

Regeringen

Foreign and Security Policy Strategy

MAY 2023

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**We must deal
with the world
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Preface

The most recent foreign and security policy strategy was presented just weeks before the first Russian tanks rolled across the borders of Ukraine on 24 February 2022. The ink had barely dried before a new geopolitical reality came crashing down. Therefore, this new strategy that you have in your hands does not arrive a day too early. The strategy sets the course for how we can best secure Danish interests and values when meeting the world as it looks today. With pragmatic idealism as the headline.

To begin with, this means that we must deal with the world as it actually is: uncertain, unpredictable, and complicated. Brutal at times. Russia disregards international law. China wants more elbow room. The USA is turning its attention to developments in Asia. There is more tension and greater competition than there has been for a long time. We will have to size up the situation. We must not be naive. Countries act according to their own interests, not according to what would be good for Denmark. If we ignore that fact, we will find ourselves in trouble.

At the same time, we must hold on to our belief in ourselves. There is no use in hiding under the bed and hoping that the storm will pass. We must pursue an active, ambitious, and optimistic foreign policy based on the values that we ourselves are formed by. Because we believe that democracy, freedom, and human rights make life better no matter where in the world you live. Realism does

not mean that everything is equally good and that it does not matter what you fight for. Thus, pragmatic idealism is not a confrontation with our values either. On the contrary.

If we are to leave a mark on the world around us, we will not get very far alone. Denmark is a big nation, but a small country. Therefore, our relationships with our closest friends are a cornerstone of the strategy. The times call for a wholehearted Danish commitment to the EU. And for an EU that stands firm and assumes a more active role on the foreign policy stage. The EU must not be just a meeting place; it must dare to be a player in its own right. If we put our forces together, 2 plus 2 may well add up to 5.

This is not a news catalogue that you have in front of you. It is Denmark's official new Foreign and Security Policy Strategy. The document that the government will govern by when we have to make decisions about the big and small things in the world. And which we will use as the starting point for many of the other strategies that will follow in the near future. But it is not completely devoid of new thoughts and perspectives. Those thoughts, I look forward to developing further.

Lars Løkke Rasmussen
Minister of Foreign Affairs

May 2023

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There is once again war on the European continent. Our belief that the liberal international order would only lead to peace and prosperity proved untenable

Introduction

The new geopolitical reality demands that Denmark's foreign and security policy adapts in order to be able to continue to defend and promote Danish values and interests

Certain years and dates imprint themselves on our consciousness. They mark turning points in world history.

On 9 November 1989, the Berlin Wall came down and we could celebrate the end of the long and dark period of the Cold War in Europe.

11 September 2001 ushered in a new era of global terrorist threats.

On 24 February 2022, we woke up to Russia's illegal war of aggression against Ukraine. Images of invading Russian troops and the bombing of Ukrainian cities made it crystal clear that the era of reaping the peace dividend had come to an end: There is once again war on the European continent. Our belief that the liberal international order would only lead to peace and prosperity proved untenable.

Against the backdrop of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, Europe now finds itself in a new and intensified foreign and security policy reality. It is a situation that is not going to change in the foreseeable future. Regardless of how the war develops, for many years to come there will be a need for thorough adjustments to our foreign and security policy.

Since the Russian invasion, we have, together with our partners and allies, shown an impressive unity in responding to the greatest security policy challenge in decades. This must be maintained.

We must do this in NATO, which is the cornerstone of Danish defence and security. The USA will

continue to be Denmark's most important security policy ally, and we must continue to strengthen the transatlantic bond. Together with the USA and our other partners, Denmark must stand by the fundamental principles of a rules-based international order. In the future, Europe and Denmark must assume greater responsibility in NATO.

We must do this through the EU, which, with its resolute and unanimous response to the war in Ukraine, has demonstrated a new weight as a geopolitical actor. In the future, to an even greater degree than before, a core Danish priority will be to strengthen European cooperation in a broad sense so that the EU can continue to constitute a driving force for peace and freedom, contribute to Europe's security, and better translate its economic weight into defending European interests and values globally.

And we must do this through the UN and the multilateral cooperation which constitutes the framework for a common set of rules. A rules-based world order is crucial for small countries like Denmark and for effectively handling global challenges. We must assume global responsibility and work constructively to find pragmatic solutions that the countries of the world can rally around.

The government's foreign and security policy strategy sets out the overall indicators for how Denmark should navigate in a world that has changed significantly following 24 February 2022.

We must continue to support Ukraine's fight for freedom and the country's European integration. We must strengthen Danish defence and security

and further contribute to NATO's deterrence and defence, especially in our neighbourhood area. At the same time, one of Europe's most important foreign policy tasks will be to continue to support the EU's neighbours to the east and in the Western Balkans, who are particularly vulnerable to Russia's destabilising activities.

We must adapt to a world characterised by increased global strategic competition. We are witnessing major demographic and economic changes that are shaking up the distribution of power. China, in particular, is taking up more space on the global stage and is working to revise parts of the international order to its own advantage. In response, the USA has been turning its strategic focus towards Asia for several years now. At the same time, new actors are appearing on the global stage and are contributing to an increased worldwide regionalisation. Europe's – and thus also Denmark's – relative weight and influence in the world is decreasing. This, in turn, increases unpredictability, competition, and complexity, and calls for a stricter Danish and European foreign policy prioritisation. But it also creates new opportunities for collaboration and partnerships. The ability to strengthen our partnerships around the world will be crucial.

We must deal with the subsidiary consequences of Russia's war of aggression, which are manifesting themselves around the entire world and which in many cases have reinforced existing dynamics and challenges. Food crises, energy crises, and a changing world economy affect countries and populations which, in many cases, are also affected by climate change and natural disasters. All of this creates fertile ground for economic and political instability with the risk of new crises, radicalisation, and increased irregular migration. We must prepare to deal with a new migration crisis that could put the cohesion of Europe under pressure.

We must strengthen Denmark's and Europe's resilience, broadly speaking. Foreign and security policy is increasingly intertwined with domestic policy. Different crises interfere with each other and are inextricably linked, for example when international developments affect our supply chains or when we need to reduce our critical dependencies in order to reduce our foreign and security policy vulnerabilities. At the same time, global developments can affect our internal security. We must therefore strengthen our ability to think across the board so that we can deal effectively with new vulnerabilities and threats.

Denmark must continue to be a leading green country. We must continue the significant Danish

climate diplomacy efforts in order to address the climate crisis, which is the 21st century's greatest global challenge, affecting all countries, all sectors, and all ecosystems. And we must take advantage of the many new opportunities that the green transition also holds for Denmark.

In the future, we must continue to be a digital front-runner. In light of the global technological competition, we must expand Danish positions of strength in areas such as quantum technology. At the same time, we must work for a responsible technological development globally.

