



# CEP NEWSLETTER

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## The Danish “Yes” and “No” to Europe – 40 and 20 years later

40 years ago the Danes voted in favor of entering into a binding European cooperation and 20 years ago we turned down the Maastricht Treaty.



Which intentions did the Danish politicians have when they applied for membership of the European Community and when the opt-outs were negotiated? Were the opt-out intended to be permanent? And what are the implications of a two-speed Europe?

CEP, in partnership with Politiken and Surrey University in the UK, is organizing an open two-day international conference, which bring together some of the politicians and senior officials who were central figures in shaping the Danish EU-policy.

Among the speakers invited are the two former foreign ministers Uffe Ellemann-Jensen and Niels Helveg Petersen, the two co-founders of the EU-sceptic movement *Junibevægelsen* Jens Peter Bonde and Drude Dahlerup, ambassador Poul Skytte Christoffersen, attorney and adviser to the government in EU-matters Peter Biering, professor Uffe Østergaard, and Politiken's editor in chief Bo Lidegaard. Sir Stephen Wall and Hans Martens will deliver the two keynote addresses at the conference. Moderators are Michael Jarlner from Politiken and professor Marlene Wind from CEP. The conference is free of charge but as the number of seats are limited registration is necessary via [www.cep.polsci.ku.dk](http://www.cep.polsci.ku.dk).

## Britain and Germany have visited CEP

CEP has recently had the privilege of welcoming Speaker of the House of Commons, John Bercow, as well as the German ambassador to Denmark, Michael Zenner.

## Denmark and Germany: Partners in Europe

Marking the German reunification on 3 October 1990, the German embassy in Copenhagen and CEP hosted a well-attended panel debate entitled 'Denmark and Germany: Partners in Europe'. The panelists included the German ambassador to Denmark, Michael Zenner, the former minister for European Affairs and current Danish MP Bertel Haarder, the vice-chairman of the European Affairs Committee in the Danish parliament, Benny Engelbrecht, and professor Marlene Wind from CEP.



## John Bercow: Speaker of the House of Commons



On 10 October the CEP Student Network had the pleasure of welcoming John Bercow, Speaker of the House of Commons, to a presentation and discussion on the British parliament and

other topics. Bercow's presentation was followed by an interesting debate with the participating youth politicians, students, and researchers. At the next CEP Student Network event 7 November Claus Grube from the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs will come and talk about the future of the EU. The event is organised in collaboration with Danish Institute for Study Abroad (DIS).

## LATEST RESEARCH

Rebecca Adler-Nissen has published the article 'Diplomacy as Impression Management: Strategic Facework and Post-Colonial Embarrassment', *CIPSS Working Paper Series*, 38. Montreal: McGill University.

Rebecca Adler-Nissen has edited 'Bourdieu in International Relations: Re-thinking Key Concepts in IR'. London: Routledge.

Marlene Wind, Dorte Sindbjerg Martinsen & Morten Kelstrup have released the 2nd edition of their book 'Europa i Forandring: En Grundbog om EU's Politiske og Retlige System'. Copenhagen: Hans Reitzels Forlag, 499 pages.

The journal *International Organization* has accepted an article by Rebecca Adler-Nissen entitled 'Stigma Management in International Relations: Transgressive Identities, Norms and Order in International Society'. Publication is expected in 2014.

Marlene Wind & Ulla Neergaard have published 'Studying the EU in Legal and Political Science Scholarship', in Ulla Neergaard & Ruth Nielsen (eds.) *European Legal Method – in a Multilevel EU legal Order*. Copenhagen: Djøf Jurist- og Økonomforbundet.

Anders Wivel has published 'Danmark, Europa, Verden – international politik i det 21. århundrede'. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.

