Foreign and Security Policy Strategy

2019-2020



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Increased trade, communication, technology and transportation around the world are bringing more and better opportunities for people everywhere. We are progressing towards living conditions that our grandparents and those before them never could have imagined.

Preface

The world today is in a much better place than ever before.

Life expectancy is rising, infant mortality is declining, and fewer and fewer people live in abject poverty.

Increased trade, communication, technology and transportation around the world are bringing more and better opportunities for people everywhere. We are progressing towards living conditions that our grandparents and those before them never could have imagined.

This also goes for Denmark, which is one of the most free, prosperous and safe societies in the world.

Danish foreign policy aims to maintain this progress while upholding Denmark's security, prosperity and values in a rapidly changing world.

But this progress will not happen on its own, and we face many challenges along the way.

The world is becoming increasingly unpredictable. Global power relations are shifting. The value of rules-based international cooperation – which guarantees Denmark's security, prosperity and values – is increasingly being brought into question.

With this Foreign and Security Policy Strategy 2019-2020, the Government presents its plans for protecting Denmark and pursuing Danish interests in a changing world order.

The Government wants Denmark to maintain its European and global engagement. We must uphold the principle that binding international cooperation is in the interest of Denmark and provides the best conditions for peace, prosperity and sustainable development. We must lead the fight against man-made climate change with national climate and energy initiatives, ambitious EU goals, and international efforts. At the same time, we must contribute to achieving the 17 Sustainable Development Goals.

We must fight for our liberal values and protect principles of freedom: a world with more democracy and freedom, including more freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, freedom of religion and more public order. We must take measures to counteract external influences and insist on the right of countries to self-determination. We must ensure that globalisation and technological advances benefit as many people as possible. And we must create the best framework for Danish businesses to seize the opportunities arising from international changes.

The framework for Danish foreign and security policy requires constant prioritisation. However, foreign and security policy results also require sustained efforts and strong continuity. The Government's Foreign and Security Policy Strategy 2019-2020 does not propose a change of course, but instead comprises a series of concrete initiatives and focus areas that align with the guiding principles and aims of the Government's Foreign and Security Policy Strategy 2017-2018.

Introduction

Now and in the years to come, Denmark will have to navigate in an increasingly challenging foreign and security policy environment. The world around us is changing faster and is becoming more unpredictable. Russia is threatening its neighbouring countries and employing various means to undermine the European security architecture and our democratic processes. China is stepping forward on the global scene with ever greater selfconfidence, economic strength and demands for more influence. The United States of America (US) is putting "America First", raising doubts about its global leadership and its willingness to defend the world order that it was instrumental in building. The crises in Europe's neighbouring regions have taken a firm hold. The destabilising conduct of regional actors, including Iran, continues, and recent events clearly demonstrate its impact within Europe and directly on Danish soil. Thanks to targeted efforts, fewer asylum seekers and irregular migrants are coming to Europe and Denmark. Still, we need to take measures to address the root causes of irregular migration; otherwise, migration pressures - particularly from Africa and the Middle East – will increase in the coming decades.

These developments place great demands on Denmark's foreign and security policy. Small, highly developed countries like Denmark stand to lose the most if the strongest countries make decisions without consulting or considering others. The international order that has shaped the world in recent decades can no longer be taken for granted. The common idea that human rights and democracy must prevail because they are noble and good is being challenged. Denmark is deeply dependent on other countries when it comes to our economy and security. We must strengthen the international rules that protect our country and ensure that we can pursue Danish interests. And we must fight to

uphold and promote our liberal values. Therefore, we will engage even more in binding international cooperation and work to reform the international institutions to bolster their strength and legitimacy.

Our EU membership represents Denmark's best opportunity to influence the world around us and thus the framework conditions of importance for pursuing Danish interests in Europe and globally. The EU's Free Trade Agreements create opportunities for Danish companies that we would not be able to create on our own. At the same time, the EU is a community of countries that share the same fundamental values, thereby giving Denmark a voice when it comes to addressing major international challenges. With Brexit, Denmark loses an important ally in the EU. Denmark and The United Kingdom (UK) share many of the same interests and values. The Government wants an agreement that will enable us to compete on equal conditions, and ensure as close and effective cooperation with the UK as possible after their exit. However, we must also ensure that an exit agreement and an agreement on the future relationship do not undermine the single market and thereby Danish

The Government will continue targeted efforts to reform the EU from within and ensure a strong, streamlined and effective EU that delivers tangible results for the benefit of citizens, and which creates growth, ensures free trade, fights climate change, increases citizens' security, and effectively tackles the challenges of migration. External pressures are causing the EU member states to draw closer together. Many aspects of the cooperation are rapidly developing, including in the areas of defence, law and the EMU. Due to the Danish opt-outs, Denmark is not participating in the development of cooperation in these areas.



The international order that has shaped the world in recent decades can no longer be taken for granted.

NATO and the strong transatlantic ties between Denmark and the US are crucial for our security. We must therefore work actively to maintain American engagement in Europe through NATO. This requires that we intensify our cooperation across Europe and that we invest more in our common security. Strengthening the EU's ability to handle security challenges in Europe's neighbouring region will be a significant contribution to transatlantic burden-sharing. In this respect, Denmark's opt-out concerning the Common Security and Defence Policy is a significant obstacle to our contribution. With the ambitious Danish Defence Agreement, we increase our defence expenditures by 20%. Among other measures, we will strengthen our contribution to NATO's collective deterrence of Russia, we will establish a division headquarters in the Baltics, we will intensify our international efforts, and we will provide offensive cyber capabilities for use by NATO. Given the continuously changing landscape of threats, we must expect sustained pressure to further increase defence expenditures.

The Government has implemented a strict immigration policy, which, combined with measures through the EU and other bodies, has reduced refugee and migration pressures. Based on a quid pro quo principle, the Government will prioritise additional resources for efforts in the countries of transit and origin that strengthen their border management and increase return and readmission of irregular migrants. Concurrent efforts will be made to address the root causes of irregular migration. To diminish the desire of a growing population of young Africans to move towards Europe, concrete opportunities and hope for the future is needed in their own countries. These opportunities can only be created through economic growth and jobs, free trade, liberty and political influence. Denmark is a significant player in the field of international development cooperation, and is one of just five countries in the world that meet

the UN's target of 0.7% of GNI in annual official development assistance. We take care of Denmark when we take care of the world, and we can help many more people when we help them in their local regions.

