



The Danish Way of War – will the activism continue after Afghanistan?

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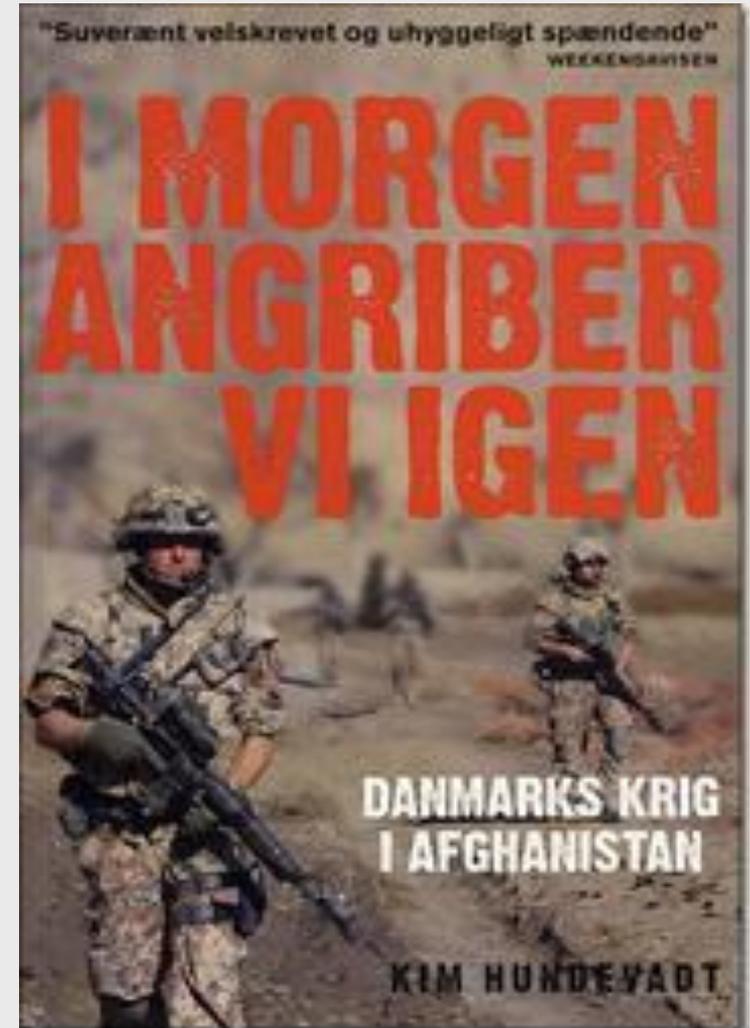
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Oops what happened?





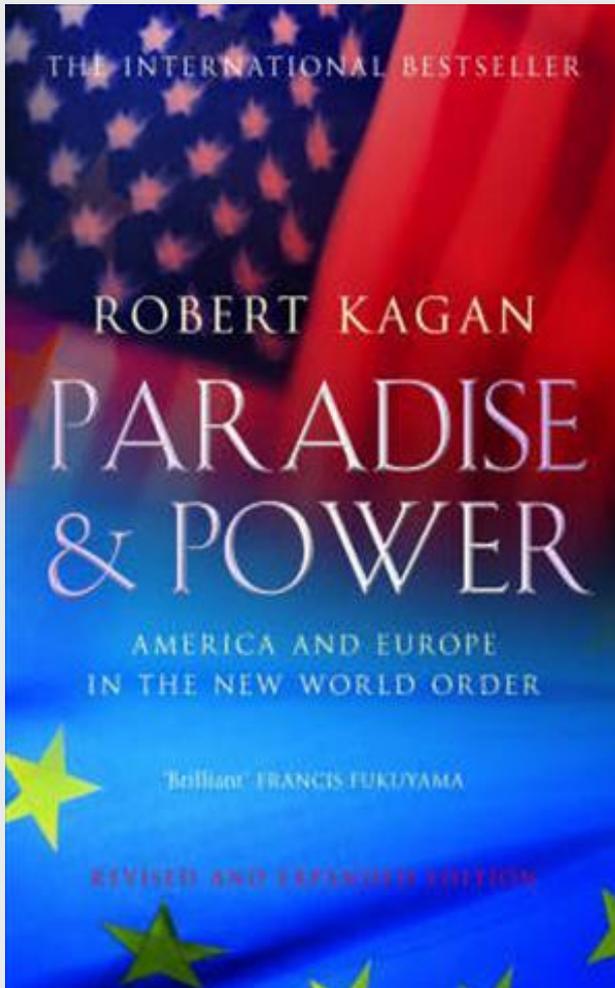
Main points



- **DK on Venus 1864-1989**
- **DK flies to Mars**
- **Why Mars?**
- **DK way of war on Mars**
- **Will DK remain on Mars?**