Companies are important partners, and we must support them and work closely with them in order to ensure that they can navigate in a reality characterised by increased uncertainty, complexity, and geopolitical competition.

The new geopolitical reality demands that Denmark's foreign and security policy adapts in order to be able to continue to defend and promote Danish values and interests. It requires level-headed analysis, realism, and a balanced approach in close cooperation with European and transatlantic partners. Denmark must be present in the world. And that requires us to increase our engagement and build new alliances and equal partnerships globally. All of this requires a strengthened Danish diplomacy that is prepared to tackle the challenges we face.

Danish foreign policy must continue to be based on democracy and fundamental freedoms: that all people are born with equal rights and are free to, among other things, speak, think, believe, and assemble as they wish. This is the basis on which we must engage with the world. At the same time, we can best pursue our interests and values based on a realistic assessment of the world that we are operating in. Our starting point must be common interests and equal dialogue. We must become better acquainted with the perspectives, needs, and interests of other countries and present solutions. Only in this way can we achieve common goals and more effectively promote democracy, respect for human rights, and sustainable development. If we are to look after Denmark, we will need more partners and friends in the future, not fewer.

Indicators for Denmark's foreign policy

Denmark must

- Continue to support to Ukraine's fight to defend itself and the country's European integration.
- Strengthen Denmark's defence and security and contribute to NATO's deterrence.
- Support the EU's neighbours to the east and in the Western Balkans.
- Address the global consequences of Russia's war of aggression.
- Increase our engagement in the world and build new alliances and equal partnerships globally.
- Strengthen Denmark's and Europe's resilience broadly.
- Expand Danish positions of strength when it comes to the green agenda, technology, health and much more.
- Support and work together with Danish companies in the new geopolitical context.



Denmark and Europe will have to adapt to a geopolitical reality characterised by deep mistrust, prolonged confrontation, and unpredictability

Intensified security situation in Europe

Even after the war is over, Denmark and our allies will have to continue to be engaged in the security of Ukraine

Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine is not only a threat to the peace and security of all of Europe. It is also a breach of the fundamental principles of the UN Charter. Russia seeks to use military force to change borders and re-establish a security order based on the spheres of interest of the great powers. If Russia achieves its strategic goals, the world will become a more dangerous place, especially for smaller countries.

Therefore, support for Ukraine's ability to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity will be a high strategic priority for Denmark in the coming years. At the same time, we must be prepared for the fact that, regardless of the outcome of the war, Russia's political, military, and territorial ambitions will pose a threat to Denmark and Europe for years to come.

This intensified security situation will define the framework for Denmark's foreign and security policy in the coming years. In many areas, Denmark and Europe will have to adapt to a geopolitical reality characterised by deep mistrust, prolonged confrontation, and unpredictability. Security and crisis management will become more prominent and encroach further on our daily lives.

Strengthened defence and security in Denmark and Europe

Denmark's and Europe's defence and security must be strengthened in order to be able to handle both classic and hybrid threats. NATO and a strong transatlantic bond remain the linchpin for our security, and we must continue to strengthen the cooperation in the Alliance. We must bear our share of

the burden in the Alliance. The government will therefore bring forward the phasing in of the long-term increase in regular spending on defence and security to 2 per cent of GDP until 2030. This constitutes an historically large and long-term investment in our security. The upcoming defence agreement must contribute to ensuring that Denmark is able to take care of our joint security to a greater degree and to shoulder our share of the responsibility. This applies particularly with regard to our neighbouring areas in the Baltics and the Baltic Sea region, in Eastern Europe, and in the Arctic and the North Atlantic. At the same time, we must maintain our capability for being able to contribute to carrying out tasks elsewhere in the world within the framework of, for example, NATO, the EU, and the UN. In addition, due to Denmark's geographical location, we have a responsibility to provide support to allies on Danish ground.

The intensified security political situation also means that there is a need to further develop NATO so that the Alliance can deal with future threats, including the serious threat from Russia. This will require a strengthened deterrence and a stronger defence, for example through NATO's strengthened preparedness and forward defence, to which Denmark will continue to contribute.

At the same time, Europe must assume greater responsibility for its own security. It is in Denmark's interest to actively contribute to increased defence cooperation in the EU in close cooperation and in complementarity with NATO. On 1 June 2022, a large majority of Danes paved the way for this by ending the Danish opt-out from EU's security and

defence policy. It sent a strong signal that Denmark is ready to assume greater co-responsibility for security in Europe and our neighbouring areas.

A strengthened defence cooperation in the EU opens up new opportunities for Denmark. This applies, for example, to areas such as cyber security, hybrid threats, and military mobility as well as with regard to research. It also applies to materiel cooperation and within the defence industry, where Europe has strategic challenges. Anchored in both NATO and the EU, Denmark has an interest in exploiting and promoting these opportunities diplomatically, militarily, and with regard to our business policy. Denmark must also take part in building up the European defence industry and in strengthening the engagement of our companies with regard to international collaboration for the benefit of our security, prosperity, and welfare.

Nordic defence cooperation and security in the Baltic Sea region

Finland's recent accession and Sweden's future accession to NATO strengthens the Alliance. Together with ending the defence opt-out, this means that the Nordic countries are now more united than ever before in the area of security and defence policy. This provides new opportunities for a stronger Nordic security policy and military cooperation, including exercise activities and coordination of defence plans. Denmark must assume a central position in the development of this cooperation.

The Baltic Sea region is increasingly important, and Denmark has a strategic interest in strengthening relations with the Baltic countries. Together with our Nordic allies, Denmark has a special responsibility for security in the Baltic Sea region. This applies especially in relation to the Baltic countries, which feel the military and hybrid threat from Russia to a particularly high degree.

The Arctic and the North Atlantic

The intensified global strategic competition also carries implications for the Arctic and the North Atlantic. Over recent years, Russia has increased its military strength and expanded its military capabilities in the Arctic.

Although Russia is weakened militarily at the moment as a consequence of the war in Ukraine, the situation also makes Russia a more unpredictable actor – including in the Arctic and the North Atlantic. Together with our allies, this is something we must address. The war in Ukraine has created subsidiary consequences for the region. Most

significantly, cooperation in the Arctic Council has been put on hold. At the same time, the new and future membership of the two Arctic states Finland and Sweden represent a positive development. Their membership will strengthen our security and the cooperation in NATO - also in the Arctic and the North Atlantic.

We will work to ensure that the Arctic does not become a scene for confrontations originating elsewhere in the world. The government will continue working to ensure low tension and the continued development and protection of the Arctic region in close cooperation with the governments of Greenland and the Faroe Islands and with our international partners - even though it has become more difficult. Russia's military forces in the Arctic are largely intact. China has long-term interests in the region. We will work to promote peace and security in the Arctic. The presence of the Danish Defence is to ensure improved surveillance and enforcement of sovereignty as well as to contribute to safeguarding the interests of the allies and NATO in the region.