Man-made climate change is one of the greatest challenges facing the world. But it is a challenge that we can manage – not by stopping growth and development, but by ensuring more sustainable growth and development, including through new technologies and innovation.

The Sustainable Development Goals are key to Denmark's foreign and development policy, providing an ambitious and global framework between now and 2030. If the goals are not met, many young people in developing countries will become part of the challenge rather than part of the solution. Meeting these goals will require innovative efforts, new partnerships, and an engaged business community. Therefore, Denmark has taken the lead with the new global initiative, P4G – "Partnering for Green Growth and the Global Goals 2030". Denmark has also made significant contributions towards reforming the UN's development system.

Global development offers many opportunities that we should seize. Important tools in this respect include execution of the Government's strategy for economic diplomacy, continued strengthening and development of strategic partnerships, and strategic sector cooperation.

The new digital world order is rapidly developing. Denmark has a strong foundation for becoming one of the most innovative societies in the world. The Danish innovation centres and TechPlomacy initiative provide Denmark with a unique basis for participating in defining the norms of the digital world order.

A key priority for the Kingdom of Denmark is ensuring peaceful and sustainable economic development in the Arctic. Climate change and melting sea ice present serious challenges but also introduce economic opportunities. The situation entails security policy risks as well. We must continue to develop the international cooperation in the Arctic based on the Danish Realm, the Arctic Council, and the cooperation between the Arctic coastal states. Both Greenland and the Faroe Islands desire greater insight into and involvement in the foreign and security policy. This places new demands on our cooperation within the Danish Realm, and the Government emphasises the importance of good dialogue with Greenland and the Faroe Islands in this respect.

Rules-based international order

The Government believes that it is clearly in Denmark's national interest to strengthen rules-based international cooperation.

Therefore, Denmark must continue to engage in international efforts and fight for human rights, the basic rule of law, and international solutions.

The Government believes that as a small, open and globally-oriented democracy, Denmark has an obvious self-interest in further developing and strengthening the rules-based international order and multilateral cooperation. The international rules of the game ensure that small and large countries can peacefully co-exist – and that each country is free to choose its own future. These rules create a better framework for international trade, and they oblige countries to respect human rights and democratic principles.

Binding cooperation in international organisations, such as the EU, NATO, the UN, the WTO, the Council of Europe, the OECD and the OSCE, is crucial to the world's ability to find common answers to international challenges like migration, climate change and terrorism. The Government wants to further develop this cooperation, for example by reforming the organisations where necessary, in order for us to continue to solve global challenges together. Therefore, Denmark is also significantly involved in the current process of reforming the UN system.

But the rules-based international order is under pressure.

Global leadership

The US is increasingly questioning the value of the international organisations and agreements that it has been instrumental in establishing since World War II. The US is withdrawing from its position of global leadership in more and more respects. This includes withdrawals from the Paris Agreement, the Iran Nuclear Agreement, and the UN Human Rights Council, the introduction of US tariffs on steel and aluminium from the EU, and the termination of funding to international organisations that provide information about or work directly with abortion (the Global Gag Rule).

The Government has expressed Denmark's disagreement with these decisions. But at the same time, the Government fully supports continued US leadership in a number of other areas, including in the fight against ISIL.

American global leadership is in Denmark's national interest and crucial to rules-based international cooperation. We must therefore intensify our commitment to maintaining US global leadership and to promoting an American understanding that the international rules-based order is also in the interest of the US. In the vital area of trade, the Government will initiate a process, primarily driven by the private sector and with the involvement of transatlantic stakeholders, to explore the possibility of drafting an international set of rules specifically governing e-commerce.

China's power, economic strength and ambitions are growing. The country is gaining ever greater influence on global norms and values, and it will make a major impact on the future of the world. On the one hand, Denmark and Danish companies have an interest in engaging with the growing Chinese market. On the other hand, we



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must remain aware that our societal models and approaches to international cooperation and free trade are very different, and that we must continue the dialogue on human rights and other issues.

While Russia has maintained its aggressive conduct, we have witnessed a divided UN Security Council that has proven unable to take action as the conflicts in Syria and Yemen continue with massive humanitarian consequences. Prioritising efforts to ensure that Denmark lifts its share of the responsibility, the Government will increase support for the UN's security policy and conflict prevention efforts.

Defence of liberal values

Democratic principles are being challenged around the world, and in many countries, the divide between democracy and dictatorship is moving in the wrong direction. Human rights, civil society, religious minorities, journalists and human rights advocates are under increasing pressure. Women's rights are being suppressed, and people are being persecuted for their sexuality. A growing number of countries are questioning whether basic human rights are universal or simply a "western project". The fundamental rule of law is also being challenged within the EU. We must fight to protect and advance our liberal values. Therefore, the Government will strengthen efforts to secure Danish influence in international organisations by improving efforts on behalf of Danish candidatures. Denmark's membership of the UN Human Rights Council during the period 2019-2021 will be used to actively promote our values. The Council does not always function optimally. However, the Government wants Denmark to enter the Council with the clear ambition of influencing, changing and reforming the Council in order to strengthen its legitimacy, credibility

and popular support, giving it a clearer line for the defence of human rights.

Green multilateralism

Fighting climate change requires clear international frameworks and common solutions. The Government firmly supports the implementation of the Paris Agreement. And we are doing even more. In October 2018, Denmark hosted the first P4G Summit – "Partnering for Green Growth and the Global Goals 2030". The P4G initiative brings together representatives from the public sector, the business community, international organisations and civil society to discuss and adopt innovative, market-driven solutions within circular economy. water, energy, and food and agriculture. We must continue to catalyse the sustainable development of the global economy through technology and innovative solutions. Therefore, the Government will appoint a special envoy for climate and energy to support Denmark's efforts in connection with the UN Secretary-General's Climate Summit in September 2019 by showcasing Danish solutions, public-private partnerships and Denmark's high profile on the investment agenda. This special envoy will also perform a similar role in connection with follow-up activities relating to the Climate Summit and P4G.

