration. Both countries' lack of respect for international rules destabilises and leads to a more insecure world. We will stand firm with clear and straightforward responses with our allies and partners.

25

Global disarmament and arms control

The Government will engage Denmark in the fight to preserve, adjust, and expand the inter national arms control and disarmament system. Because the pressure on international cooperation and, especially, Russia's more aggressive behaviour are undermining the European security architecture that Denmark's security is also built on.



We will prevent an arms race and the spread of nuclear weapons

We will strengthen Denmark's engagement in international diplomatic efforts. As a small country, we cannot pull the strings. But a targeted national effort with regard to non-proliferation and arms control can provide an important contribution. We will make use of our strong international institutions - not least the OSCE and IAEA - as a platform to maintain and develop common rules. In close cooperation with our allies, we will undertake initiatives that can contribute to maintaining and expanding the international engagement for peaceful development, just as we will also work actively to preserve the Iran nuclear agreement. Because the development of nuclear weapons in Iran constitutes a direct threat against our security and is pouring petrol on an already volatile situation in the Middle East.

At the same time, we will step up our efforts to ensure that we bear our share of the responsibility for ensuring that weapons, products, and technologies that can be used for malicious purposes do not fall into the wrong hands.



Denmark is engaging in order to preserve and expand the international disarmament and arms control system We must support and strengthen the global rule-based order, avoid an arms race and ultimately prevent war. It is of crucial importance for Denmark's and all of Europe's security. Denmark has therefore engaged with likeminded countries in order to:

- Strengthen and maintain the existing architecture that has provided our security
- Adjust and build new additions in order to handle new technologies and new players

Overview of principal disarmament and arms control agreements

The European arena

INF Treaty

Ended

Agreement between the USA and Russia regarding eliminating an entire category of land-based short-and-medium range missiles.

OFE Agreement Does not act as intended

Legally binding agreement with ceilings for the countries' conventional weapons as well as a duty of notification and openness with regard to the verification of stocks.

Vienna Document Need for modernisation

Politically binding agreement under the auspices of the OSCE with confidence-building initiatives such as information sharing about and supervision of armed forces and military activities, among other things with a requirement of prior information on exercises and the possibili-

Open Skies Treaty Does not function as

ty for inspections.

Legally binding agreement that is to create confidence, openness, and predictability through unarmed flights that can monitor military activity, equipment, and installations of military significance.

The Global arena

NPT Treaty

Under pressure

The fundamental treaty in the nuclear area that is to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the technology for producing them as well as promoting nuclear disarmament.

CWC Treaty Under pressure

Legally binding treaty that forbids chemical weapons, including the development, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons.

New STARTagreement Extended for 5 years

Agreement that governs Russia's and the USA's inter-continental ballistic missiles and launch platforms.

JCPoA

Under pressure

Agreement that is to ensure that Iran does not develop nuclear weapons.

CTBT Treaty

Not entered into force

The UN treaty on prohibiting nuclear test launches.

DPRK nuclear weapon

Still no verified denuclearisation

It is estimated that North Korea has between 30 and 40 nuclear weapons. In 2003, North Korea pulled out of the NPT Treaty. Since 2006, the UN has adopted a number of resolutions targeting the country's nuclear programme In 2018, North Korea showed an interest in negotiating, but there have still been no concrete agreements with the country regarding disarmament.

Responses to new threats

The Government will work to ensure that Denmark, the EU, and NATO can manage the threats that stem from technological development, and foreign investments, and the use of hybrid instruments such as cyber operations, influence campaigns, and disinformation. Because we must – together with our partners on both sides of the Atlantic – prepare ourselves for a new security policy frontline that is driven by an increasing global technology competition, and where democratic institutions can come under pressure.



We will strengthen the supervision of foreign investments and suppliers

Through new legislation regarding the screening of certain foreign investments, we are strengthening – just as our European and transatlantic partners – the supervision of foreign economic activities in Denmark that constitute a threat to our national security and public order, for example with regard to critical technology and infrastructure. And we participate in the European cooperation regarding the screening of foreign direct investments in order to counter vulnerabilities and dependencies within critical societal sectors and technologies. At the same time, legislation on tele-security contributes to ensure safe, reliable suppliers for our critical telecommunication infrastructure in connection with the rollout of 5G. These initiatives strengthen our safety and, at the same time, will ensure a predictable and transparent investment climate.



We will increase the efforts to counter espionage against Denmark by foreign powers

We will strengthen Denmark's capacity to resist the illegal activities of foreign states and ensure resolute action when it is discovered. There continues to be a threat against Denmark and the entire Danish Realm from illegal intelligence activities such as hidden influence and espionage targeting public authorities, businesses, and institutions (e.g. research institutions) or the persecution of diaspora who enjoy protection on Danish soil. That is something that we cannot tolerate. In close and mutual dialogue and cooperation with Greenland and the Faroe Islands, Denmark will work to prevent illegal intelligence activities from foreign states throughout the entire Danish Realm.

New threats that Denmark faces⁽⁵⁾

Economic cooperation and transfer of technology: Foreign states' economic agreements and investments abroad often reflect a mixture of economic, diplomatic, and strategic initiatives that support the foreign state's foreign policy and provide its enterprises opportunities for selling their goods and for acquiring knowledge and technologies.

Cyber espionage: Foreign powers use their cyber-capacity to spy on other countries, including Denmark. Knowledge and intellectual property stolen through cyber espionage can be misused to oppose western interests or harm Danish businesses.

Cyber attacks: Criminal hackers. who sometimes work for foreign states, daily expose Danish authorities and businesses to cyber attacks. The attacks are used for various forms of enrichment through such things as fraud, theft, and extortion. Destructive cyber attacks against critical infrastructure can also pose a risk. Destructive cyber attacks have primarily been used in Ukraine, the Middle East, and other areas of conflict. The attacks can also strike Danish organisations, as the NotPetya attack in 2017 demonstrated.

Influence campaigns: To an increasing degree, foreign powers attempt to make use of the cyber-domain to influence opin-

ions and behaviours, spread disinformation and conspiracy theories in western democracies, including Denmark. This constitutes an increasing threat against the free and public debate in Denmark.

Hybrid attacks: Foreign states can use a mix of diplomatic instruments and sophisticated and swift information and cyber operations, hidden and occasionally open military and intelligence operations as well as economic pressure in a coordinated way, to target democratic states' and institutions' vulnerabilities without crossing the line for formal warfare.

The EU – a strong economic and political community



We must bring the economic weight and the political influence of the EU into play so that we can strengthen the EU's ability to take action – because the EU is Denmark's most important foreign policy platform.



The EU must lead the way in the fight over values on the global scene

The EU is absolutely crucial in the global fight over values – and for our shared safety and welfare. With its economic and political strength, the EU both can and must lead the way in the fight for democracy, human rights, the climate, sustainable development, and decent working conditions.



The EU must be a climate union with global clout

The EU started out as Coal and Steel Union. Now the EU must become a Climate Union. And Denmark must lead the way in the fight for a socially just and green transition. Because if we do not lead the way in Europe and deliver on a massive popular wish for a greener future for our children, we risk that the climate crisis also develops into a democratic crisis. Both in Europe and around the globe. Therefore, we will push for ensuring that, by forming alliances with progressive EU countries, we in the EU use our political engagement, our ability to set high standards, and our development cooperation to a greater degree as a platform for raising the global climate ambitions.



The EU must assume more responsibility with a focus on Europe's neighbourhood regions and the new threats

Denmark supports the development of a European strategic compass. It must set the course for an EU that can assume an even larger security policy responsibility. Because we need a stronger EU that can take on more in its neighbourhood region. Especially when it comes to managing the new threats where the EU has special competences in responding to hybrid attacks, hostile cyber attacks and espionage. And we must work to strengthen the EU's partnerships so that we ensure complementarity between e.g., NATO and the EU through strengthened political dialogue between the two organisations.



The EU must be able to do more on its own

We will work to reduce the EU's dependency on third countries within critical societal sectors and technologies. We must more actively use the EU's weight and our high European standards in order to affect a sustainable and fair development and ensure global influence.



The EU leads the way in a fair and sustainable trade policy

As the biggest trade partner for approx. 74 third countries, the EU is a trade policy superpower. (6) We are working to ensure that the EU's trade agreements will promote European standards and values, ensure decent labour conditions and be the lever for a green transition.

Denmark and the EU's resilience

The Government will push to ensure that Denmark, together with the EU, strengthens its resilience and security of supply in a time of economic and geopolitical shifts and increasing global competition for the world's scarce resources and raw materials.



We will ensure a more robust supply chain

We will work to reduce the EU's dependency on third countries when it comes to sectors and technologies that are critical for society. This requires that we diversify the supply chains in order to make them more robust. We will do this through e.g., pushing for new market openings. We must not be dependent on individual countries, but instead be able to call on a broad range of credible partners – both within the EU and throughout the world. The lack of protective equipment during the pandemic and the increasing energy prices in Europe have made clear the vulnerabilities of the EU's supply chains in critical areas. At the same time, we must ensure a balance so that the initiatives do not lead to protectionism and an EU that closes itself off. Because that would harm Danish exports, be detrimental to Danish jobs and prosperity and undermine our strategic interests.