Significant and continuous support for Ukraine

Ukraine's fight for freedom is also Europe's fight for freedom, for European security, and for the global rules-based order. Together with our partners and allies, Denmark must support Ukraine in being able to defend itself and re-establish its territorial integrity and self-determination. This requires continued military, economic, and humanitarian contributions. Only Ukraine can decide the time and terms for negotiations and what a durable solution might look like. Our role is to continue our support to Ukraine in a way that helps put the country in the strongest possible position.

The government will continue the significant Danish support for Ukraine as long as there is a need for it. We will do this both nationally and in particular through European and transatlantic cooperation. Since the start of the war, we have provided wide-ranging and long-term contributions. With the creation of the Danish National Ukraine Fund, we ensure continued military support, civilian support, and support for business initiatives to and in Ukraine.

Even after an end to the war, Denmark and our allies and partners will have to take part in ensuring Ukraine's security. This will require continued support with military equipment and training to strengthen Ukraine's resilience so that it can defend itself both in the short term and with regard to deterring Russia in the longer term. We will also continue to take part in the discussions regarding

Ukraine's long-term security, including with regard to strengthening NATO's partnership with Ukraine on the road to future membership.

At the same time, Ukraine is facing a massive reconstruction effort. There will be a demand for skills and solutions that Danish companies can offer, for example within the green transition, energy infrastructure, water, and food. Denmark and Danish companies have, therefore, an opportunity to play an important role in the reconstruction, and Danish companies will be able to contribute to stability and economic development in Ukraine by creating growth and employment. This applies

especially with regard to Mykolaiv, where Denmark has assumed a special responsibility for the reconstruction, just as we must intensify our cooperation with the authorities in, for example, the energy field.

Ukraine belongs to the European family. It will require far-reaching, structural, political, economic, and administrative changes before Ukraine can meet the EU accession criteria. The EU should therefore play a central role in the reconstruction of Ukraine, which must be linked to these reforms. Denmark has previously contributed to preparing countries for EU membership, and we must

Danish support to Ukraine

Since Russia's invasion, Denmark has been one of the biggest donors to Ukraine, based on country size



Military support

Military support for Ukraine's fight for freedom in the form of, among other things, weapons, military material and training initiatives



Civil support

Civil support to both acute humanitarian initiatives and to the long-term rebuilding of the country



Business support

Support to business ventures that provide Danish companies an opportunity to play an active role in the efforts to rebuild the country



Political support

Together with our partners, we must support Ukraine's path to NATO and the EU

also actively support Ukraine's European path, for example within the framework of a so-called twinning programme, which enables cooperation between public authorities in Ukraine and EU member states.

Resolute response to Russia

As long as Russia continues as an aggressor and violates Ukraine's territorial integrity, Denmark, together with our partners and allies, must continue to work to weaken and isolate Russia internationally. We must ensure that Russia does not achieve its strategic goals in Ukraine. We must ensure that aggression and violations of international law do not pay off. We must therefore work for the broadest possible support globally for Ukraine. And we must speak out against countries that directly or indirectly support Russia's continued aggression.

This is not something that Denmark can do alone. Unity in the EU and a coordinated approach with our partners and allies are our strongest cards. The government will work to maintain the toughest possible sanctions that could weaken the Russian war machine and impose a clear cost on Russia for the war. We must counter the Kremlin's false narratives and the radicalisation of Russian society through support for Russian democratic forces, civil society actors, and independent media.

Russian decision-makers must be held accountable for the crimes committed in Ukraine. In this regard, and with our strong profile in international prosecution and justice, Denmark can play an active role in relevant initiatives to ensure that legal responsibility can be placed in due course, for example by collecting evidence of war crimes in Ukraine.

Increased engagement in the EU's neighbourhood

In Moldova and Georgia as well as in the Western Balkans, Russia, in particular, is trying to oppose the independence and European orientation of these countries in order to maintain its destabilising influence.

The stability of these countries is fragile in the wake of decades of weak institutions, internal tensions, and in some cases a continued Russian military presence. Many countries are economically and especially energy dependent on Russia and are vulnerable to hybrid threats. Although Russia's ability to destabilise the EU's vulnerable neighbouring countries has weakened in certain areas and their attention is primarily focused on Ukraine, a significant threat to the independence and resilience of these countries remains. At the same time, China is working purposefully to gain influence with the

countries in Europe's Eastern neighbourhood and in the Western Balkans, for example through infrastructure projects.

One of Europe's most important foreign policy tasks over the next several years will be to strengthen the relationship with the EU's vulnerable neighbouring countries. This involves supporting them in building up resilience and in reducing their dependencies and thus their vulnerability, also with regard to other actors attempting to influence them negatively.

Supporting the political and economic modernisation of these countries is absolutely key to securing their consolidation in the European community and in supporting their ambitions for EU membership. We must strengthen our commitment and our presence in these countries. Denmark must help strengthen the institutions in these countries so that they can meet the EU accession criteria. This must be done through official cooperation with Danish partners, for example in relation to combating corruption, energy transitioning, and decentralisation. We must engage with the young generation, as they are the future of these countries. In this context, youth organisations will also be able to play an important role, including in relation to exchange programmes. In addition, strengthened cooperation with civil society and local media will contribute to strengthening the resilience of these countries with regard to Russian attempts at influence and disinformation.

Although the countries in North Africa have a different starting point than the EU's vulnerable neighbouring countries to the east and in the Western Balkans, many of the same dynamics are also still at play here. In addition, the pressure of irregular migration poses a further threat to these countries - and to Europe. And this is also why the EU must work to create new alliances and strong equal partnerships, especially with regard to our North African neighbours, which can support the independence and economic progress of these countries and in this way contribute to the security of Europe at the same time.

A strengthened EU on the global stage

The EU cooperation is the most important platform for Danish foreign policy and is crucial for our prosperity, security, and safety. It is therefore in Denmark's interest that the EU continues to develop and strengthen its geopolitical relevance. An EU with a greater geopolitical capacity will also strengthen the balance in the transatlantic relationship. Denmark must work for an active EU that is able to translate its economic weight into influence

throughout the world, entering into global partnerships, and defending European interests and values. The economic sanctions against Russia are unprecedented and constitute a clear example that a united EU can and must use its economic strength to reach foreign policy goals. We must strengthen Denmark's capacity in the field of sanctions so that we to a greater degree can contribute to the EU's work on sanctions. We must ensure an effective implementation and enforcement throughout the EU and a common effort against circumvention of sanctions.