- The Government will establish a process driven primarily by the private sector, including transatlantic stakeholders, to explore the potential for drafting an international set of rules for e-commerce. This initiative will be marked with an international conference.
- The Government will strengthen the international community's capacity to respond to armed conflicts by increasing the Danish contribution to the UN's peacekeeping and conflict prevention efforts.
- The Government will achieve greater Danish influence in international organisations through a coordinated effort for Danish candidatures, including the establishment of a clearinghouse and a digital platform that support interministerial coordination and targeted efforts.
- Based on Denmark's membership of the UN
 Human Rights Council, the Government will
 defend liberal values such as basic rule of law,
 freedom of religion and beliefs, women's rights,
 and freedom of expression and promote
 political freedoms for human rights advocates.

- The Government will increase the spread of sustainable solutions through the P4G initiative, including the allocation of DKK 55 million annually in the 2019 Finance Bill to promote concrete public-private partnerships and contribute to a gradual expansion of the group of P4G partners.
- The Government also allocates an additional DKK 60 million in the 2019 Finance Bill to promote reforms proposed by UN Secretary-General Guterres to strengthen and improve the efficiency of the UN.
- The Government will appoint a special envoy for climate and energy, who will support Denmark's engagement in connection with the UN Secretary-General's Climate Summit in September 2019 and related follow-up activities.

Security

The Government is deeply concerned about the increasing threats posed by an aggressive Russia, the ongoing threat of terror, instability in the Middle East, and recent cyber-attacks. Therefore, the Government intends to strengthen security policy engagement with Denmark's close allies across the Atlantic and in Europe.

The complex threats have taken root. In our neighbourhood region, Russia continues its aggressive behaviour. Terror and instability continue to spring from large parts of the Middle East, Afghanistan, North Africa and the Sahel. Iran remains a destabilising regional actor, exhibiting unacceptable conduct in Europa and Denmark. Meanwhile, the cyber threat remains extremely high, and as one of the world's most digitised countries, Denmark is particularly vulnerable. These extensive threats place great demands on Denmark.

We cannot solve the challenges alone, and we cannot expect assistance without also contributing and taking responsibility in NATO, the UN, or international coalitions – be it in the Baltics, Iraq, Afghanistan or Mali. We must do our part to ensure that NATO remains the strongest defence alliance in the world, as unity and solidarity across the Atlantic remains essential to our security.

NATO and the transatlantic cooperation

The US is Denmark's most important security policy ally, and the guarantor of our security through NATO. The transatlantic ties form the cornerstone of efforts to protect Danish

security interests, and it is essential to maintain the American engagement in Europe through NATO. This requires that Europeans invest more in their own security and intensify cooperation across Europe, and we must reach out to the US to create a closer dialogue on matters relating to Danish and European security policy. NATO contributions from European allies are increasing. So is Denmark's contribution. Our actions show that we are prepared to defend ourselves and our allies. The ambitious Defence Agreement increases defence spending by 20%.

The Wales Declaration from the 2014 NATO Summit obliges member states to work towards allocating 2% of GDP to defence by 2024. A large number of allies will do so by 2024. Furthermore, like-minded countries, whose spending has been similar to Danish levels, will increase their defence spending. Therefore, we should expect that pressure to increase our defence spending will continue.

The security situation in the Baltic Sea region and in the North Atlantic plays a central role in the security of Denmark. The Danish Defence Agreement provides for the establishment of a deployable brigade, regional air defence, and anti-submarine weapons, all of which serve to establish credible deterrence. The Government has resolved to send a renewed Danish contribution in 2020 to NATO's Enhanced Forward Presence in the Baltics, and we will collaborate with close allies to establish a new NATO Division Headquarters in Latvia. The Government also supports NATO's intensified focus on the North Atlantic.



The transatlantic ties form the cornerstone of efforts to protect Danish security interests, and it is essential to maintain the American engagement in Europe through NATO. This requires that Europeans invest more in their own security and intensify cooperation across Europe.

New challenges require a strong European commitment

NATO is not alone in reacting to the intensified threats. In response to the more unpredictable security situation in and around Europe, the EU has significantly strengthened its security and defence cooperation in recent years. The EU plays an important role when it comes to preventive and stabilising efforts in regions such as the Middle East and Africa. Denmark's opt-out concerning the Common Security and Defence Policy prevents us from contributing to the EU's military stabilisation efforts, and, as a general rule, efforts involving military and civilian elements within the same framework. This complicates Denmark's ability to make effective contributions to long-term stabilisation efforts in areas of great importance to Denmark's security. Denmark participates in the EU's new Defence Fund, which ensures funding for research and development, enabling Europe to keep up with technological developments and to get more from these investments. However, Denmark is outside of the more binding PESCO cooperation, in which a number of EU countries jointly develop and trade defence equipment this is not in Denmark's interests.

In Europe and across the Atlantic, strengthening the EU's ability to handle the security challenges

in Europe's neighbouring regions is seen as a significant contribution towards transatlantic burden-sharing. The Government supports this ambition. We must be prepared to participate in the debate on the challenges caused by our opt-out concerning the Common Security and Defence Policy, and about how we can ensure Danish influence and benefit from the ongoing developments. This debate should be conducted on an informed basis. Therefore, the Government will commission an external report on developments in the EU's security and defence policy cooperation and what these developments mean for Denmark. We must also strengthen the alliances across Europe, such as through our active participation in the French-led European Intervention Initiative (EI2).

Our neighbouring region to the east

The assessment continues to be that Russia has no interest in risking a military confrontation with NATO, but more than four years after the illegal annexation of Crimea, the country continues its aggression in eastern Ukraine. Russia has not changed its aggressive conduct in the Baltic Sea region, and it is clear that the political leadership in Russia wants a different Europe than the Europe built through cooperation after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

The list of unacceptable actions is long: the illegal annexation of Crimea, aggression in eastern Ukraine, the nerve agent attack in Salisbury, cyber-attacks against public authorities and companies, threatening rhetoric and military exercises, resistance to arms control, interference in elections and campaigns of influence that threaten our democratic processes. All means are being deployed to undermine the European security architecture and the democratic principles. This is a serious situation.

At the global level, Russia stands in opposition to the rules-based world order. Multilateral organisations and bodies are used by Russia more for obstructive purposes than for constructive cooperation. The questionable Russian compliance with the ban on land-based intermediate missiles (the INF Treaty) is a matter of significant concern. The potential collapse of this treaty can have far-reaching consequences for European and thereby Danish security. Therefore, all options must be pursued to ensure Russia's compliance and the survival of the treaty. At the same time, the Government understands that it can be difficult for the US to be part of a treaty that is not respected by the counterparty. In Syria, Russia supports a regime that has rejected the laws of war and uses chemical weapons against its own population.