We will also strengthen cooperation within the EU and the Nordic countries with regard to promoting circular economies and the re-use of raw materials, and thereby reducing the risk of being in a dependent relationship with third countries.



We must strengthen the EU's own capacity within important strategic technologies

We must strengthen our long-term competitiveness within strategically important technologies with regard to the green and digital transitions. Areas where there is an increasing recognition within the EU of the fact that we must stand stronger globally in order to protect our safety and the jobs of tomorrow. We will also seek cooperation with likeminded countries, such as the case e.g., with the USA in the Trade and Technology Council (TTC).

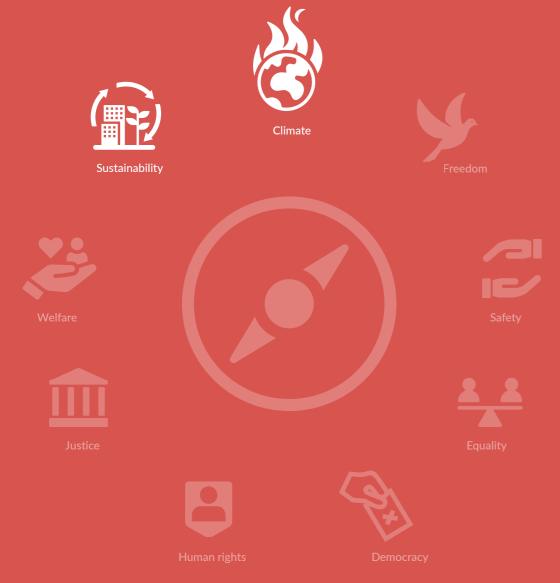
Global health security and pandemic preparedness

The COVID-19 pandemic has had major consequences for economies, people's health, and societies throughout the world. The global pandemic preparedness was not sufficient. Therefore, we will strengthen the global health security and pandemic response. We will actively support drawing up a global pandemic agreement and strengthening the World Health Organisation (WHO).



We will strengthen Denmark's, the EU's, and the global pandemic response

We will work to ensure that, together with the EU, we significantly strengthen our preparedness with regard to transnational health threats such as mutations and new viruses. We must acknowledge that Europe was not well enough prepared when the crisis hit. Therefore, the EU is creating a new authority (HERA) that is to ensure a better and faster response towards the next pandemic.. And we must strengthen the strategic cooperation with regard to the production of vaccines – both in the EU, but also with global partners that have positions of strength and specific competences. Therefore, the Government will also establish bilateral strategic vaccine partnerships with select partners. Not in opposition to the EU cooperation, but as an important supplement.







difference



Strong climate diplomacy that brings others along



International leadership for a fair green transition



Green strategic partnership with India



Climate change hits the weakest the hardest and creates a breeding ground for migration.

FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY STRATEGY

4. Climate diplomacy

Denmark as a green superpower

31

The climate crisis must be checked, and we must bring an end to the fossil fuel era. The climate fight is a generational contract we must not break, and also a collective commitment of unity to the people of the world. Climate change also constitutes a crisis of safety. It exacerbates the security policy tensions when the fight for scarce natural resources intensifies. It increases the pressure from migration when people's livelihoods disappear.

At the UN's climate meeting in Glasgow in 2021, the international community took an important step in the right direction. Agreement was reached that the 1.5-degree target is the marker that the countries' climate efforts should aim towards. But the countries' own climate goals are far from sufficient if we are to succeed.

Denmark is therefore declaring war on coal and pressing for a green transition away from fossil fuels. We must ensure that the global climate ambitions are converted into concrete action now.

As a leading country in the green arena, we have a special responsibility to drive the development from carbon dependency to a green future. We will consider sustainability broadly. The global green transition must also be socially sustainable. Because the efforts will only be lasting if we create better living conditions for everyone.

The Government will mobilise green strategic partnerships with some of the major emitters in the world. So that, through modern climate diplomacy, strategic sector cooperation, and partnerships with the Danish business community, we can show the way for achieving a socially fair green transition. It will make a noticeable difference in the global climate fight and clear the way for increased exports of green Danish solutions within the fields of energy, water, and sustainable foodstuffs.

We will push the EU to use its influence and global heft to pressure the main countries of the world that are dragging their feet. And we must take advantage of Denmark's global green leadership to ensure clean energy, clean drinking water, and sustainable food for all. We will support the developing countries – especially in Africa – in taking the green and sustainable development road. Because if we do not take steps on all fronts, then the climate crisis may also contribute to undermining the democratic institutions if the next generation loses its trust in believing that elected officials can deliver the right solutions.

In brief:

The climate challenge around the world and Denmark's response to it



Climate diplomacy where it can make a difference

A number of Danish embassies around the world have been named green front line missions and have a special responsibility for advance the climate agenda. They are the frontline in Denmark's climate diplomacy and are helping to realise the ambition of global Danish leadership in the green arena.

Green front line missions in crease the focus on the climate and the green agenda across the board, from export promotion and development assistance to strategic sector cooperation and public diplomacy.

The green front line missions put climate on the political agenda, including by pushing Danish green positions of strength as well as by sharing the Danish experience from strategic sector cooperation or from development efforts, from the technical level into the rooms where the decisions are made.

The green front line missions integrate the local climate efforts across sectors and instruments, where also Danish financed multilateral efforts are made visible and are made use of in the host countries.

The green front line missions strengthen the export promotion efforts for green Danish solutions.



Strong climate diplomacy that brings others

Denmark cannot raise the global level of ambition and win the fight against time alone. Therefore, we work determinedly through the climate outposts and the Danish Climate Ambassador in order to get the EU to strengthen its climate diplomacy and to turn its political and economic influence into climate action around the world. Among other things, Denmark leads the way in order to ensure a strong EU engagement and concrete tracks to follow in the war on coal and the efforts for the global phasing-out of other fossil fuels. And both bilaterally and through the EU, we are working for strengthened cooperation with a number of major emitters, especially with the USA and China with regard to raising the global climate ambitions. In addition, Denmark works overall for political dialogue with the relevant players, including the civil society and the business community.



cooperation on energy in 19 countries accounting for more than 60% of the global CO2 emissions, we are helping to drive the green transition



Green strategic partnership with

The green strategic partnership with India is an important lever for accelerating India's green transition and for strengthening the cooperation with India regarding the green agendas in international forums. We are talking about a broad-spectrum cooperation between Danish and Indian public authorities based on Danish experience and solutions, which for Danish businesses' green solutions to support the transition in India.





With our strategic sector



also can open the doors

Climate change hits the weakest the hardest and creates a breeding ground for migration Climate change will be one of the biggest threats for

the stability of states and societies for the coming years. Extreme weathertreme weather phenomena such as droughts put pressure on people's means of subsistence and intensify existing patterns of conflict. The Sahel is hit particularly hard.

That is how much the African countries' GDP is expected to fall if the global temperature rises 4 degrees. Even if the goal of limiting the global temperature rise to 2 degrees is met, the GDP will still fall by 5% as a result of, among other things, lower productivity, especially in the foodstuff sector. (8)

Global greenhouse gas emissions 2017 without LUCF (Land Use Change and Forestry) (7)

Top 3 Top 4-10

Green front line missions

Sahel

Green strategic partnerships

Top 11-20



Internationalt grønt foregangsland

Denmark's ambitious national climate initiatives and the Danish positions of strength give our voice weight internationally and provides access to important rooms where the decisions are made. At the same time. Denmark has, for example, demonstrated international leadership via:

Setting a goal of a 70% reduction in greenhouse emissions in 2030 as part of a binding climate law.

Setting an end date for the exploration and production of oil and gas in the North Sea.

Deciding to establish the first energy islands in the world.

Climate secured access to water in the Sahel and on the Horn of Africa

In the next four years, Denmark will contribute to new and better access to clean drinking water and sanitation in the Sahel and on the Horn of Africa e.g., by expanding the capacity to store water when droughts come, or by repairing broken water pumps.



International leadership for a fair green transition

We will assume international leadership in the fight for a transitioning from black to green energy and access to clean energy for all. We will lead by forming alliances and building partnerships with countries, the private sector, international organisations, research institutions, and civil society. Through the leadership of the Zero Emission Coalition, we are working to launch CO2-neutral ships in 2030 and climate neutral shipping in 2050. And with the Beyond Oil and Gas Alliance (BOGA), we are pressing for governments to put an end date on their oil and gas production.

Denmark's total contribution to the international climate financing to the developing countries is expected, from 2023, to account for at least 1% of the developed countries' collective goal of mobilising USD 100 billion annually. This is significantly more than our share of the developed countries' GDP dictates.

Global green transition

The Government will take targeted steps in order to accelerate the phasing out of fossil energy sources, including especially coal and the scaling up of energy efficiency initiatives. Because the global climate ambitions must be raised if the Paris Agreement's 1.5-degree target is to be reached.