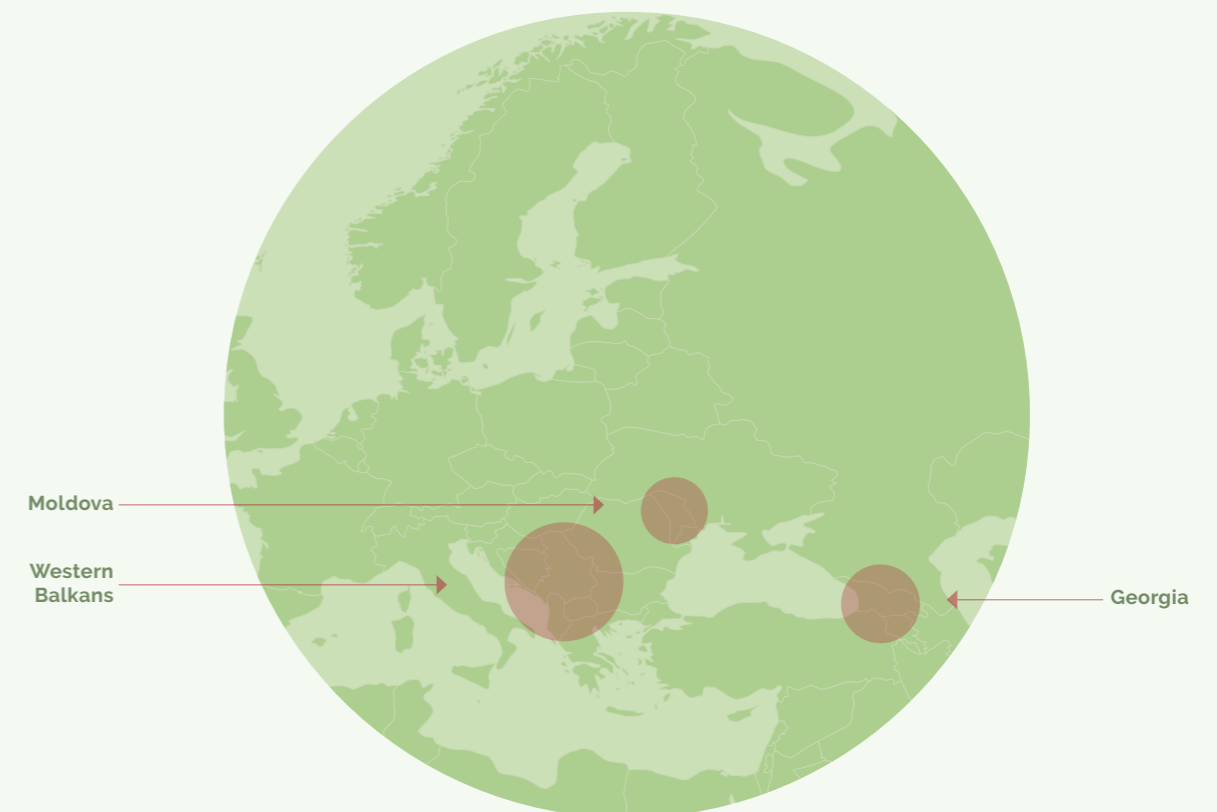
In the run up to the Danish presidency of the Council of the EU in 2025, the government will strengthen Denmark's European political efforts and take the initiative for the upcoming European Political Agreement to ensure, among other things,

that Denmark is able to play an active part in the development of the European cooperation in light of the new geopolitical conditions.

Enlargement the EU has moved up on the agenda as a result of the intensified security policy situation. Denmark must continue to insist that new member states fully meet the EU's accession criteria. It is the best way to ensure that the EU becomes as strong and coherent as possible. For the same reason, we must also engage actively in helping these countries prepare for membership. The prospect is an EU with well over 30 member states. We must therefore actively participate in the deliberations on how the EU's policies and rules must be adapted to ensure that the EU will also be ready for enlargement.

Increased engagement in the EU's neighbouring area

The EU's neighbouring countries in the Western Balkans and in Georgia and Moldova regularly experience Russian attempts at influencing in order to destabilise these countries. Europe must strengthen its relationships with its neighbouring countries and support their ambitions regarding EU membership



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We must cultivate and develop more equal partnerships, not close doors. We must become better at listening and understanding the points of views of others

Global Partnerships and Alliance Building

The world is changing and that creates new opportunities for Denmark

The distribution of power in the world is changing. Europe's weight in the world is decreasing while other countries and regions are growing, economically, population-wise, and technologically.

China's global ambitions and weight have grown significantly. At the same time, China has an essential aspiration to revise parts of the international rules and standards to make them more compatible with the Chinese political system and its interests.

Other countries and regional powers are also making their voices heard globally as they wish to translate their relative weight into influence. How these countries position themselves in the global strategic competition will have a major impact on the shape of the future international order. There will be increased competition and an increased complexity to navigate. But there will also be opportunities for new and constructive partnerships globally.

These developments mean that we must rethink how we engage with the world. There will not be one single answer that will apply to all situations. But there will be a general need for increased commitment and renewed dialogue on equal terms. This requires us to support a strong and active EU on the global stage. And that we work for a UN that delivers effective solutions to global problems that no country can solve on their own.

The battle for influence

Russia's war of aggression has caused subsidiary global consequences, in many cases thousands of miles from the battlefield in Ukraine. For many countries outside of Europe, the war in Ukraine has contributed to making a difficult situation even more difficult. Prices of basic necessities such as food and energy have increased while securing financing for long-term sustainable economic development has become more difficult. Several countries see the West's strong solidarity with Ukraine but do not feel that they are heard when they are negatively affected by global developments.

In the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, the global ramifications of Russia's invasion of Ukraine have revealed that the EU and the West are challenged in the battle for influence that is unfolding globally. China and Russia in particular are very actively seeking to increase their influence, each in its own way. In many countries, both China and Russia assert themselves through offers of investments, cooperation, and support, which is often aimed directly at the local elites, and thus seek to shape the foreign policy orientation of these countries. It is a problem that Denmark and the EU must deal with - together with our partners.

Equal partnerships

We must create equal partnerships. Without compromising on the requirements of transparency and accountability, we must guarantee attractive and more sustainable solutions that meet the demands of the countries and that can contribute to their development and independence. Our approach must be characterised by pragmatic idealism and must be based on shared interests.

Danish foreign policy must continue to be based on our fundamental values, especially democracy and human rights. The rights of women and girls, minorities, and workers. The freedom to express yourself, think, believe, and assemble freely. And the right to a life free from torture.

We must promote our values and rights with an eye on the political reality that we live in. We must become better at listening and understanding the points of views of others. And the starting point for our engagement must be common interests and Danish competences so that we can effectively contribute to sustainable development. We must cultivate and develop more equal partnerships, not close doors. There will always be dilemmas when we engage with others who do not share the same values as us. But that must not prevent us from cooperating in areas of common interest – or engaging in critical dialogue when we disagree.