Russia must not succeed in splitting the international unity in Europe and across the Atlantic. The EU and NATO must continue to play an important role in this respect. We maintain Denmark's strong support for the EU's economic sanctions against Russia, which are tied to a peaceful resolution of the conflict in Ukraine in accordance with the Minsk Protocol. At the same time, the Government maintains its dual-track approach to Russia, on the one hand building a credible capacity to deter and defend against unacceptable actions, and on the other hand advocating dialogue when it is in our interests – for instance, in relation to maintaining the Arctic as a low-tension area.

Cyber security

The cyber threat is very high and constantly evolving. The threat derives especially from foreign states, but also stems from criminal groups and other non-state actors with growing access to advanced hacking tools. Many countries seek to achieve political objectives through the use of cyber tools, such as cyber attacks, disinformation and cyber espionage. According to the Danish Defence Intelligence Service, Russia, China, Iran and North Korea are among the most active states. There is a lack of common understanding

regarding responsible state behaviour in cyberspace. This increases the risk of misunderstandings and escalation.

As one of the world's most digitised countries, Denmark is particularly vulnerable. We have a clear interest in a secure, free and open global IT infrastructure based on common rules and cooperation, with the involvement of both states and tech companies. Therefore, in connection with the Danish Defence Agreement and the Danish Cyber and Information Security Strategy, the Government has allocated approximately DKK 1.5 billion to a wide range of initiatives. Key elements of this effort include improving the ability of the Centre for Cyber Security to monitor threats and advise on countermeasures, and to strengthen Denmark's involvement in the international cooperation for cyber security. There will be a continuous focus on threat assessments in order to determine the need for new measures.

Terrorism and instability

Despite significant progress in recent years, the threat of terror against Denmark and Europe remains serious. This threat is especially associated with ISIL in Syria and Iraq, but it also has ties to conflict and instability in the Middle East, North Africa, the Horn of Africa, the Sahel, Afghanistan and parts of Southeast Asia. Thanks to the effective efforts of the Coalition, including extensive civilian and military contributions from Denmark, ISIL has lost almost all physical control of areas in Syria and Iraq. But ISIL and other terrorist organisations maintain the ability to inspire, support and plan terrorist attacks. Therefore, the Government will continue its efforts against terrorism and the instability that provides fertile ground for terrorists, including military contributions, as well as integrated and preventive initiatives under the auspices of NATO, the UN or international coalitions.

Investment screening

Denmark is dependent on both exports and investments. Therefore, we welcome foreign investments. But we must not be naive. In certain cases, foreign investments may be problematic in terms of security and public order. Examples include investments in critical infrastructure by an investor with close ties to a foreign state. We need to make sure we have the tools in place to handle these situations. Within the EU, we are involved in the work to establish a joint framework for screening of foreign direct investments (FDI) that may constitute a risk. The Government is also further exploring the possibilities for national screening of foreign investments in Denmark. The Faroe Islands and Greenland are taking part in these efforts.

- The Government will commission an external report on developments in EU security and defence policy, and what these developments mean for Denmark.
- The Government will, in accordance with the Danish Defence Agreement, promote security policy cooperation with the countries around the Baltic Sea, and strengthen Denmark's focus on security in the Baltic Sea region through increased contributions to collective defence in NATO.
- The Government will, through the Danish Defence Agreement, improve Denmark's ability to participate in international operations with new and strengthened capacities, as well as a 50% increase in funding for international operations.
- The Government will, through the Peace and Stabilisation Fund, allocate an additional DKK 118 million to strengthen peace and stabilisation efforts, including measures to prevent radicalisation, terrorism and irregular migration. Furthermore, the Government will launch new peace and stabilisation programmes for Syria-Iraq, the Sahel, Ukraine, Afghanistan, the Horn of Africa, and the Gulf of Guinea.

- The Government will, based on the Danish Defence Agreement and the Danish Cyber and Information Security Strategy, significantly strengthen Denmark's digital security and increase Denmark's engagement in the international cooperation for cyber security.
- The Government will strengthen efforts against foreign influence campaigns that threaten Danish values and interests through the implementation of the Inter-ministerial Action Plan, Danish membership of the NATO Strategic Communications Centre of Excellence, and collaboration with tech companies.
- The Government will establish a defence policy advisory group that will contribute to advancing Denmark's commercial and research interests relating to the EU's new Defence Fund.
- The Government will investigate the possibility of establishing a screening mechanism for strengthening controls on foreign investments that may pose a risk to national security and public order.

Europe – a strong, streamlined and effective EU

The Government wants a strong, streamlined, and effective EU that delivers tangible results for the benefit of its citizens. A modern EU budget must focus on the areas where the EU provides the greatest added value, e.g. migration, research, climate and energy. We must further develop the single market and maintain an ambitious free trade agenda. At the same time, there must be fairness in the access to welfare benefits.

A secure and stable Europe is crucial for a secure and prosperous Denmark. For better and for worse, our situation is closely tied to developments in the other European countries around us. EU membership remains the best opportunity for Denmark to pursue Danish interests internationally – not least in a time when the global order is changing. Therefore, Denmark has a clear self-interest in actively contributing to ensuring a dynamic EU with global clout and the ability to deliver credible solutions to migration challenges and trade conflicts, and which can form a common front when foreign powers attempt to exert influence on our democracies. And although we do not always agree with every EU member state on everything, it is within the EU and the Nordic region that Denmark finds its closest community of shared values.

The EU is the world's largest economy, and the single market is the world's most advanced free trade area, where goods and services are freely exchanged according to one set of rules instead of 28. We benefit greatly from this market – more than a half-million Danish jobs are directly linked to it, and Denmark's GDP is estimated to be up to

DKK 100 billion higher than if we were not part of the single market. Through the EU's free trade agreements, Denmark has privileged access to a wide range of markets around the world.

Denmark benefits greatly from the European cooperation. But in some areas, EU rules, interpretation of conventions, and court practices go too far. For instance, when the freedom of movement is abused, and when access to Danish welfare benefits seems unfairly easy. This risks undermining support of the European cooperation among the Danish people.

The Government will continue the focused efforts to ensure a strong, streamlined and effective EU that delivers tangible results for the benefit of citizens and businesses. We must maintain that the EU's core task is to deal with cross-border matters that the member states cannot solve on their own. The Government will work for fairness in the rules and to prevent abuse of the freedom of movement. We must strengthen the cooperation in areas that provide added value, e.g. by further developing the single market – not least in areas where future jobs are created – such as the green and digital economy.