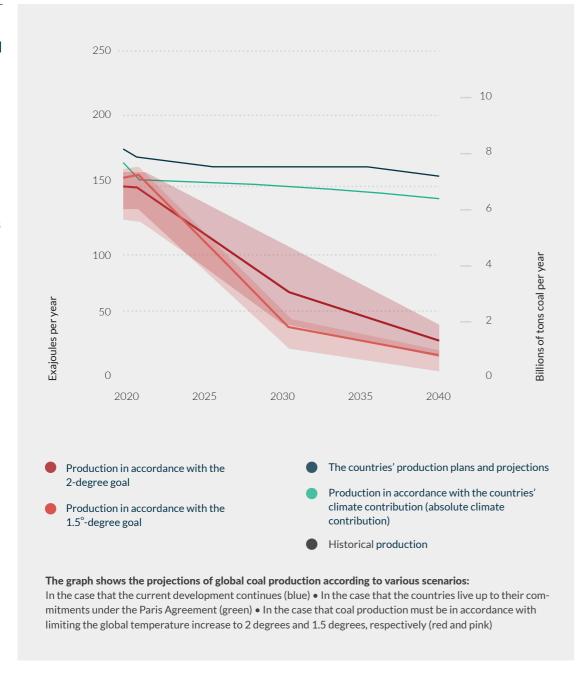
The beginning of the end of the fossil era

Through active climate diplomacy work, Denmark has contributed to getting the war against coal on the global agenda. More and more countries are supporting it. An end to the fossil era can become a reality

Development and projection of global coal production⁽⁹⁾

Coal constitutes the biggest single source of global temperature increases.⁽¹⁰⁾

Phasing out coal is decisive for whether the world reaches the goals set out in the Paris Agreement.



if the pressure is maintained. We will therefore strengthen our climate diplomacy commitment through a holistic approach in which creating global alliances and political pressure – bilaterally and through the EU, the UN, and other international organisations are supported by local initiatives that contribute to ensuring that the ambitions are transformed into actual green initiatives – with Danish solutions at the

35

centre. Because we must reverse the development in the consumption of fossil fuels and avoid developing countries choosing black energy. From our own green transition, we have the experience and the solutions in order to lead the way and bring others along with us. And with our green strategic partnerships and strategic sector cooperation, we have good opportunities for influencing and supporting a socially fair green transition.



We will mobilise green strategic partnerships with the major emitters and cooperate broadly on the energy transition

We will work to enter into a new green strategic partnership with South Africa and Vietnam and for strengthening the existing green strategic partnerships with China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Mexico, and South Korea. A strengthened climate diplomacy effort – combined with Danish experience and Danish green solutions – should act as a lever for accelerating the green transition in these countries.

We must exploit the renewed green momentum that the USA's support of the Paris Agreement and most recently for the Glasgow Climate Pact has provided. The USA is a crucial partner in the fight for raising the global level of ambition and the USA is an important market for developing and selling Danish solutions within the field of energy, water, and food products, which can help the USA's green transition on its way.

The EU must be a climate union with a global impact

The Government will work to ensure that the EU leads the way in the global climate fight. Because a high level of climate ambition in the EU will both drive the green transition in Europe and turn the EU into a leading green region in the world.



We will ensure that the EU delivers on its ambitious climate targets

We will work both within and outside of the negotiation rooms in Brussels and through bilateral dialogue with a range of EU countries to achieve an ambitious implementation of the EU's Green Pact and the EU's climate package Fit for 55. If the EU is to be a credible global climate warrior, we must first have our own house in order and deliver on our own targets with concrete action. Therefore, we will also push for climate regulations in all significant sectors so that we ensure that we achieve the EU's 2030 target of at least a 55% reduction and get on the right course with regard to climate neutrality by 2050 at the latest. An ambitious climate policy that, among other things, promotes sustainable energy and energy efficiency will be a driving force for development, upscaling, and the export of green Danish solutions.

At the same time and in close cooperation with the business community, we will work to ensure that a major portion of the EU's resources result in actual green initiatives where the greatest possible climate and environmental impacts are achieved, including in connection with the EU's recovery fund.



We will strengthen the EU's climate diplomacy throughout the world

We will work determinedly to ensure that the EU builds alliances with the major emitters and expands its alliances with the African countries and, at the same time, supports their own initiatives for a green transition and climate adaptation. The African countries play a crucial political role with regard to pressuring the major developing economies to raise their ambitions. At the same time, they will account for the increasing emissions in the future unless they themselves carry out a green transition.

Climate action through strong international institutions

The Government will defend and strengthen the international institutions that are crucial for creating a sustainable green transition. Because we must have everybody on board and ensure that no one is left behind.



We will maintain the UN as the central forum for cooperation with regard to the green transition around the world

We are working to ensure that the UN Climate Convention, the Paris Agreement and the Sustainable Development Goals constitute the international framework for the global climate efforts. We will maximise the global ambitions. We will do this by pressing to get the biggest emitters in the G20 to submit strengthened climate contributions and ambitious commitments. Agreement at COP26 regarding the 1.5-degrees goal was an important milestone. We will do our best to reach that goal.

We are demonstrating that a green and socially just transition is possible, are creating pressure on other countries so that they commit to an energy transition, and are contributing to innovative solutions for how the transition can take place in practice. Our focus is particularly on clean drinking water, clean energy, and sustainable food solutions for Africa because we must ensure that the African countries choose the green rather than a fossil-based development road.

We will continue to make our development assistance greener. Therefore, the climate, nature, and the environment have a central place in the development policy strategy "The World We Share." We will take steps in the UN and within the international development organisations to strengthen the efforts for increasing the developing countries' ability to adapt and their resilience with regard to the harmful effects of climate change. Because climate change is a catalyst for instability and hinders economic development in those places in the world that have the most need for it.

At the same time, we will work for a high level of ambition and an effective implementation within the fields of aviation and shipping. Particularly through strengthened maritime climate diplomacy in the International Maritime Organisation (IMO). As one of the leading shipping nations in the world, Denmark assumes the green maritime leadership and together with, among others, the USA, we have set a goal that shipping will be climate neutral by 2050.

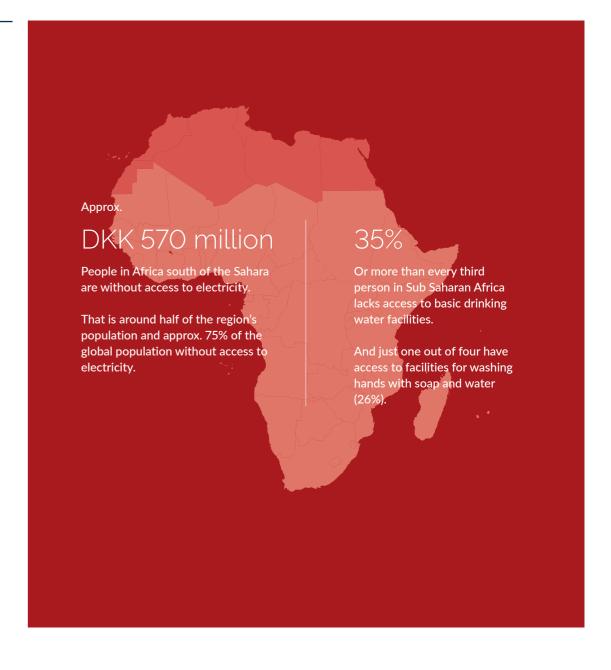
Denmark takes steps where the need for reduction is greatest, and where we have the best prerequisites for making a difference⁽¹¹⁾



Through our climate outposts, green strategic partnerships, cooperation with public authorities in the energy, water, and foodstuffs sectors, we contribute to the green transition in a number of countries that, together, account for around 67% of the global greenhouse emissions

- OKEIGNAND SECORITTI OEICT STRATEGT

Access to clean drinking water and energy is crucial for sustainable development and for creating a decent life⁽¹²⁾







of the EU



Cooperation on a strong asylum and migration system in the EU



Strengthen relations to the North



Special focus on Africa



Special efforts for girls and women in the Sahel



Peace and stabilisation initiatives



Helping more people by helping locally

FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY STRATEGY

5. Migration diplomacy

A robust response to the pressure from migration and refugees

People must not put their lives at risk in the search for a better future in Europe and Denmark; instead, they should be ensured the possibility of a secure life with future prospects and rights in the places where they live. Because people do not just leave house and home for security and for food on the table, but also for co-determination. And we help more people, more quickly, and in a better way when we help refugees in the neighbouring regions to crisis and conflict.

We must step up the efforts to form alliances with those partners who are willing to help lead the way in finding solutions that can create a just and humane asylum system. A new approach is needed if we are to break the human traffickers' inhumane business model and gain better control over who and how many people come to Denmark and Europe. Because we must protect the social cohesion in Denmark and the EU, and our welfare society. And we can help far more of the most vulnerable refugees in their local regions.

The Government is working – in full openness and transparency and within the frameworks of Denmark's international commitments – to get the processing of spontaneous asylum seekers and any subsequent protection moved outside of the EU, so that spontaneous asylum seeking is replaced by orderly conditions and a durable model.