The EU plays a crucial role for Denmark's opportunities to build equal partnerships. That is why we must work for an EU that speaks with one voice on the global stage. In the EU, we must coordinate and reach out to relevant countries in a targeted manner. There is a need for both strengthened political dialogue and for the EU to offer even more concrete, sustainable solutions that are adapted to local demand. This applies in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The EU's Global Gateway initiative, which aims to safeguard the EU's interests by delivering new, sustainable, quality investments on a large scale holds potential for exactly that. Trade policy must also support the EU's partnerships and strategic goals while strengthened relations between the EU and partner countries will ensure better access to important growth markets and contribute to the security of supply in the EU.

Our successful strategic sector cooperation where Danish competences come into play, is one of Denmark's most important foreign policy tools in the effort to create equal partnerships. In particular, we must maintain and strengthen strategic sector cooperation that promotes the green transition in the best possible way through capacity and knowledge building in partner countries. There is also a

need for us to think of our development cooperation as an integral part of our overall efforts. We must ensure that it contributes even more to finding common solutions to global problems, including with regard to the fight against poverty and climate change. This will constitute an important point of departure for the upcoming Strategy for Denmark's Development Cooperation, which will be based on human rights.

Asia and the Indo-Pacific region

The global power shifts mean that Asia and the Indo-Pacific region are increasingly the world's economic and geopolitical centre of gravity. China, India, Indonesia, Japan, and South Korea will together account for almost half of the world's growth up until 2030 while the EU and the USA will account for just over a tenth. At the same time, the region is increasingly subject to security policy tensions. These developments call for an increased Danish and European diplomatic and economic engagement.

The Indo-Pacific region is a main artery for global trade, and as a maritime nation, Denmark has a clear interest in ensuring the freedom of navigation. At the same time, we must seize the opportunities that the growth markets in the region offer, both politically and commercially. It will particularly be in Denmark's interest to collaborate with regard to the green transition, sustainability, and digital transformation. We must therefore strengthen the existing green strategic partnerships with Japan, India, South Korea, and Indonesia as well as establishing new strategic partnerships with countries such as Australia and Vietnam. At the same time, we must explore opportunities for new collaboration in the region, including with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

China

We recognise that for a long time we have been too naive and therefore, Denmark, the EU, and our allies have significantly sharpened the approach to China over recent years. This has been a necessary and appropriate reaction to China's conduct.

At the same time, China is an inevitable global political and economic factor and also the world's biggest emitter of greenhouse gasses. This is what we need to address. We must therefore manage the challenges, but also work together when it is in our interest. Denmark's China policy must continue to be engaged, clear-sighted and realistic, anchored in a common strategic EU approach and in close dialogue with the USA and our allies in NATO.

Africa

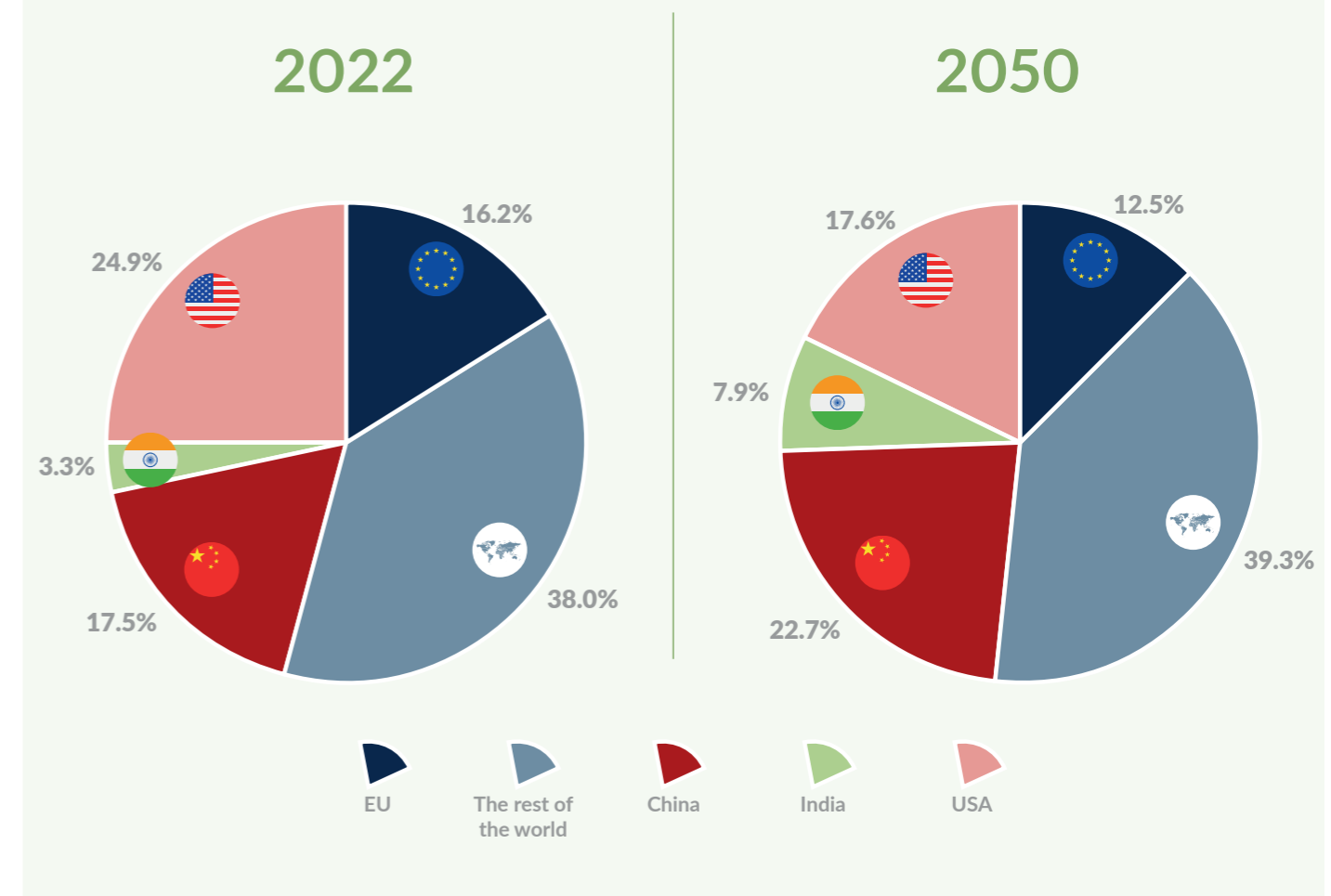
Africa is Europe's neighbour and a growing continent, politically, economically, and population-wise. This creates great potential for strong partnerships. At the same time, Africa is characterised by extensive challenges, including armed conflicts and natural disasters. We must therefore strengthen both our own and the EU's engagement with Africa and the African Union in order to find joint solutions

to global challenges. The EU must be Africa's preferred and closest cooperation partner across policies and instruments. The government's upcoming Africa Plan will guide the Danish efforts for stronger consensus and for strengthening bilateral and European initiatives across our engagement.