We must secure Europe's external borders to prevent a new migrant crisis. And we must take the lead as a united EU to protect and advance liberal values in a time of uncertainty about global leadership. The EU is the best way to ensure that Denmark and Europe have a voice when challenges to free trade and human rights arise, or when global answers to major international challenges such as air and climate issues and circular economy are formulated. These are areas of strong Danish expertise, and where a common EU approach and a level playing field form the foundation for Denmark's ability to realise our own ambitious goals and to attain the UN's 17 Sustainable Development Goals.



EU membership remains the best opportunity for Denmark to pursue Danish interests internationally – not least in a time when the global order is changing.

The EU must continue to serve as a global example, e.g. by continuing the successful efforts of recent years to reach ambitious free trade agreements with countries from all parts of the world. This creates growth and jobs in Europe and Denmark – and it increases our influence globally. But the EU must also avoid naivety and ensure an appropriate balance between open markets and equal trade conditions. This also applies in relation to the negotiations on the UK's future relations to the EU, where the Government will continue its dedicated efforts to ensure a fair and balanced solution that best serves Danish interests.

European unity

Europe is under pressure on many fronts. There is continued pressure at the southern borders. Our neighbouring regions are marked by instability, and the actions of Russia in particular are cause for growing concern. Recently, the EU has also faced challenges relating to the waning support of the US for multilateral organisations and free trade. Meanwhile, the EU is experiencing a range of internal disagreements on important issues such as migration, economic policy and basic rule of law. And although Brexit has not resulted in the collapse of the EU that many had feared, it has demonstrated that we cannot take EU cooperation for granted. We must work to keep the EU united and to avoid harmful tensions so that we are able to deal with cross-border issues.

It is important that we protect and uphold the EU's cohesion. The EU has made important and positive contributions to stability in Europe by admitting new members. However, we do not want further expansions if they risk undermining the Union. There must be no doubt that democracy, the rule of law, fundamental freedoms and a well-functioning market economy are essential prerequisites for membership. Therefore, the Government has clearly stated that there are no grounds for continuing accession negotiations with Turkey. This does not change the fact that Turkey remains an important

partner in dealing with migration challenges, a key regional player, and a member of NATO.

The Government will also increase the political focus on ensuring that the EU does not create expectations of admitting new member states before they and the EU are ready for such admission. At the same time, we will stand with like-minded countries in insisting that basic democratic rule of law must be respected and upheld by all member states.

The future of the EU

To future-proof the EU cooperation and to meet our common goals, the EU budget must be modernised and more focused. This must be achieved within a responsible fiscal framework with fair burden sharing between Member States. Therefore, spending in traditional policy areas must be reduced so resources can be used where they make a real difference, and where the EU offers the greatest added value, e.g. on areas such as migration, research, climate and energy. The Government will strengthen its efforts to ensure a responsible and fair EU budget for 2021-2027.

As a follow-up to the most recent financial crisis, the EU has implemented stronger financial regulation to prevent and be better prepared for future crises. Stricter requirements have been put in place in relation to capital and liquidity, and financial businesses are now subject to increased supervision. These stricter policies apply for all EU countries. At the same time, a stronger bank cooperation (the banking union) has been established. Only Eurozone countries are presently members of this cooperation, but non-Eurozone countries are also able to participate. The Government has appointed a working group and intends to make a decision in the autumn of 2019 regarding Danish participation in the stronger bank cooperation.

Denmark's voice is heard in Europe, but not without effort. Therefore, we must do more to actively seek influence and move the cooperation in our direction. With the exit of the UK, we lose a close political ally. Therefore, the Government will intensify active efforts to build new alliances. This applies in relation to the other member states, where the Government has already strengthened a number of key embassies. It will also apply in relation to the representatives elected to the European Parliament in May 2019, and among the new commissioners in the European Commission. At the same time, based on the Government's action plan of December 2017, we will strengthen efforts to increase the number of Danes employed in EU institutions.

- The Government will continue the strengthened efforts to protect and pursue Denmark's interests in the decisive phase of negotiations with the UK on its exit from the EU, and in the negotiations on the future relations between the EU and the UK.
- The Government will strengthen its efforts to ensure a responsible expenditure level of the EU budget, with a fair burden-sharing between member states, and in which cross-border issues such as migration, climate and growthgenerating initiatives are prioritised within a frugal framework. The Government will work actively to increase the number of Danes employed in EU institutions to ensure Danish insight and influence.
- The Government will continue to make it a high priority to ensure fairness in the EU's rules on social benefits.
- Through targeted efforts, the Government will work to maintain the ambitious free trade agenda in the EU, with the aim of achieving new free trade agreements and ensuring open and equal trading conditions.

Refugees, migration and development

The Government wants to help more refugees in their local regions and minimise the number of irregular migrants to Europe as much as possible. We will do this with national initiatives, cooperation within the EU to secure external borders and develop a new asylum system, and with an intensified effort to address the root causes of irregular migration.

Refugees and migration

Irregular migration and the challenge of providing sustainable solutions for the world's refugees serve as a reminder that no country is isolated from developments in the surrounding world. We saw this first-hand in the autumn of 2015, when the world was on our doorstep.

Since the Government's first Foreign and Security Policy Strategy, great progress has been made in reducing the influx of asylum seekers and irregular migrants to Denmark. This was achieved through a combination of national efforts and joint EU initiatives focusing on increased border controls, and through stronger cooperation with the EU's neighbouring countries and regions close to conflict and crisis including cooperation relating to the return and readmission of rejected asylum seekers and irregular migrants. The reduced influx has also resulted in lower expenses relating to in-donor refugee costs. This has freed up funding for initiatives in developing countries, enabling us to further strengthen our efforts in areas and countries neighbouring conflict and crisis, where these resources can benefit far more people.

Alongside national initiatives, the Government will actively utilise the cooperation in the EU and UN. Two new UN compacts – the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration and the Global Compact on Refugees – are expected to be adopted in 2018 and will strengthen the basis for international cooperation in these areas. Issues addressed

include the readmission of countries' own citizens, which with the migration compact is now internationally recognised as an obligation of the state.