Venus vs Mars



- **Europa lives on på Venus and has forgotten how to use force**
- **USA lives on Mars and uses force to protect itself and Europe**



DK on Venus 1864-1993



- **DK only shoots in self-defence – and only if it worthwhile**
- **(÷ 1940)**
- **Reluctant NATO ally**
- **Korean War: hospital ship > no to combat troops**





1994- DK flies to Mars

- **Highest public support for:**
 - **Kosovo 1999 (77%)**
 - **Afghanistan 2011 (45%)**
 - **Libya 2011 (78%)**
 - **Invasion of Iran 2012 (27%)**
 - **Iraq 2014 (62%)**





1994- DK flies to Mars

- **Military force useful and legitimate tool of statecraft**
- **50.000 cars with yellow ribbons**
- **Flagday, memorials, bravery medals, home coming parades, veteran policy**

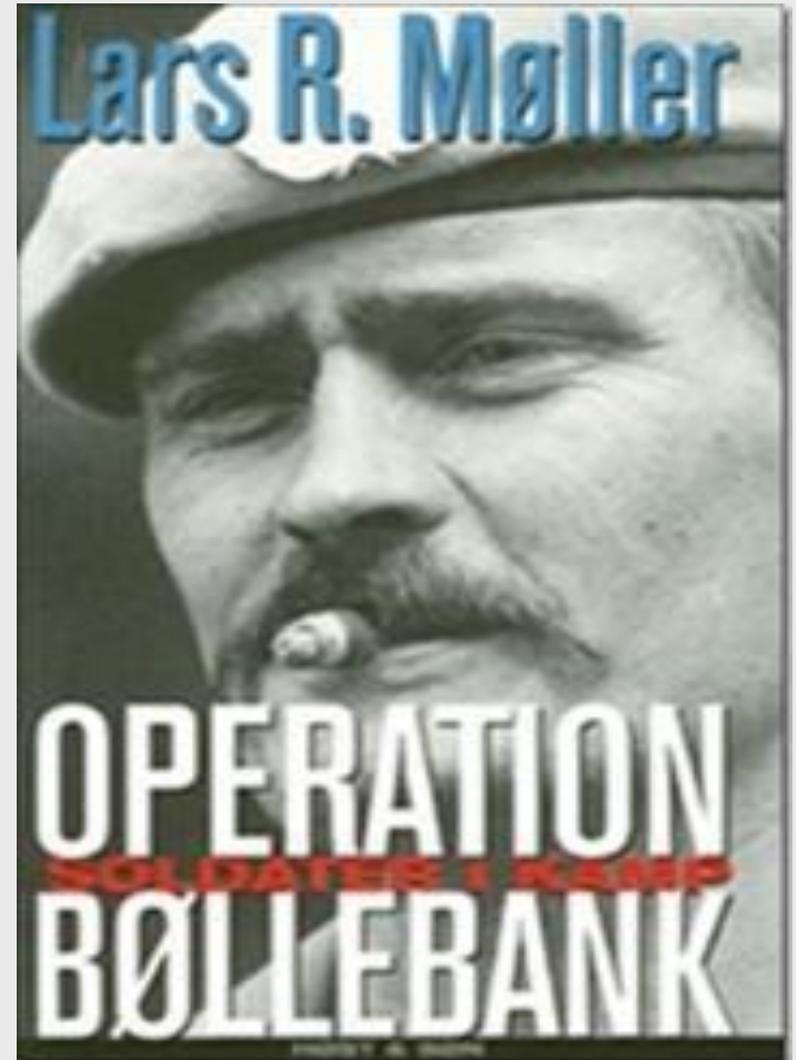




1994- DK flies to Mars



- **War heroes:
Lars Møller,
Anders
Storrud,
Anders Lassen
resurrected**
- **DK at war has
triggered an
avalanche of
books, movies
and TV series**





Why Mars?