The development cooperation effort will continue to be a central element, but it is also crucial to strengthen the political, economic, and security

The balance is shifting in the global economy

The development in the global economy leading up to 2050 is expected to alter the distribution of power in the world such that especially the EU and the USA will lose ground to the growing economies



Remark: Development in GDP for chosen countries, nominal prices.
Source: Oxford Economics.

cooperation with the African partners. The African countries have different needs and interests. Therefore, we must build targeted, equal, and trustworthy partnerships based on shared interests. Our efforts must contribute to political stability and security, sustainable economic development, and the strategic independence of the countries as well as curbing irregular migration. This requires that we can deliver attractive solutions that are in demand by the African countries, including investments and support for a green transition. We must therefore also think in terms of instruments with a focus on finding sustainable, lasting, and locally anchored solutions.

The rules-based world order and multilateralism

Due to the intensified global strategic competition the rules-based order and multilateral cooperation is under pressure. A world order that we, as a small country, have benefited from. This is particularly serious at a time when we are facing both shifts in power dynamics and global challenges such as poverty that require global solutions. Denmark must continue its strong and unequivocal support for the UN Charter and rules-based cooperation. Where might does not make right. And where global problems related to for example climate change and biodiversity are addressed through multilateral cooperation.

Denmark's candidacy for a non-permanent seat in the UN Security Council in 2025-2026 is therefore a high priority. In this context, Denmark must assume its traditional role as a bridge builder and work constructively so that the Security Council can function and achieve results even under difficult conditions. With a firm footing in international law, we must work to maintain respect for the common rules that are so crucial for the security of small countries. At the same time, we must push for a more holistic and thus long-term approach to the prevention and stabilisation of crises and conflicts that cause great human suffering and also affect the security in our part of the world.

We must help in rethinking the international financial architecture and the role of the multilateral development banks etc. to ensure their future contribution to addressing the climate crisis, the debt crisis, and the global poverty problems. We must support the work to reform and future-proof the WTO. Finally, we must strengthen the EU's impact as a multilateral actor and expand the EU's partnerships with the United Nations, the African Union, ASEAN, and the League of the Arab States.

Climate

The climate crisis constitutes the 21st century's greatest challenge. It will require global cooperation and action if we are to avoid enormous economic, security policy, and environmental and climate consequences. Denmark must continue to be at the forefront of the global climate action.

Our international influence in the climate area is anchored in the fact that Denmark has set some of the world's most ambitious national climate targets, accelerated the green transition, and assumed leadership to ensure European energy independence. We thus have particular prerequisites for acting as a bridge builder and for forming alliances with regard to the climate agenda. The Danish approach to international climate policy is based on a wide range of mutually supportive efforts with political dialogue, bilateral and multilateral development cooperation, international fora such as the COP negotiations, green exports, strategic sector cooperation as well as international coalitions and partnerships.

In the COP negotiations, Denmark must continue to assume a leading role in pushing for increased ambitions with regard to reduction efforts and adaptation to climate change, especially for the most vulnerable countries. There is a credibility about Denmark's commitment to the climate negotiations and as a small, ambitious country, Denmark is well suited for raising the global ambitions.

With ambitious Danish climate aid, we must also continue to strengthen the bridge to countries outside of Europe that need assistance, partnerships, concrete solutions, knowledge, and an exchange of experience to link socially just economic development in a way that is also adapted to the threat that climate change constitutes. At the same time, we must strengthen the cooperation with the largest emitters and pull them in a more climate-ambitious direction so that we, globally, can live up to the Paris Agreement and keep the 1.5-degree target alive. This must be done through, for example, a strong engagement in the EU's climate policy and through our green strategic partnerships, strategic sector cooperation, and green solutions, all of which draw on our green societal model, where the green transition goes hand in hand with economic growth.

Geopolitical challenges for Danish companies

Danish companies are important cooperation partners. They can contribute to safeguarding Danish and European interests, and they can offer solutions to global challenges in areas such as the green

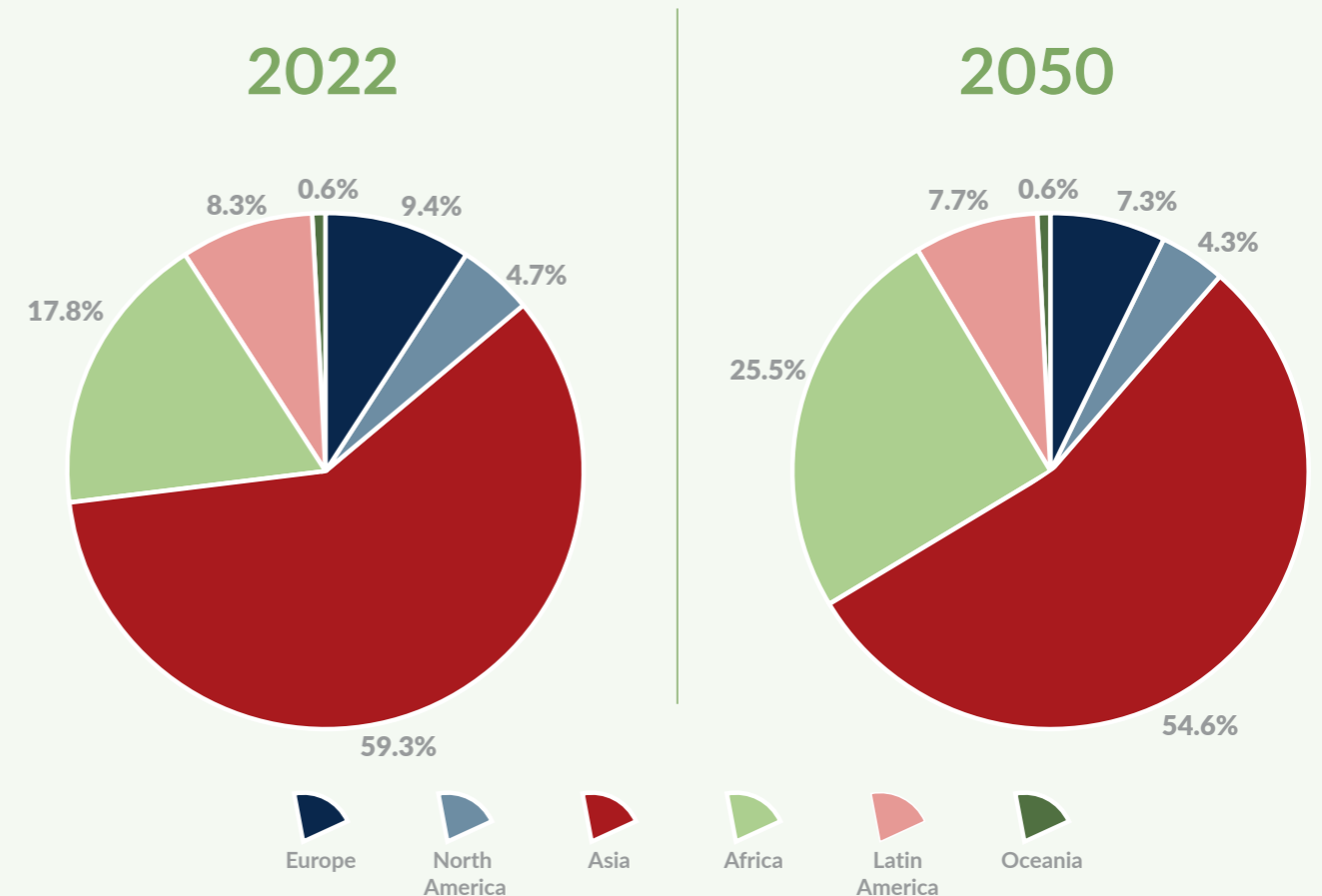
transition, health, and the development of new critical technology.