Refugees must be helped in their local regions

We are able to help considerably more refugees and displaced persons when we assist in the areas and countries neighbouring conflict and crisis. And we can avoid secondary refugee flows, as those in 2015 from Syria's neighbouring countries, by ensuring that refugees and internally displaced persons can live safe and dignified lives in the areas and countries neighbouring the conflict or crisis, based on a combination of humanitarian assistance, peacebuilding, and more long-term development initiatives. With the Finance Bill for 2019, the Government proposes a historically high level of humanitarian assistance, putting Denmark at the global forefront.

Organised human trafficking must be combated

Organised human trafficking plays a significant role in the number of irregular migrants that make their way towards Europe. Therefore, and in the context of the new Global Compact on Migration, the Government will make targeted contributions to strengthen the ability of countries of origin and transit – particularly in Africa – to control their own borders and combat the trafficking and trade of human beings.

Return and readmission

The Government has adopted a quid pro quo approach. This approach – combined with the appointment of an ambassador for migration with a special focus on promoting cooperation on return and reintegration, development funds dedicated to facilitating cooperation on return and readmission, and migration counsellors at Danish embassies – has contributed to an increase in return and readmission of rejected asylum seekers to a number of countries. The Government will intensify these efforts and increase funding to facilitate cooperation on return and readmission to ensure that all countries of origin comply with their obligation to readmit their own citizens, enabling the return of irregular migrants.



The Government has a vision of an Africa where young women and men are able to see opportunities for a future in their home countries.

The EU's external borders must be strengthened and the asylum system must be updated

When the refugee and migration wave of 2015 swept through Europe, it became clear that the EU's external borders were not sufficiently enforced. In that context, Denmark and other countries chose to introduce temporary border controls. Since then, the EU and member states have launched a number of initiatives that have reduced arrivals to the level before 2015. But the work does not stop here. We must continue to explore new approaches based on the efforts that have proven effective, e.g. the EU-Turkey agreement and the ongoing focus on stronger border control. The Government will maintain focus on new ways of reducing arrivals and increasing EU funding for this purpose. In recognition of the important role of the European Border and Coast Guard Agency (Frontex), the Government has announced a significant increase in Denmark's contribution to the Agency, including both staff and capacities.

The Government wants a new asylum system in Europe – a system that eliminates the basis for human trafficking and reduces the pressure on Europe's external borders. Denmark will work with like-minded countries to develop new paths to a more effective European asylum processing system, including continued efforts by the Government to explore options for establishing a joint return centre outside of the EU.

The root causes of irregular migration must be addressed with sustainable development

A number of countries in Africa enjoy high economic growth rates and improved living standards, while many other countries, particularly in the sub-Saharan region, are struggling to ensure that economic and social development keep pace with population growth.

Africa remains the continent with the highest birth rates, and by 2050 the continent's population is expected to double to 2.5 billion. Population growth on the African continent, combined with an absence of economic development, is expected to fuel irregular migration in the coming decades.

The Government has a vision of an Africa where young women and men are able to see opportunities for a future in their home countries. Danish development assistance will contribute to realising this vision. The youth of Africa have enormous potential. However, a failure to create better opportunities for education, employment and political influence may result in increased instability, radicalisation and irregular migration towards Europe. Development assistance in itself cannot solve the immediate migration challenges, but it is an essential part of the medium and long-term efforts to mitigate irregular migration.

Therefore, in the coming years, the Government will dedicate additional resources to long-term efforts that address the root causes of irregular migration and promote sustainable development. This is especially the case for some of the poor and fragile priority countries in Africa, with a particular focus on the Sahel and the Horn of Africa. These efforts are not just about creating better economic opportunities, but political and social opportunities and rights as well. This can be achieved through support for education, stabilisation, reduced vulnerability to climate change, ensuring legal rights, anti-corruption efforts, gender equality and women's right to control their own bodies.

Global gender equality and the rights of girls and women are central to realising the Sustainable Development Goals. Lack of access to education, health services, contraceptives and sex education undermines women's fundamental right to decide whether, with whom, when and how many children they want to have. The Government will intensify its efforts for the rights of girls and women in developing countries, in humanitarian crises and conflict situations, and in international negotiations, where countries that previously shared Danish views are now pushing strongly in the opposite direction.

With the contribution of Denmark and the other member states, the EU is the world's largest provider of development assistance. We must leverage this position even more effectively. The Government wants to significantly strengthen the EU's external efforts on issues such as irregular migration from Africa. We will also seek to reform the EU's development policy toolbox, inspired in part by Danish experiences with innovative financing. Danish development assistance is increasingly used as a catalyst for new types of partnerships, particularly with private sector stakeholders, and through innovative financing instruments such as the Danish SDG Investment Fund.

- The Government will intensify its efforts to promote return and readmission of foreigners without legal residence in Denmark. In the 2019 Finance Bill, the Government proposes to increase funding for efforts that promote quid pro quo cooperation with countries of origin on the return and readmission of their own citizens, bringing total funding in this area to DKK 110 million.
- The Government will continue to work for a new asylum system in Europe, including stronger efforts to eradicate the foundation of the business model of human traffickers, and to combat existing pull factors in cooperation with countries of origin and transit along migration routes. The Government will also work with like-minded countries to develop new paths to a more effective European asylum processing system.
- The Government will strengthen the EU's external borders and asylum processing in frontline states through continued contributions to the EU's asylum processing office, EASO, and increased contributions to the EU's border agency, Frontex.
- In the 2019 Finance Bill, the Government proposes an increase in humanitarian assistance from already historic levels to DKK 2.6 billion, with objectives including the promotion of long-term solutions in regions of conflict and disaster.
- The Government will prioritise international cooperation on migration management as part of its follow-up on the UN Global Compact on Migration, including stronger involvement in the EU's Trust Fund for Africa.
- The Government will give greater priority to the long-term bilateral efforts to combat poverty, irregular migration, forced displacement and instability, with a focus on the poorest and most fragile priority countries and host societies for large refugee populations, particularly in Africa, including the Horn of Africa and the Sahel, where Denmark will work with France and others in relation to youth and gender equality.