At the same time, we must take measures to prevent irregular migration by stepping up Denmark's and the EU's efforts along the major migration routes into Europe. We will strengthen the political, commercial, and development-related relations to third countries that are willing to engage in closer migration cooperation – especially to the North African countries that have long had to deal with the migration challenge on their own.

Our development assistance is being restructured so that we significantly increase the efforts in local regions – particularly in Africa. Because we help more people – and with more sustainable solutions – when we act locally. That is why we are also strengthening our efforts in the Sahel, where many of the 21st century's challenges meet – conflict, terror, irregular migration, climate change, poor governance, poverty and hunger.

In brief:

The migration challenge and Denmark's response



Strengthen relations with the North African Countries

North Africa is the last, crucial link in a number of the migration routes leading to Europe and Denmark, and many North African countries are, to an increasing degree, themselves countries of origin for irregular migrants. At the same time, studies have shown that many young people in North Africa are considering leaving their homelands in the hope of a better life. There is a need for close partnerships and increased concrete support if we, together, are to succeed in putting an end to irregular migration and creating better future prospects in the North African countries. Therefore, we will:

Strengthen the political dialogue with the countries in North Africa.

Strengthen trade and build up the trade policy relations between the EU and the countries in North Africa.

Strengthen our development cooperation engagement.

period 2021-2024 to strengthen resilience and create better local living conditions in North Africa.



Reception centres outside of the EU

A cornerstone of the

work for a just and humane asylum system is to get the asylum processing of spontaneous asylum seekers moved to reception centres outside of the EU with any subsequent protection in the third country in question. We are in dialogue with a number of third countries regarding the possibility of entering into an agreement, and we are working intensively to create alliances and concrete cooperation with countries in and outside of the EU regarding the idea. At the same time. we must also strengthen the EU's external borders and support the countries along the migration routes. We have therefore allocated DKK 190 million in 2022 for capacity-building projects in origin and transit countries in order to, among other things, strengthen border control and build up local asylum systems. In addition, DKK 110 million has been allocated specifically for increasing the return of rejected asvlum seekers.



Over 80 million people around the War. (13)

Cooperation on a strong asylum and migration system in the EU

The EU's migration and asylum pact must contribute to realising the goal of a just and humane asylum system. We will, therefore, engage in the negotiations where we will especially prioritise:

A holistic approach to the migration and refugee challenge, where strengthened efforts in countries of origin and neighbouring regions as well as the capacity-building of public authorities along the migration routes in relation to border controls, asylum systems, repatriation efforts and combatting human trafficking are important elements.

The introduction of screening as well as expedited asylum processing at the EU's external borders with the purpose of carrying out a security screening and supporting the swift return of rejected asylum seekers and other third-country citizens lacking legal residency.

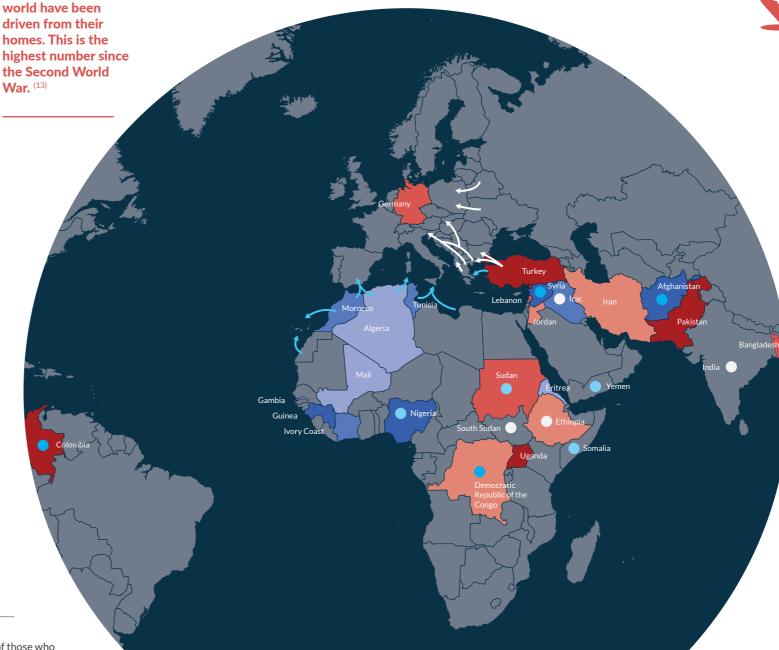
Initiatives that strengthen the EU and Denmark's possibilities to return rejected asylum seekers, including through the use of all relevant levers such as development assistance, visas and trade policies, as well as broad migration partnerships.

DKK 250 million

approximately, was spent in 2019 on housing rejected asylum seekers.

Approx. 50% of those who seek asylum in Denmark are not recognised as refugees and approx. 810 rejected asylum seekers in Denmark find themselves in a position to be deported.





Help more by helping locally

41

The Government has already injected more funds into the humanitarian area and to efforts in fragile states and areas neighbouring crises and conflict. With the re-structuring of development assistance, the Government would like even more development funds to be used in these areas. Because we help more people and in a better way when we help locally. With the increased financing, we must:

Strengthen the opportunities for a dignified life where a person is born or in a neighbouring area.

Strengthen the capacities of the countries along the migration routes so that they can handle the pressure from refugees.

Create more opportunities for education and jobs in order to create hope for a better future for young people in the fragile states and neighbouring areas. For example, through the EU's ioint trust fund, we have contributed to more than 140,000 people having participated in entrepreneurial courses and job training in the regions neighbouring Syria.

The expenditures for teaching a refugee child in a Danish public school amount to just under DKK 90,000 per year. For the same amount, 152 children could be offered schooling for a year in Burkina Faso. Or, 68 refugee children in Kenya could be offered a full package of teaching material for a year. (16

Special initiatives for girls and women in the Sahel

DKK 200 million for the

The challenges that the fragility in the Sahel trigger affect especially women and girls who are already often marginalised in economic, social and legal matters. Therefore, Denmark has, among other things, a sharp focus on girls and women in our efforts for creating sustainable development in the Sahel. We work to promote the participation of women in peace processes as well as in the work with regard to preventing and managing conflicts. We do it bilaterally and in close cooperation with the UN and the EU. We contribute also to initiatives regarding sexual education and family planning through e.g. the UNFPA and our bilateral country programmes.

Overview of the most frequently occurring countries of origin for arrivals of refugees and irregular migrants to Europe for the period 2016-2021 (*1 January - 31 May 2021) (14)

Top 4

Top 5-8

Top 9-12

Overview of the 12 countries that house the most refugees.

Top 9-12

Overview of the 12 countries with the most internally displaced persons (IDP) due to war, conflict, and natural disasters.

Top 4 Top 5-8 Top 9-12

Key routes to Europe by sea and by land that refugees and irregular migrants use. Note that the majority of them arrive by plane. (15

By land By sea

We will provide a boost to Africa and strengthen the broad efforts in local regions

The Government will strengthen the Danish engagement in Africa and increase the EU's efforts in local regions and fragile states – particularly in Africa. Because the development in Europe's neighbouring regions is becoming critical.



We will strengthen our relations to North Africa

We will build a much closer bond to North Africa – both bilaterally and through the EU. A cooperation that reflects how important the North African countries are for Danish interests, especially with regard to the fight against terror and managing the pressure from migration and refugees. As the final stop before Europe on the African migration routes, the North African countries are coming under increasing pressure. These are societies that are already facing pressure from, among other things, population growth, climate change, poverty, inequality, and poor governance. This means that we are also seeing more and more migrants from the North African countries themselves.

We will increase our trade, expand our green cooperation, step up our development cooperation engagement, and work to strengthen civil society and the respect for human rights. This should, at the same time, strengthen the countries' ability to manage the pressure from refugees and migration and create a foundation for stronger cooperation with regard to refugees and migration.



We will help more in local regions

We will ensure a much stronger Danish effort with regard to preventing and managing irregular migration and refugee flows in areas bordering crises and conflict and along migration routes – from origin, transit, and destination country to Europe's border. Through a significant restructuring of Danish development assistance, we are strengthening the efforts to address the fundamental causes of irregular migration and internal displacement, alleviate humanitarian crises, and build the capacity of public authorities along migration routes. Our efforts will focus on selected countries along the most important migration routes leading to the EU in North Africa, on the Horn of Africa, the Sahel, the Middle East, and Afghanistan.



We will push for an EU boost for Africa

We will work as hard as we can to strengthen the EU's focus on an equal partnership with Africa. The EU must, to a much higher degree, mobilise and merge its foreign, development, and trade policy instruments in order to lift the relationship to a new level. This should contribute to promoting democratic development, respect for human rights, and good governance. And through a sharp turn in the EU's development assistance in the direction of African countries, the EU must address the fundamental causes of irregular migration by contributing to job creation and green and sustainable development.

The EU must rise to the occasion with regard to the geopolitical competition on the continent because, otherwise, we risk that other players who do not share our fundamental values will gain ground. As Africa's biggest donor, trade partner, and investor, the EU has good cards in its hands but has not managed to transform them into sufficient influence all places.