At the same time, Danish companies operate today under altered framework conditions characterised by geopolitical uncertainty, climate change, ambitious climate targets as well as technological breakthroughs. For example, war and sanctions can close markets over night or challenge supply chains.

This entails risks, new opportunities, and dilemmas. We must assist companies in navigating an uncertain world with complex challenges. There is an increased demand from companies for business advice as a result of the global shifts that have followed Russia's invasion of Ukraine. We must strengthen the geopolitical business advice regarding, for example, sanctions, export controls, investment screening, and critical technology.

The composition of the world's population is changing

The relative balance of power is changing. Leading up to 2050, Europe's population will fall, while Africa's population will increase by more than a third



Remark: The demographic development of the continents, the percentage of the world's population.

Source: UN, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2022). *World Population Prospects 2022*, Online Edition.



When global supply chains break down, it matters where important goods are produced or assembled



A more robust society

Globalisation is changing, and security policy considerations are increasingly included in these deliberations

For decades, we have benefited from the many advantages of globalisation. As a small open economy, Denmark has been a champion of free trade and of building up a strong internal market in the EU. Danish companies have benefited from the development of global value chains where Danish expertise and knowledge have been able to show themselves to their best advantage. Although the benefits of globalisation have not always been equally distributed, overall, open global trade has contributed to growth and prosperity in both Denmark and in the world around us. It must continue to do so.

But globalisation is changing. While previously the focus was on the greatest possible growth and prosperity, security policy considerations are increasingly included in these deliberations. This applies in China. This applies in the United States. This applies in the EU. And this is also the case in

Denmark. Although trade contributes to a more peaceful world, particularly in light of Russia's war of aggression, we must also recognise the fact that interdependence does not preclude conflict or guarantee peace. On the contrary, trade and dependencies can also bring risks and vulnerabilities and can be used as pawns in the global strategic competition. When global supply chains break down, it matters where important goods are produced or assembled.

New vulnerabilities and threats

It is becoming ever more apparent that tomorrow's threats and vulnerabilities will be of an increasingly hybrid nature. The sabotage on the Nord Stream gas pipelines in the Baltic Sea in 2022 has underlined the need to strengthen the protection of critical infrastructure. The threat of cyber-attacks remains very high, both in terms of espionage and

with regard to crime, and Russia in particular makes use of hybrid tools such as influence campaigns with the aim of undermining our democracy and our cohesion. In a short space of time, pandemics and other global health threats can have major consequences for everything from security to the economy. Population growth, instability, climate change as well as rising prices and food insecurity

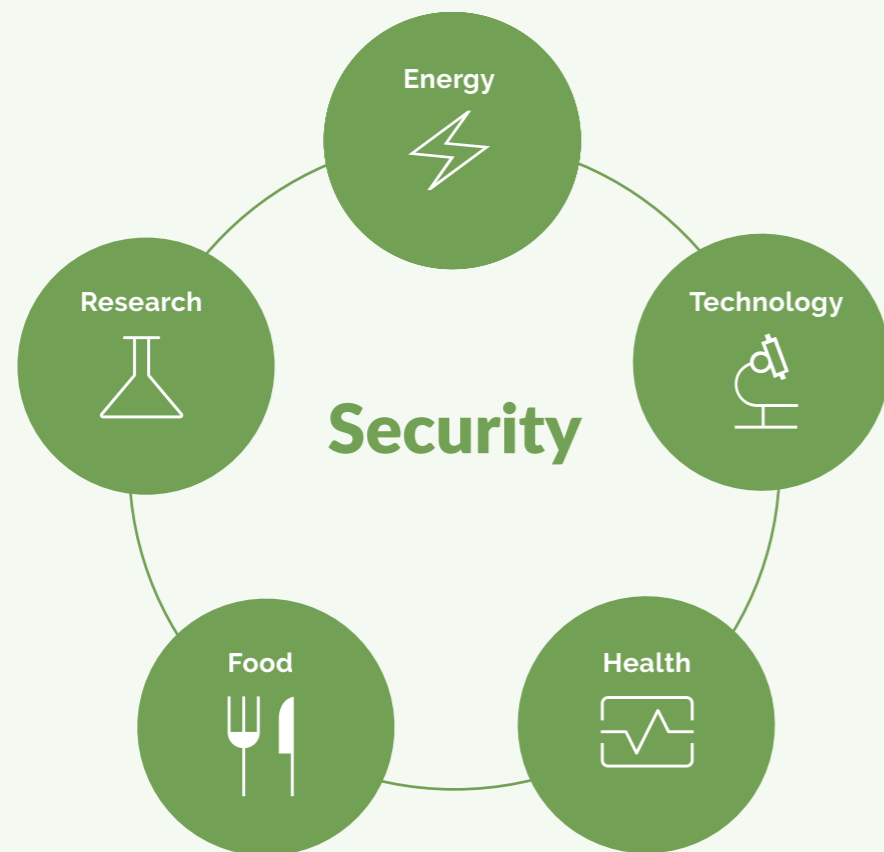
create a risk of increased irregular migration from Europe's neighbouring areas.

Trade and industrial policies as well as areas such as energy, health, food, research, digital transformation, and the development of new technologies are increasingly intertwined with our foreign and security policy. We must therefore increase our

Denmark's security requires that we think across the board

Denmark is facing a complex threat landscape, where energy, health, food, research, and the development of new technologies are increasingly intertwined with our foreign and security policy.

If Denmark is to be more robust with regard to future crises, we must strengthen our ability to think across the board



ability to think across the board so that we can deal effectively with the complex threat assessment that we face and make the Danish society more robust in the face of future challenges and crises.