- The Government will work bilaterally and through larger actors, such as the World Bank, to strengthen efforts to promote the right of women to control their own bodies – these efforts include the allocation of funding and secondment of experts.
- The Government will strengthen efforts to generate economic growth, employment and entrepreneurial opportunities for the many young people in Africa, with a focus on creating opportunities for the largest generation of young people in history, and thereby establish alternatives to irregular migration.
- In the 2019 Finance Bill, the Government has allocated DKK 540 million in development aid funding to the Climate Envelope for efforts to promote sustainable growth and reduce the impacts of climate change in developing countries.
- With a new regional stabilisation programme for Syria and Iraq, the Government will address immediate stabilisation needs in both countries, thereby improving regional security, which in turn will reduce migration pressures and the number of displaced persons, while also counteracting radicalisation and terrorism.
- The Government will explore the possibilities of contributing to innovative financing mechanisms in education, e.g. the International Finance Facility for Education (IFFEd).

Economic diplomacy, strategic partnerships and the new digital world order

The Government wants to strengthen opportunities for Danish businesses around the world and increase foreign investment in Denmark. This will be achieved through economic diplomacy, strategic partnerships, and a strengthening of Denmark's position in terms of innovation and digital transition.

Economic diplomacy and strategic partnerships

The global economy is growing and millions around the world have been lifted out of poverty and into the middle class. This opens the door to new opportunities for Denmark and Danish businesses. The Government's economic diplomacy constitutes a key area of focus of Danish foreign policy, and serves as our foundation for seizing the opportunities presented by global growth and development.

In recent years, Denmark has successfully cultivated a closer dialogue with public authorities in developing countries in selected sectors by posting growth advisors. This strategic initiative has

increased the awareness of and opened the door for Danish solutions, knowledge and skills. The closer dialogue has also enabled improvements in local framework conditions.

In the coming years, the Government will strengthen the cooperation with local public authorities and expand these efforts to include high-income countries, such as the US and Japan, where there is significant potential for selling Danish solutions in life sciences, energy, environment and so on. We will post additional growth advisors, strengthen the capacity in Denmark to develop cooperation with local public authorities, and establish a closer dialogue with the Danish business community on export opportunities and cooperation with local public authorities.

The Government will further develop Denmark's five existing strategic partnerships with China, South Korea, Japan, Mexico and Indonesia – five countries that are increasingly decisive in global affairs. We will use these partnerships to promote Danish interests, and to influence international development in our direction. The Government will also explore opportunities to enter into new strategic partnerships.



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The economic centre of gravity is shifting to the east. Many of the world's fastest-growing economies are in Asia. China's economic development offers Denmark a number of opportunities, but it also requires a proactive effort. Therefore, the Government has appointed a panel of Danish business leaders and experts to develop recommendations on how Danish businesses can best benefit from growth opportunities in the Chinese economy. This panel will explore opportunities in the Chinese market and ways of ensuring a level playing field for foreign companies in China.

Danes residing abroad are a resource that can play a more active role in supporting Danish growth and development. The Government supports the appointment of a task force that in January 2019 will make recommendations on how Denmark can better engage Danes residing abroad.

The new digital world order

Technological breakthroughs and the digital transformation of our societies are happening at a pace which creates difficulties for states, businesses and individuals to keep up. These developments bring great opportunities, but also new challenges.

Technology is increasingly becoming a geopolitical factor. Denmark has a clear interest in a secure, free and open global IT infrastructure based on common norms and rules. We have already made a strong impact internationally in regards to this agenda, and we are in a favourable position to continue shaping developments – not least through the Government's TechPlomacy initiative, which has established a direct and open dialogue with global tech players.

Going forward, part of these efforts will be within the frameworks of the EU and the UN. Europe has an excellent opportunity to be a leader in the establishment of a normative global framework for the new digital world order. This is due in part to the fact that neither the US nor China currently have as strong a focus as the EU on the protection of the rights for individuals e.g. in relation to the processing of personal data. We have seen serious examples of how data about our preferences and behaviour can be abused. Therefore, the Government will explore the opportunities for establishing an international coalition of tech companies, civil society organisations, and states to - among other things - develop international norms and principles on data ethics.

The Government will also focus on the ability of developing countries to exploit the potential and tackle the challenges of technology. This will be done through the TechPlomacy initiative's development policy track (TechVelopment), including through the establishment of a regional TechVelopment advisor based in Nairobi from 2019.

Research and innovation

As one of the world's leading research nations and one of the most digitised countries in the world, Denmark has a strong starting point for becoming one of the most innovative societies in the world. We have a highly educated population and research of the highest international standard. But digital developments are taking place just as fast in the rest of the world. These developments give Danish businesses the opportunity to sell their solutions to a much larger share of the world's population. However, they also bring intensified competition.

With the Strategy for Denmark's Digital Growth, the Government has presented an ambitious vision for maintaining and strengthening Denmark's position as a digital frontrunner and to ensure that Danish companies seize the potential of the new technologies. This requires targeted efforts in Denmark and beyond our borders.

Attracting more knowledge- and technology-intensive foreign investment is an important part of maintaining Denmark's leading position. Foreign companies bring new knowledge, technology, talent and business models, and they create better opportunities for innovative partnerships between companies.

Another key element is the eight Danish innovation centres located in the world's leading innovation environments, from Silicon Valley to Seoul. The innovation centres make a significant contribution to Denmark's overall efforts to cultivate knowledge, technologies and business models for the benefit of Danish research, education and business. The Government opened a new innovation centre in Boston in the autumn of 2018 to strengthen these efforts.

A third important component is a further strengthening of Danish science diplomacy, which already benefits from the active contributions of Danish universities and other research and development stakeholders. These efforts serve to strengthen international scientific cooperation, as well as generally promoting international cooperation and supporting Denmark's foreign policy goals. The research cooperation agreement of May 2018 between Denmark and India is a good example of this diplomacy in action.

A fourth component is intensified efforts to help Danish companies with an appetite for the global e-commerce markets. Digitisation offers excellent conditions for selling goods and services in distant markets. E-commerce is growing globally at a rate of approximately 20% annually, but only a small share of Denmark's small and medium-sized enterprises engage in e-commerce outside of Denmark. The Government is therefore establishing an e-commerce centre that will provide advisory services to businesses. We will also post e-commerce staff in a number of foreign markets to help improve access for Danish goods to leading international e-marketplaces.