- **USSR collapses**
- **"no more NATO footnotes"**
- **Demand from the UN, NATO and the US →**
- **Gulf war**
- **Balkans**
- **Iraq**
- **Afghanistan**





Why Mars?



- **Operation Hooligan Buster 1994**
- **Praise from NATO and allies**
- **Few fatalities during the 1990s**
- **Snowballing effect**
=> New strategic culture: use of force natural and legitimate instrument





The Danish way of war on Mars



- **Since 1989 DK has constructed a narrative explaining why and how we go to war that the Danish public identifies with and takes inspiration from → new national identity / strategic culture**
- **Clear and consistent communication of this narrative by most political parties backing the use of force**
- **Iraq War 2003 the only exception to this rule**



The Danish way of war on Mars



Ends

- **Defend DK security and prosperity**
- **Promote "DK" liberal values: democracy, human rights, and the rule of law**
- **Do our duty as a responsible and civilized nation**



The Danish way of war on Mars



Ways

Support for NATO and the US

- Plug og play with UK and US without caveats (almost)

Support for UN

- UN (or NATO) mandate

Broad political support;

- 2/3 majority principle

Integrated civil-military approach

Clean hands

- no legal problems = no prisoners or private security firms



The Danish way of war on Mars



Means

- **Diplomacy**
- **Development**
- **Humanitarian assistance**
- **Military**

→ The integrated approach means that Denmark will always employ civilian and military means together
→ prerequisite for broad political support



The Danish way of war on Mars



War popular in DK if

- 1) It is sold with reference to national security, liberal values and the duty to make a difference as a responsible nation.**
- 2) Fought together with NATO allies, UN (NATO) mandate, broad political support, an integrated approach (civilian + military means) and in accordance with the laws of armed conflict.**

Will DK remain on Mars?

- **The choice after Afghanistan**
- **Continuation of the "Mars"-approach or a return to Venus?**





Will DK remain on Mars?



The VENUS-argument

- **“Militarisation” a mistake – no gains, just dead soldies and financial costs**
- **DK should prevent wars not fight them**
- **Never again Iraq and Afghanistan**
- **Increased risk of terror attacks**
- **Conflicts cannot be resolved by force**



Will DK remain on Mars?

Mars-argument

- **DK foreign policy normalized not militarized**
- **Military force supports and reinforces civilian instruments**
- **DK policy successful - more status and influence than before**
- **Every wants to negotiate, few can and will fight → DK makes an important difference and supports its values and interests**



Will DK remain on Mars?

DK makes a difference

- 6 of 28 NATO countries sent troops to Southern Afghanistan
- 8 of 28 NATO countries bombed in Libya





Will DK remain on Mars?



Who wins?

- **It will be determined by our allies in the UN and NATO (and our enemies)**
- **If DK allies continue to call Copenhagen and can provide a just case and a UN/NATO mandate**
- **Then DK will continue to join the fight**
- **Form and frequency will be determined by allied requests**



Will DK remain on Mars?



Who wins?

- **International > national factors**
- **There is "just" war enough for everyone → DK will remain on Mars**



Want to know more?



PVJ, Denmark at War: Turning Point or Business as Usual?, in B. Heurlin and H. Mouritzen (eds.) Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2000, Copenhagen: Danish Institute of International Affairs: 61-85.

PVJ og KJM, Good News: Libya and the Danish Way of War, in N. Hvidt og H. Mouritzen (eds.) Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2012 (Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies), 106-30.

PVJ and JR, In Denmark, Afghanistan is worth dying for: How public support for the war was maintained in the face of mounting casualties and elusive success, Cooperation and Conflict. DOI: 10.1177/0010836714545688 (2014)

PVJ and JR, Size and reputation – why the United States has valued its “special relationships” with Denmark and the United Kingdom differently since 9/11, Journal of Transatlantic Studies, 13:2 (2015).



Questions ?



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