We will strengthen Denmark's engagement in the Sahel

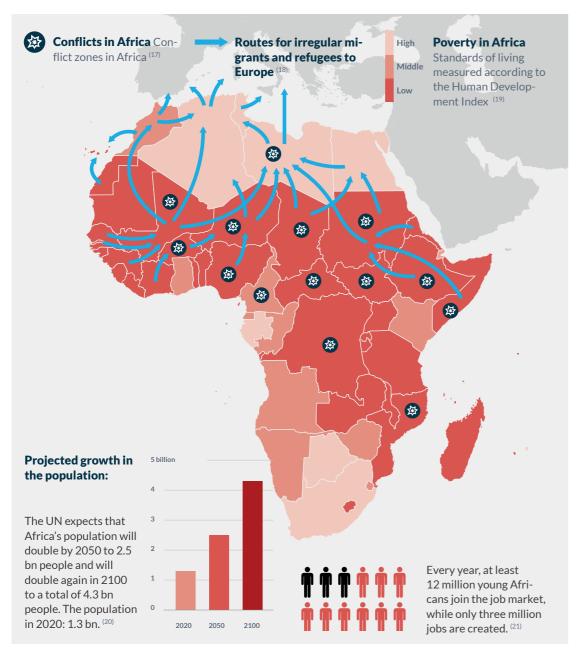
Through robust contributions to military operations to, e.g. the UN peacekeeping operation in Mali, MINUSMA, we will promote peace and stability in the Sahel region. At the same time, we will put pressure on the Sahel countries to assume more responsibility for dealing with their own security and to ensure human rights and good governance.

But the military efforts cannot stand alone. We will expand our long-term development and stabilisation efforts in the region. We will promote good governance, create opportunities for the many young people in the region, and strengthen the countries' ability to adapt to the extreme effects of climate change. We will increase the efforts for women's participation in conflict resolution and peace building. And sharpen the focus on preventing human rights violations, particularly among local security forces. We will also continue to work for lasting solutions to forced displaced persons and promote their safe, voluntary, and dignified return.

We put in the effort to create stability and sustainable development in the Sahel



Africa: Great challenges and great potential



The EU's asylum and migration system and external borders

The Government will work to strengthen the EU's asylum system and make it more effective. Because unless the current development is reversed, the pressure we saw on the EU's external borders in 2015 could return.



We will work to ensure that EU's asylum system is better prepared to respond to the migration challenge

We will work to ensure that the EU strengthens the protection of its external borders. We will do this, for example, through the Danish contribution to the European border and coastguard agency, Frontex, to which Denmark provides a significant contribution.

We must ensure a thorough screening of everyone who arrives, that asylum cases are only processed in one country, and that persons who do not have a claim for protection are returned home. Applications for asylum must be processed as fast as possible, and a sspecial urgency procedures must be introduced at the

borders. We will work to improve the early warning and coordination systems so that we can manage new

We will work to ensure that the EU's Pact on Migration and Asylum prevents and limits the migrant and refugee flows by introducing a holistic approach with a focus on tailor-made partnerships in the regions of origin and in countries along the migration routes and in the EU's neighbouring countries with a view to building the capacity of local asylum and migration authorities.

We will push for a strengthened EU effort with regard to repatriation, where, through partnerships with the countries that are facing challenges, it is possible to provide help and support and, at the same time, present direct demands. We must also be ready to make use of the entire range of diplomatic toolbox, including visa and trade.

A just and humane asylum system

asylum crises as quickly as possible.

The Government will bear Denmark's international responsibility and lead the way for a just and humane asylum system. Because the international asylum system has, in truth, failed.

We will relocate the asylum processing to reception centres in third countries

We are strengthening the efforts for getting the processing of spontaneous asylum seekers and any subsequent protection moved from Denmark to one or more third countries outside of the EU. In full respect for Denmark's international commitments. If one knows that getting a foot on Danish ground and applying for asylum no longer provides the possibility of a future in Denmark, fewer people will put their lives in the hands of human traffickers in order to get here.

The ambition is an asylum system where the primary access to Denmark will be through the UN's quota refugee system and where we can decide for ourselves which and how many refugees are offered protection in Denmark. In this way, we can help those who have the greatest need.

We will work determinedly to create alliances and international backing for this approach – in full openness and transparency. We are seeing an increasing international recognition of the need for new solutions, and many countries have shown an interest in going down new paths. We wish to establish a scheme in cooperation with other parties, but we are ready to take the first steps alone.

We will strengthen the capacity of the countries along the migration routes

We will work for a more just and humane asylum system through technical support and capacity building in the neighbouring regions to crisis and conflict, along the migration routes, and in relevant third countries, when it comes to border control, the structuring of asylsystems and the refutation of irregular migration.

We will strengthen the efforts for returning rejected asylum seekers to their home countries

We will strengthen our efforts for returning foreign nationals who are residing in Denmark illegally to their home countries. We are stepping up the efforts within the UN for building an alliance of countries that are insisting that everyone should live up to the declaration of intent in the UN Global Migration Compact from 2018, which states that all countries must readmit their own nationals residing illegally in another country. At the same time, as a principle, Denmark must not provide long-term development assistance to countries that refuse to cooperate with regard to readmitting their own nationals. We will also, together with other EU countries, make use of the option to introduce more restrictive visa rules for the countries that do not cooperate on readmitting their own nationals.







Partnerships with the business community



Taking steps Globalisatio against benefits eve protectionism



A just, green an digital single market



Sustainable trade policy FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY STRATEGY

6. Economic diplomacy

Fair and sustainable economic development that ensures Danish jobs

Danish exports have revived to the level from before the COVID-19 pandemic; now they must reach new heights. At the same time, the disruptions in the global supply chains and labour shortages constitute pressing challenges. And we are facing an international economy in a state of flux, characterised by a great amount of uncertainty. This requires an active Danish economic diplomacy. A strong public-private cooperation on developing the solutions that the world needs, and that are robust with regard to future shocks. Because Danish jobs, the Danish economy, and our welfare are core priorities for the Government. But growth and free trade are not goals in themselves. The goal is welfare and sustainable growth that everyone can share in. We want to pass on a more sustainable world to our children. Therefore, our economic diplomacy has a triple bottom line where we push for a global sustainable transition with Danish solutions as the lever and a focus on good working conditions. This means that we are working to strengthen Danish exports that create economic gains. Sustainable gains. And human gains. Promoting green energy solutions, resource efficiency, circular economies, and digital industrial transitions must go hand in hand with a regard to social responsibility and justice for the individual as well as society.

Danish businesses must benefit from globalisation. They have a need for talent, capital, and expertise from around the world, in the same way that there is a strong demand from abroad for the special Danish solutions and competences. We have given our green export initiatives a significant boost, and we welcome a close working relationship with the Danish business community with regard to getting sustainable Danish solutions out into the world. The same applies to green foreign investments. It will benefit Danish jobs and sustainable development globally. We must both create and share value - not just here at home but also throughout the world. Because it is the best way to protect our own societal model and Denmark as a whole. But globalisation also has a dark side, where inequality grows and where the hunt for profits happens at the expense of social responsibility, sustainability, and workers' rights. That creates a legitimate feeling of injustice. When huge multinational companies do not contribute to our community as they should, or when the free movement of labour turns into free social dumping, then it challenges the cohesion in our society. Therefore, we are pushing for an EU where multinational companies are reigned in so that market forces are never stronger than the needs of society. And we work to ensure that the World Trade Organisation (WTO) is reformed and enabled to not only put free, but also open, fair, and sustainable trade at the centre.

We are taking steps to ensure that the EU's single market and the external trade policy promote Danish exports and act as a lever for creating a green transition and decent conditions for everyone. This requires that the EU gets a more value-based and more strategic approach to trade policy. That the regard for workers' rights and conditions is given greater weight. That the climate and the protection of the environment carries greater weight than they do today.

The economic opportunities and challenges of globalisation and Denmark's response



Sustainable Danish exports

Appox. that many jobs in Denmark are directly or indirectly connected to the export of goods and services. And every 5th employee in the private sector works in a foreign-owned company. (22)

We have given exports a boost with DKK 2.5 billion in export and stimulus packages and the strengthening of Denmark's Export Credit Agency (EFK) so that the capacity for financing of green projects has been brought up to DKK 14 billion. Now is the time to aim for new heights and win new market shares. And we are activating the entire toolbox for the effort:

The Danish missions help as local trouble-shooters, cultivating new markets and combatting new trade restrictions.

Strategic sector cooperation promotes sustainable transitions with a starting point in key Danish competences, public-private partnerships and technologies. As e.g., in China, where cooperation between the Danish Energy Agency and the Chinese authorities has contributed to reducing the consumption of coal and CO2 emissions by approx. 22 million tons a year.

Green strategic partnerships support achieving the global goals while, simultaneously, the market positions and export opportunities of Danish enterprises are improved.

Green front line missions secure focused commercial initiatives in the green arena and create visibility for green Danish solutions.