- With the new innovation centre in Boston, the Government will strengthen opportunities for Danish companies and researchers to establish partnerships in one of the world's leading research environments, particularly in the field of life science.
- Building on the TechPlomacy initiative, the
 Government will prioritise efforts to strengthen
 governance and the formation of global alliances
 relating to the tech agenda. This includes efforts
 in the UN in connection with the SecretaryGeneral's new tech initiatives, and the exploration of opportunities to establish strategic
 partnerships with key global players on the
 tech agenda. Furthermore, the Government will
 explore the possibility of Danish membership
 of Digital 7. Lastly, the Government will work to
 ensure international support for the new Danish
 data ethics initiative and prioritise continued
 efforts to promote the EU's united approach
 and global position.
- The Government will promote the technology and digitisation agendas in its development cooperation activities, including through the posting of a TechVelopment advisor to Nairobi from 2019.
- The Government will strengthen science diplomacy efforts to promote Denmark and partnerships in the international research and innovation community.

- The Government will strengthen cooperation with foreign public authorities by posting new growth advisors in health and energy at Danish missions in high-income countries, and increase capacities in the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Energy, Utilities and Climate to support and further develop this cooperation. The Government has also established a new dialogue forum for life science to strengthen dialogue between public authorities, trade associations and companies in the health sector. Lastly, the Government has allocated additional funding in the 2019 Finance Bill to initiate five or six new collaborations with developing countries.
- The Government has appointed representatives of selected Danish companies to an expert panel on global growth centres, which will make recommendations as to how Danish businesses can best benefit from growth opportunities in global growth centres, beginning with China.
- Based on the recommendations of the Task
 Force for the Danish Diaspora, the Government
 will strengthen the collaboration with Danes
 abroad to support growth and development
 in Denmark, including further engagement of
 Danes abroad in partnership with new and
 existing private sector stakeholders.

The Arctic

The Government will continue its efforts for a peaceful Arctic and to promote sustainable economic development for the benefit of the local population.

> The Government is committed to ensuring that the Kingdom of Denmark, as a strong partner in the Arctic cooperation, continues its efforts to ensure that the Arctic remains a low-tension area. This is an increasingly important focal point in the light of the continued Russian military build-up, which is being followed closely by the Government. The Government will also work to ensure the best framework conditions for sustainable economic development in the region. This development is not least important for the opportunities of young people in the region to build a life based on good living conditions. Through a focus on research, innovation and economic development, we will engage the young generation through initiatives that promote creativity and entrepreneurship across the Arctic region. Denmark, the Faroe Islands and Greenland will collectively and individually contribute to these efforts.

Climate change in the Arctic

There are few places where the consequences of global climate change are as extensive as in the Arctic. It is crucial that we take the fragile Arctic environment into account, while also supporting sustainable economic growth.

Climate change increases the geographic accessibility of the Arctic. This has attracted greater attention to the extraction of natural resources, and has increased commercial, scientific, and

military activity in the area. As a result, the geopolitical importance of the Arctic continues to grow – as does the need for a presence and monitoring.

The melting of the Arctic ice opens opportunities for maritime transport, extraction of natural resources, new forms of commercial fishing and increased tourism. With the expectations of increased maritime traffic in the Arctic, the Kingdom of Denmark will work for the adoption of common rules for maritime traffic and thereby equal competitive conditions. The Government will also explore the possibilities for a modernisation and expansion of Ice Services in Greenland.

The Government will increase its focus on sustainable economic development and work to strengthen cooperation to this effect in the Arctic Council and Arctic Economic Council. The Sustainable Development Goals also provide a useful framework for these efforts in the Arctic between now and 2030.

Research and innovation in the Arctic

Research and innovation are critical elements of future development in the Arctic. The Kingdom of Denmark participates actively in the work of the Arctic Council and in the Arctic Economic Council to improve digital infrastructure in the region. Young people will be the future users of new digital opportunities that will contribute to a more diversified business structure. The Kingdom of Denmark will work to increase focus on young people and entrepreneurship in the Arctic, not least among indigenous peoples.



There are few places where the consequences of global climate change are as extensive as in the Arctic. It is crucial that we take the fragile Arctic environment into account, while also supporting sustainable economic growth.

The Kingdom of Denmark will also work to ensure full realisation of the potential in the Arctic Council's research agreement. The Government's goal is to strengthen cooperation between researchers in the Arctic states, and to work for greater involvement of researchers from other countries with significant Arctic interests.

In cooperation with Greenlandic authorities, the Government will establish an international Arctic hub in Greenland. This will further strengthen the Kingdom of Denmark's already strong profile in Arctic research and education. A hub will also make a beneficial local impact on education, the local economy and employment.

The Government will strengthen research and innovation cooperation with Asian states, which are showing increased interest in the Arctic. For example, in January 2018 China published a white paper on its Arctic policy, which calls for intensifying efforts in a broad range of areas. The interest of distant and resourceful nations in the Arctic brings many positive opportunities, but may also entail geopolitical challenges.

Defence in the Arctic

The Defence Agreement (2018-2023) further strengthens the Ministry of Defence's presence in the Arctic through initiatives that support assertion of sovereignty, surveillance, protection of the marine environment, and search and rescue services. The Government is closely following developments in the significant and growing geopolitical interests in the region, and the continued Russian military build-up, which according to the Danish Defence Intelligence Service includes the rebuilding and expansion of forward bases on the Russian Arctic Islands as well as ongoing preparations for the deployment of tactical fighter aircraft. These developments are being followed with a view to the Government's goal of maintaining the Arctic as a low-tension area. NATO has an intensified focus on the North Atlantic, and we must consider and address developments in the Arctic and the North Atlantic together with our partners and allies.

- In close collaboration with Greenland, the Faroe Islands and international partners, the Government will maintain a focus on economic development in the Arctic region. Based on a review of experiences, including a forthcoming report on business financing in the Arctic, the Government will work actively for this agenda in relevant Arctic contexts.
- The Government will strengthen its efforts for young people in the Arctic, including an initiative in collaboration with relevant forums to conduct an innovation competition that will bring together young entrepreneurs from across the Arctic region.
- In close cooperation with Greenland, the Government will explore the opportunities for expanding the existing Danish Ice Services to cover all of Greenland. An expansion of the Danish Ice Services will support continued economic development in Greenland through new maritime routes and opportunities for increased tourism.

- In close cooperation with Greenland, the Government will establish an international Arctic hub in Greenland to strengthen research in the Arctic region and research cooperation in the Danish Realm.
- The Government will give young Greenlanders the opportunity for voluntary conscription tests in Greenland (without having to travel to Denmark), and strengthen assertion of sovereignty, surveillance, protection of the marine environment, as well as search and rescue services.

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