Resilience and open strategic autonomy

Denmark must achieve increased resilience through closer European cooperation. We need an EU that can act quickly and decisively when crises strike. Denmark must therefore work to strengthen the EU through open strategic autonomy.

First and foremost, we must reduce Denmark's and Europe's critical dependencies and vulnerabilities. This applies especially to energy when it comes to Russia and critical raw materials and technologies when it comes to China. We must diversify our supply in a broad sense and strengthen European production by way of free trade agreements and a continued realisation of the internal market – even when this means difficult compromises. Faster deployment of renewable energy is a crucial part of the answer. In this context, Denmark has attractive solutions to offer. At the same time, together with the other EU countries, we must think more strategically with regard to our export controls. Increasing resilience also requires that we continue to systematically screen foreign investments and increase awareness of risks in collaboration on research and innovation within sectors that are critically important to society. At the same time, the upcoming National Strategy for Critical Supply must ensure that we do not make ourselves unnecessarily vulnerable and that functions critical to society can continue to operate in the event of supply crises.

Robust trade and industrial policy in the EU with an eye for balance

The ability to set our own direction for the society that we want requires both resilience and a certain ability to produce and obtain through trade what we need. With robust trade and industrial policies in the EU, we can secure both Europe and Denmark a strong position within strategic sectors and technologies. This applies especially to the technologies that support the green transition. This must contribute to Europe being able to do more on its own, while at the same time strengthening the internal market and the EU's global competitiveness.

This does not mean that Europe should close itself off. The EU and Denmark must continue to be champions of global trade. We must secure the future basis for green growth and prosperity in Denmark and in the world around us. It requires a single market in development, healthy public

finances, and a responsible economic policy. Companies must continue to be able to sell goods and services in markets in third countries, and global imports and security of supply are crucial for companies' production among other things. But we must have an eye out Denmark's and Europe's strategic interests. We must think more strategically when we, in the EU, enter into trade agreements with third countries. We must promote independence when necessary and ensure freedom of action, not putting all of our eggs in one basket. We must be prepared to defend the EU's own interests against unfair trade practices and economic blackmail. We must not think that the rest of the world puts security policy aside when they do business with us.

We will often have to strike a balance. On the one hand, we must not be strategically dependent on China or forget the risks of being in the Chinese market. On the other hand, it is also not in Denmark's or the EU's interest to decouple ourselves from China or to disregard the growth potential for Danish exports. But we must insist on equal market access and trading conditions for Danish and European companies in China.

The trade ties between Europe and the USA are important for Danish and European companies, and we must work to strengthen them. At the same time, the EU must demand fair competition in the American market and ensure Europe's long-term competitiveness.

Danish positions of strength

Danish companies' exports, internationalisation, and general integration into the world economy constitute an important foundation for Danish growth and employment. International investments, high levels of innovation, and talent are essential elements for strengthening Denmark's competitiveness. We need therefore to promote Danish positions of strength within, for example, green technology and the green transition, life sciences, robotics, food, digital transformation, and shipping.

We cannot achieve all that without the EU, where we must work to ensure the best possible framework conditions for Danish companies. Denmark must work actively to ensure that the EU's sector policies support Danish interests and positions of strength and that the EU contributes to combating protectionism and strengthening equal conditions of competition globally. We must assist companies by working for stable supply and value chains and advise them on foreign and security policy issues. And we must continue official cooperation with

business partners who play an important role for Danish exports. The government's upcoming Globalisation Strategy must contribute to supporting continued competitiveness for Danish companies leading up to 2030 with a view to strengthening Danish growth in the long term.

The green transition

The green transition is absolutely central to ensuring Europe's own independence from fossil fuels and thus increased resilience.

The front runner role that Denmark has achieved through decades of investments in, for example, wind energy and energy efficiency is, at the same time, an example of due diligence which today benefits us both financially and in our foreign policy. Many countries call for Danish solutions, and Denmark is currently involved in strategic sector cooperation in the energy field in a number of countries. This also illustrates the fact that the green transition provides important commercial opportunities for Denmark.

At the same time, we must ensure that we do not build up new critical dependencies within the green transition which could cost us dearly in the future. Creating secure, stable, and sustainable supply chains and access to critical resources requires new international partnerships. For the same reason, the EU's green industrial policy will play an important role both in terms of our ability to adapt, but also in terms of our foreign policy objectives.

The digital age

The ubiquitous role of technology and society's engendered dependence on it means that technology has become foreign and security policy. On the global stage, a technological race is unfolding between China and the USA. We must stand together in Europe and ensure that the EU becomes a player and is not reduced to being a playing field. Denmark must work to ensure that the EU continues to assume a leading role in global efforts to ensure responsible, regulated, and fair technological development with respect for fundamental rights and democracy. This applies especially with regard to artificial intelligence, which holds both great potential and entails significant pitfalls. These developments will be reflected in the government's upcoming Strategy for Tech Diplomacy.

The dialogue with the private sector and civil society regarding fair technological development is more important than ever. In this context, the government will continue to take the lead in preparing

Denmark against cyber threats and building international alliances. The government will also work to expand Danish positions of strength, for example within the field of quantum technology, which has the potential in the long term to revolutionise everything from green technologies to health to our future defence. This creates new opportunities for Danish companies and for Denmark as a digital showcase and pioneering country. At the same time, we must ensure that critical technologies developed and manufactured in Denmark are not transferred to other countries in an undesired way or end up in the wrong hands.

Denmark's and Europe's internal security

The threat from the activities of foreign states in Denmark, including intelligence activities and espionage, has become significant, multifaceted, and persistent. Added to this are new and hybrid threats where the threat from cyber-espionage and cyber-crime from both state and non-state actors is particularly high. This requires an increased military and civilian defence effort against hybrid threats such as cyber-threats and influence campaigns, and requires increased cyber and information security and strengthened intelligence efforts.

The terrorist threat against Denmark remains serious. The lack of economic development and violent conflicts in the Sahel and in the Middle East, among other places, can contribute to creating a fertile ground for instability, radicalisation, and the spread of violent extremist movements. And in a globalised society, the consequences can quickly affect Denmark. This requires continued multilateral engagement and coordination and effective intelligence cooperation with Denmark's partners.

Instability can also accelerate irregular migration towards Europe at a time when the migration pressure on the EU's external borders has already increased. In addition, recent years have shown that neither smugglers nor states shy away from cynically exploiting migrants as a means of exerting pressure on Europe. The increasing irregular migration towards Europe risks putting cohesion and the internal market under pressure. Ultimately, it can undermine the free movement within the EU.

It is both a global and a European challenge that requires a reform of the European asylum system with a focus on the external dimension. The government will work for sustainable European solutions to the challenge of irregular migration, including in cooperation with third countries within the framework of our international obligations.



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