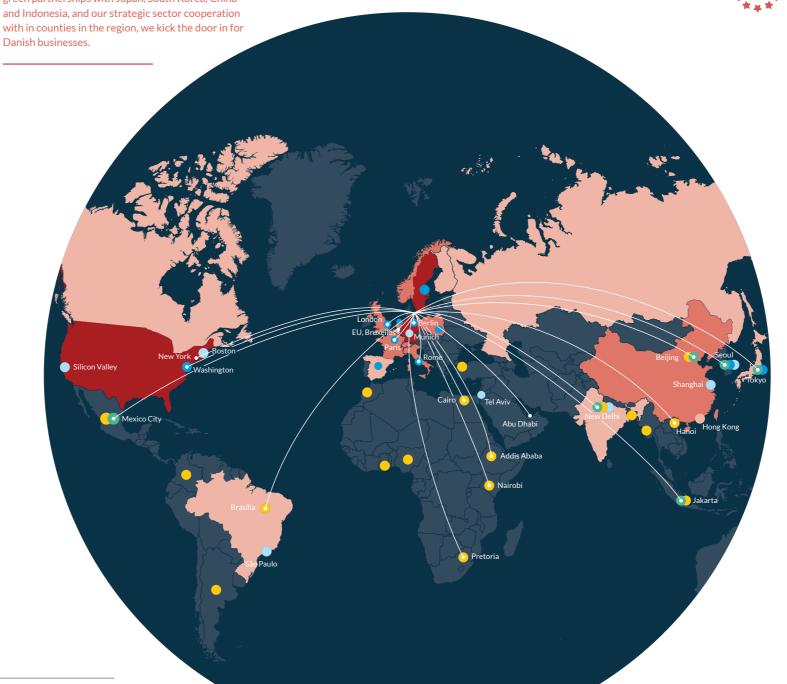
Innovation centres build bridges between Danish enterprises and the strongest partners within research, capital and business development. This contributes to international competitiveness and increases the potential for exports.



We are strongest through partnerships

It is uniquely Danish that we have a trusting and value-creating collaboration between the public sector, the trade unions, and the business community with regard to the challenges of society. The joint response to the COVID-19 pandemic has demonstrated this quite clearly. At the same time, there are many public and private actors that support the internationalisation of Danish businesses. More cooperation and cohesion in the initiatives will create an overview and increase value for the businesses, especially for start-ups and SMEs. The Government will strengthen the cooperation with other public actors and establish strong public-private partnerships for export preparation, innovation, attracting foreign investments, and export promotion. We will also work for a longer time horizon in our economic diplomacy so that the focus both remains on exports and investment promotion here and now and on developing markets and positions of strength in the long run. With the partnership approach, we jointly strengthen the internationalisation of Danish businesses. And we create value for businesses and society that no single actor can create alone.

Already today, Asia accounts for three out of six of the biggest economies in the world. With our strategic green partnerships with Japan, South Korea, China and Indonesia, and our strategic sector cooperation with in counties in the region, we kick the door in for



A just, green and digital single market

About 50% of Danish exports go to the single market and, based on a rough estimate, around 500,000 Danish jobs are dependent on these exports. (24)

The development of the single market directly affects our daily lives. Therefore, Denmark is, both inside and outside of the negation rooms in Brussels, a strong voice for ensuring that the common rules are based on good framework conditions with high standards and decent working conditions in an open single market. We need to be able to trade with each other and achieve the many advantages it brings - but it must happen based on fair competition. Danish green and digital solutions are sought after in a number of EU countries. The single market must remain the driving force in creating a greener, more digital and more just EU.



Putting an end to tax havens

Approx. DKK 6.5bn

That is how much Denmark loses out on because of companies that make use of tax havens. For the EU countries, the amount is over 400 billion DKK. (26)

We are taking the lead in the fight against tax havens and aggressive tax planning and are pushing for just international tax rules. Through the EU, we are working for, among other things, strengthening the EU's joint blacklist of tax havens so that tax speculation does not provide advantages e.g., with regard to public tenders and for ensuring an effective implementation of the OECD's new minimum level for corporate taxation.



Danish exports have caught up on what had been lost - but a great amount of uncertainty remains ahead

Through the EU, we will take steps to counter the tendency of rising protectionism and trade barriers that make it difficult for Danish businesses to trade abroad. COVID-19 has intensified the tendency. 80 countries introduced temporary export bans and restrictions during the first months of the crisis. (25) Luckily, it looks like global economic growth is rapidly on the way up and many export restrictions are being rolled back. The challenge consists in taking optimal advantage of export opportunities and managing the many protectionist initiatives.

climate front line mission

- Strategic green partnerships
- Strategic sector cooperation financed by development assistance
- Export-oriented strategic sector cooperation
- Innovation Centres

Denmark's most important export markets (23)

Top 4-10 Top 11-20

Denmark and Germany - together on a sustainable future

With our partnership for promoting democratic values, Denmark and Germany have a solid starting point for creating a more sustainable and fair future. We must e.g., cooper-

The green transition. Denmark and Germany must jointly push for an ambitious climate policy in the EU. We must cooperate on energy transition - and, in this context, the Government will work to bring sustainable Danish solutions in play in the German

Digitisation and digital civil rights. Denmark and Germany must work for a strengthened digital single market – and for strengthening the digital rights of citizens. Denmark is well in the front when it comes to digital transition and the Government will help to disseminate Danish digital solutions to Germany and the rest of the EU.

New heights for Danish exports

The Government has given the export and investment promotion efforts a significant boost in order to future-proof exports in the light of the pandemic. We must reach new heights and win new market shares.



We will open doors around the world

Danish, Greenlandic, and Faeroese businesses have a lot to offer the world, and the Foreign Ministry stands ready to assist these businesses in increasing their exports. Our missions can contribute to strengthening exports by identifying new market opportunities and creating demand for the solutions that these businesses can provide based on their positions of strength. COVID-19 has intensified the trend toward increasing protectionism and a lack of resources. This means that we must fight extra hard to secure exports.

Our missions are our local trouble-shooters, who can help to solve the challenges where they arise. Through active economic diplomacy, strategic sector cooperation, and in partnership with the business community, we will promote the framework conditions that make our solutions the obvious choice. Targeted export promotion, cooperation in business alliances, and business consultancy – for large and small enterprises – are to provide everyone who has something to offer an export lift.



We will make exports, value chains, and foreign investments greener

We will make a special effort to ensure that Danish exports of green technology solutions and project consulting are strengthened. And we will increase the synergies with development assistance in order to advance the opportunities for Danish businesses to bring commercial and sustainable solutions into play in developing countries. This will be good for exports and contribute to green growth and local jobs. We will support Danish businesses in making their global value chains and sub-contractors greener, more secure, and more socially responsible. Because the price of economic profits must never be worse working conditions, lower environmental standards, or higher emissions of CO2. We must strengthen businesses' resilience and their competitiveness, and, at the same time, work for a green and sustainable development for all countries. Therefore, we will improve our strategic sector cooperation. And mobilise the Danish business community for a green, climate-friendly transition in the developing countries.

We will work to ensure that Denmark's global green leadership is used to attract foreign investments. A greater percentage of the foreign investments in Denmark must be sustainable and contribute to a green transition and more jobs.



We will take advantage of the opportunities available in the EU's green recovery

With export packages, we are mobilising, in close partnership with the business community, a swift, strategic effort to promote Danish solutions with regard to the recovery projects in other EU countries. The EU's recovery fund of Euro 750 billion, which is to promote digitisation, health, and the green transition, constitutes a unique opportunity. We have therefore, among other things, strengthened selected embassies within the EU in order to ensure that Danish solutions can be bought into play in these markets.

A multiple-pronged export effort with a strong sustainable focus



A new export strategy for water and a new export strategy for energy

We must help with spreading Danish expertise with water and environmental solutions. New water sector advisors at the embassies are to strengthen the dissemination of Danish water management capabilities, increase the level of ambition in partner countries and take home the experience from abroad.



Strengthened export promotion initiatives targeting SMEs and digital sales

Export advising is strengthened with a focus on SMEs and through a significant boost to the counselling for digital sales and digital transitions in a number of key export markets. New SME programmes are launched targeting concrete international export and innovation projects.



Green growth pool for market initiatives and the positions of strength for the future

The growth pool is to provide funds for strategic business alliances, pilot projects and other activities that can result in export potential in the green sector.





Strengthened health diplomacy approach and strategic sector cooperation on life science

We must increase the promotion of Danish life science solutions through strengthened cooperation with foreign authorities and sector specific export and investment efforts. Additional health sector experts posted to our embassies will work to ensure especially SMEs' access to life science exports to high value markets as well as attracting foreign investments.



More risk investment export

51

COVID-19 has created a need for more risk financing, for example for green solutions in new, high-risk markets. To this end, Denmark's Export Credit Agency has been given a significant injection of capital.



Special market initiatives against protectionism and for developing robust green value chains

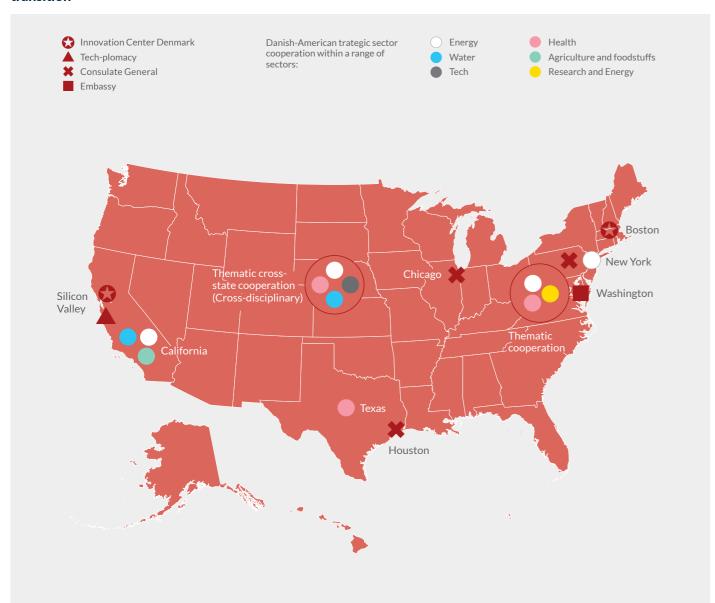
We are increasing the efforts against trade barriers and for the better use of the EU's trade agreements as a part of the diversification of the supply chains of businesses. The businesses are also supported in their work with greener and more socially responsible value chains.



A new green project and market maturation fund.

We must support the maturation of projects that specifically target business alliances and, in that way, create the basis for export orders. The initiatives are to be additionally strengthened through the short-term posting of technical experts and the posting of Denmark's Export Credit Agency counsellors to prioritised regions.

Danish solutions are to contribute to the USA's green transition



New opportunities for green Danish exports.

The Biden administration's green ambitions provide new opportunities for green Danish exports. The Government has allocated DKK 45.6 million over three years for a strengthened effort in the USA in the form of a new strategic sector cooperation with regard to water and climate-friendly agriculture and foodstuffs solutions as well as boost to the existing strategic sector cooperation in the energy sector.

Close strategic sector cooperation with a number of states on green transitions.

Denmark already works in close strategic sector cooperation with a number of states on green transitions. In the water sector, this cooperation has, for example, opened the door for Danish businesses in California, where a major joint project has been launched between Danish and Californian stakeholders regarding mapping groundwater, which will help to alleviate water shortages.

Strategic sector cooperation on offshore wind energy.

In the energy sector, strategic sector cooperation on offshore wind projects in selected North-eastern states has contributed with Danish expertise and experience regarding the conditions for offshore wind energy production. Danish developers have won 40% of the finalised tenders for 14GW and will therefore, in the coming years, install three times as many offshore wind farms as Denmark's total current capacity.

The EU's single market – an engine for prosperity and the green transition

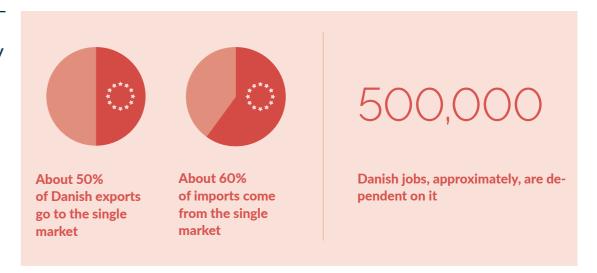
The Government will improve and strengthen the EU's single market to the benefit of Danish workers, businesses, and consumers. Because a well-functioning single market is an important engine for the Danish economy and for the EU's and Denmark's competitiveness.



We will fight for a socially just single market

We will lead the way in combatting social dumping. So that we safeguard the Danish labour market model and ensure decent conditions for everyone. Because we must have a fair single market in which the good opportunities for trade and mobility are not exploited to undermine standards and the level of pay. There should be an equal sign between labour's free movement and fair movement.

The single market increases prosperity in Denmark (27)





We will increase competitiveness by safeguarding the single market and focusing efforts on strategically important areas

The single market is key for growth and jobs in Denmark. Free trade and free competition are the basis for jobs, prosperity and welfare in Denmark. Therefore, we must continue to strengthen the single market and ensure the fundamental principles of openness and level playing field as a basis for Europe's competitiveness.

But the world has changed. New strategic challenges emerge. That is why we have to strengthen the development in critical and strategically important areas – especially if we are to succeed with the green and digital transition. We must further develop Denmark's and the EU's positions of strength through a targeted business and industrial policy where we focus on strengthened framework conditions and public private cooperation that is promoting innovation and development. The EU's economic strength and regulatory power constitute the precondition for EU's global influence. The first steps have already been taken by the Government's active participation in the European Clean Hydrogen Alliance, the European Raw Materials Alliance and the European Alliance for Industrial Data, Edge and Cloud. The Government will also participate actively in the upcoming European Alliance on Processors and Semiconductor. We maintain a restrictive stance in regards to the use of state aid in order to avoid a Europe where we apply state aid to protect industries that are not competitive in the long run.



We will work for high standards, clear rules, and fair competition

We will work for a green and digital industrial transition borne on the high standards that we are known for in Denmark. Because we must be "rule makers not rule takers." In this way, we safeguard our welfare society, create demand for Danish solutions, and, at the same time, contribute to sustainable development within the EU and throughout the world.

At the same time, we must address the barriers that have arisen as a consequence of COVID-19 – and further develop the single market. We must strengthen the enforcement with regard to those who do not respect our common rules. This a prerequisite for the single market being able to function. Barrier-free trade is key for Danish businesses being able to compete. And we must keep a focus on the fact that consumers must be able to have trust in the goods and services they buy.

We will safeguard free and fair competition by working to ensure that the EU takes more effective action with regard to unfair state aid that provides foreign businesses from third countries an unfair competitive advantage. At the same time, the EU must remain open for investments from abroad. They can contribute to creating growth and prosperity in Denmark and the EU. But it must take place on fair and equal conditions.



We will accelerate a responsible digitisation

We will support the digital transition of Danish export businesses and the use of digital sales channels in exports as well as help to get the Danish digital solutions sold internationally. This will create growth and employment in Denmark and contribute to responsible technological solutions in other countries.

We will, therefore, also strengthen the digital single market. Both so that Danish digital businesses can scale their business and in order to promote a digital economy in the EU, where digitisation contributes to addressing long-term societal challenges, and where an ethical, responsible, and safe digitisation goes hand in hand with growth, job creation, and innovation.

Not just free, but fair and sustainable global trade

The Government will push for an EU that, to a higher degree, takes advantage of its clout as a trade super power in order to support strategic interests and a fairer and more sustainable world. Because as a little economy, Denmark is dependent on global trade and investments and is an active advocate for an open and fair international trade system.



We will make trade policy the driving force for a greener and fairer world

We will work to ensure that the EU increases the requirements for sustainability and workers' rights in its trade agreements. With its approximately 450 million consumers, the EU is an attractive trading partner. This gives us the clout to act as a driving force for increasing the global standards regarding the environment and the climate, and for decent working conditions throughout the world.



We will push for the EU to lead the way in ensuring thorough reforms in the WTO

The WTO must again become the centre of negotiations with regard to new fair and sustainable trade rules and an effective mediator in trade disputes. This is even more important at a time when the trade policy system is in upheaval, with increasing unilateralism and protectionism. Brexit has weakened the integrated trade relations between the EU and Great Britain. And the trade conflict between the USA and China challenges the rule-based international trade cooperation that Denmark and the EU are dependent on.

Only through the EU as a collective trade policy player can Danish interests be safeguarded effectively visa-vis major trading nations such as China and the USA. The foundation must be common global trade rules, but with the WTO in deep crisis, we must admit that the world has taken too long to understand and act on the trade policy implications of major inequality in many countries, rising globalisation scepticism, and the growth of China.

55

We will especially insist that the WTO lives up to its task of promoting digitisation and green trade liberalisation that contributes to creating new export opportunities for Danish businesses and that also benefits developing countries. We will fight for a global phasing-out of support for fossil energy sources that prevent businesses from transitioning to green solutions.



We will work for global social responsibility

We will work to ensure that the EU is given stronger instruments to hold multinational companies to their social responsibility. And work for openness regarding the tax payments of large multinational companies in all countries. Because even in Denmark and the EU, we sense the justified feeling of unfairness that occurs when globalisation opens the door to tax evasion. Because tax evasion is welfare theft.

Therefore, Denmark was also one 137 countries that reached an historic tax agreement within the OECD. With this agreement, an effective minimum taxation of 15% for the biggest multinational companies is being introduced. This applies especially with regard to the tech giants, where the agreement will help to ensure a fair and modern taxation of their particular business model.









2025 will be a very important year on the international stage for Denmark. We will take over the rotating EU Presidency in the second half of 2025. At the same time, Denmark will hold the Presidency of the Nordic Council of Ministers and in May 2025 take over the two year Chairmanship of the Arctic Council. And, if we succeed with our candidature for the UN Security Council, Denmark will become a member of the Security Council in January 2025 for a two year period.

FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY STRATEGY

7. A Denmark that can take action in the world

Denmark is facing an historically unpredictable world. It requires clear value-policy indicators for protecting Danish interests so that we can ensure the Danes' safety, our social cohesion and welfare, our values and social model. And it requires a modern Danish diplomacy that builds partnerships in the world and is sharply focused on raising Danish interests and values where it really counts.

We reap the most benefit for Denmark out in the world when the Foreign Service works in partnership across ministries and agencies, regions and municipalities, the business community, trade unions, educational institutions, and civil society. In a partnership where the threads of modern foreign policy are bound together in new ways and turn into value, security, migration, climate, and economic diplomacy.

But this cannot stand alone. If we are to achieve the priorities set out in this strategy and be prepared to handle the difficult tasks that await us, it will require a Danish diplomacy that matches the task at hand. That is why the Government has decided to break with the last many years of cutbacks in the Foreign Service. Since 2021, a comprehensive restructuring of Danish diplomacy has been underway that leading up to 2025 will mobilise the biggest possible impact behind the priorities of the strategy and provide Denmark with the diplomatic muscles that will be needed for being able to seize the unique opportunities for demonstrating strong and reliable international leadership.

Adjusting the Foreign Service means, of course, making difficult choices and prioritisations. An adaptable foreign service is a necessity in a constantly changing world. And it weakens our influence and impact when we spread the efforts out too thinly.

Therefore, we are building up Denmark's multilateral missions. We are sending more diplomats to the Danish NATO mission in Brussels. Because Denmark needs NATO and a strong bond with the USA more than ever before. And we are strengthening Danish EU diplomacy across the board. Because Europe is facing a growing list of challenges where we have strong interests at stake. We must work hard for key Danish issues and contribute to ensuring that the EU becomes better at solving the colossal tasks ahead of us. And we must be proactive in helping the Danish business community in placing Danish solutions in the centre with regard to the recovery projects in other EU countries. Therefore, we are building up not just Denmark's Permanent Representation to the EU in Brussels and the EU offices at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Copenhagen. We are also sending more Danish diplomats and advisors to a large number of embassies in the EU and the Western Balkans.

Denmark must have a bigger presence in the UN. Because it is here that we must ensure that we get the entire world engaged in the climate fight. And we want to sit at the table when decisions determining war and peace are being taken. That is why we are launching our candidacy to the UN Security Council. And we will follow up by significantly building up Denmark's UN mission in New York and the UN offices at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Copenhagen.

We would like a closer collaboration with our most important allies in the Arctic. Therefore, we are strengthening our Arctic cooperation with the USA and Canada. Additionally, we are upgrading Danish Arctic diplomacy in order to promote closer foreign policy cooperation within the Danish Realm. Finally, placements from Greenland and the Faroe Islands in the Foreign Ministry will promote a foreign service for the entire Realm.

And we are strengthening Denmark's diplomatic presence in the Sahel, North Africa, and on the Horn of Africa. In order to ensure more pulling power behind the Government's ambition for a boost for Africa. Danish development assistance has already been restructured with a much larger focus on Africa. In order to put in an effort along the migration routes and build the foundation for a new asylum system. And in order to promote stability, growth, and a green transition on a continent that will grow by three times the EU's population leading up to 2050.

The Government stands for a Danish foreign and security policy that puts values up front, creates strong partnerships across society and builds on modern Danish diplomacy that ensures a strong and reliable voice on the international scene. That is how we fight for Danish interests and values around the world – and for a security, growth, and prosperity that everyone can take part in.

58 FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY STRATEGY

Reference overview

Value diplomacy

- Source: Freedom House; Freedom in the World 2021, https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2021-02/FIW2021_World_02252021_FINAL-web-upload.pdf.
- 2 Source: Freedom House; Freedom in the World 2021, https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2021-02/FIW2021_World_02252021_FINAL-web-upload.pdf.
- 3 Source: Civicus Monitor 2020, Civic Space on a Downward Spiral, https://findings2020.monitor.civicus.org/downward-spiral.html.
- 4 Source: UNESCO; Observatory of killed journalists, Periode: 2010-2020, https://en.unesco.org/themes/safety-journalists/observatory?field_journalists_date_killed_value%5Bmin%5D%5Byear%5D=2010&field_journalists_date_killed_value%5Bmax%5D%5Byear%5D=2021&field_journalists_gender_value_i18n=All&field_journalists_nationality_tid_i18n=All&field_journalists_local_value_i18n=All&field_journalists_status_value_i18n=All&field_journalists_type_of_media_tid_i18n=All&field_journalists_judicial_tid=All&field_unesco_region_value_i18n=All.

Safety diplomacyi

- 5 Source: Forsvarets Efterretningstjeneste (Danish Defence Intelligence Service), Udsyn 2021, https://www.fe-ddis.dk/globalassets/fe/dokumenter/2021/udsyn/-fe-udsyn-pages-.pdf
- 6 Source: Communication from the commission; Trade Policy Review, 2021, https://ec.europa.eu/transparency/regdoc/rep/1/2021/EN/COM-2021-66-F1-EN-MAIN-PART-1.PDF.

Climate diplomacy

- 7 Source: Climate Watch; Data Explorer, Globale drivhusgasudledninger 2017 uden LUCF (Land-Use Change and Forestry), CAIT, https://www.climatewatchdata.org/data-explorer.
- 8 Source: UNFCCC; Climate Change Is an Increasing Threat to Africa, 27. oktober 2020, https://unfccc.int/news/climate-change-is-an-increasing-threat-to-africa.
- 9 Source: UNEP; Production Gap Report 2021. Oversat af Udenrigsministeriet.
- 10 Source: IEA; Global Energy & CO2 Status Report 2019, https://www.iea.org/reports/global-energy-co2-status-report-2019/emissions.
- 11 Source: Climate Watch, Data Explorer, Globale drivhusgasudledninger 2017 uden LUCF (Land-Use Change and Forestry), CAIT, https://www.climatewatchdata.org/data-explorer.

 I beregningen er inkluderet udledningsdata fra EU27 samlet.
- 12 Source: IEA, IRENA, UNSD, World Bank, WHO. 2021. Tracking SDG 7: The Energy Progress Report. World Bank, Washington DC, https://www.irena.org/publications/2021/Jun/Tracking-SDG-7-2021.

Source: UN Water: SDG 6 snapshot, 2017, https://www.sdg6data.org/region/Sub-Saharan%20Africa.

FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY STRATEGY

Migration diplomacy

13 Source: UNHCR; Refugee Data Finder, Key Indicators, https://www.unhcr.org/refugee-statistics/.

- 14 Source: Data from UNHCR, Operational Portal, Mediterranean Situation, https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean.
- 15 Source: Based on data from African Centre for Strategic Studies, Statewatch og Europol (1. januar 2021 31. maj 2021)
- 16 Source: https://www.unicef.dk/
- 17 Source: FN, Africa Renewal, December 2019 March 2020, https://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/december-2019-march-2020/work-progress-africa's-remaining-conflict-hotspots.

Source: UN News; Sudan: 250 killed, over 100,000 displaced as violence surges in Darfur, 22. Januar 2021, https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/01/1082722.

Source: International Crisis Group; 10 Conflicts to Watch in 2021, 30. December 2020, https://www.crisisgroup.org/global/10-conflicts-watch-2021.

Source: ICRC; A conflict without borders continues to play out in the Sahel, 8. juli 2020, https://www.icrc.org/en/document/conflict-without-borders-continues-play-out-sahel.

- 18 Source: Based on data from: Africa Centre for Strategic Studies; African Migrant Flows Reshaping Security Challenges in Africa, 18. december 2019, https://africacenter.org/spotlight/african-migrant-flows-reshaping-security-challenges-in-africa/.
- 19 Source: UNDP; Human Development Report 2020, baseret på data fra 2019, Levestandard målt ud fra Human Development Index, http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdr2020.pdf.
- 20 Source: UN, World Population Prospects 2019, https://population.un.org/wpp/Graphs/1 Demographic%20Profiles/Africa.pdf.

Source: The Economist, Sepcial Report, 28. marts 2020 version. https://www.economist.com/special-report/2020/03/26/africas-population-will-double-by-2050.

21 Source: Danish Foreign Ministry, White Paper on Job Creation and skills Development in Africa, 2020.

Economic diplomacy

- 22 Source: The Ministry of Finance's calculations of 2019 level based on Economic Statement 2020.
- 23 Source: Statistics Denmark.
- 24 Source: Statistics Denmark.

Source: MFA estimate based on data from Ministry of Finance.

- WTO Report on Export Prohibitions and Restrictions, april 2020, https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/covid19_e/export_prohibitions_report_e.pdf
- 26 Source: Based on The Missing Profits of Nations, https://missingprofits.world.
- 27 Source: Statistics Denmark.

Source: MFA estimate based on data from Ministry of Finance.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Asiatisk Plads 2 DK-1448 København K

Tlf.: +45 33 92 00 00 um@um.dk www.um.dk