## NEWS FROM CEP

### EURECO Final Honorary Lecture

The final lecture of this year's EURECO Distinguished Lecture Series will be about challenges to democratic legitimacy and is delivered by Professor Dr. Michael Zürn from WZB in Berlin. The lecture takes place the 29 November. For more information and registration visit: [www.eureco.ku.dk](http://www.eureco.ku.dk)

**Europe Today and In the Future:** Joint seminar between DIS and CEP, Wednesday 7 November 4:30-7:00 pm. For more information visit: [www.cep.polsci.ku.dk](http://www.cep.polsci.ku.dk)

## THE RESEARCHER COLUMN

### Danish EU Membership turns 40 – have the Danes turned their back on the EU?

*Marlene Wind examines the Danish attitudes towards the European project over the last 40 years and outlines what implications a two-speed Europe may have for a small open economy.*

*By Professor Marlene Wind, Department of Political Science, Copenhagen University*



The 2<sup>nd</sup> of October it was 40 years ago Denmark voted in favor of entering into the European Community (as it was then called).

It is well-known that the yes appeared neither out of enthusiasm for the European project nor because our politicians had any great visions of a united Europe. The reasons were much more prosaic and had to do with the Danish farmers continued access to the British market for dairy products. Britain wanted to join and thus Denmark had to go along. This was the message that came across, and illustrates well how the Danish approach to Europe from the outset was mostly practical and focused on economic gains. Political Union on the other hand was never desired and certainly not discussed as a real possibility at the time. On the contrary, in 1986 our then Prime Minister Poul Schlüter even declared the Political Union ‘stone dead’. As time has passed Schlüter’s prediction has clearly become more and more untrue.

Looking back it was in particular regrettable that it was never explained to the Danish people that as a small open economy Denmark has a strong interest in a legally binding Union. Nor was it explained how the supremacy of EU law over conflicting national law, not only was part of the package but in our fundamental interest. Even today 40 years after it still comes as a surprise – not only to the Danish citizens but even to many politicians – that European rules can set aside national ones if there is a conflict between the two. The alternative to what we have today – i.e. a community based on weak international law – would not, as many still seem to think, mean more independence and ability to decide by ourselves. On the contrary, a more legally fragile Community would quickly end up as a club dominated by the larger member states with an only marginal voice for smaller states.

Despite these rather banal insights a recent opinion pool on the Danish attitudes towards Europe shows that the Danes have become increasingly Eurosceptic. At least

if we look at the Gallup published in *Berlingske Tidende* on October 8<sup>th</sup>. Here it was clear that the Danes no longer just want to preserve the 20 year-old opt-out on the Euro but also want to keep the defense- and the justice and home affairs-opt-outs. At the same time a Eurobarometer shows that 8 out of 10 Europeans still want more Europe to cope with the crisis. And even more surprisingly to most Danes: 63% of all Europeans still think that a common currency is a good thing! What does all of this tell us? It tells us that as Europe moves ahead with enhanced collaboration on banking- and fiscal union, Denmark seems to slide in the other direction. A two (or more) speed Union is clearly no longer just a theoretical possibility discussed among political scientists on international conferences. It has become a reality that we have to confront. On the other hand it is quite clear to most observers that a split Europe will not be in the interest of a small member state like Denmark. Denmark will however not be able to veto a development that we contributed to creating with our ‘No’ to the Maastricht Treaty 20 years ago. With the direction the EU is moving at the moment, Denmark will for the first time face the actual consequences of being an opt-out nation. The fear is of course that the Eurozone countries will create their own smaller version of the EU with the implication that the internal market that most Danes support and cherish will be gradually undermined. Though Denmark is still welcome to join this more exclusive club there is no sign that this will happen, not even in the remote future.

Under these circumstances we have to remind ourselves that we have no one but ourselves to blame for the situation we are now facing. The following months and years will thus be decisive for Denmark’s future place in Europe. Together with the Norwegian Nobel Committee, which finally found an opportunity to hand over its distinguished peace prize to the EU, we should never the less rejoice and appreciate that 17 + countries in Europe still have the courage that is needed in this crucial time of crisis.

*The researcher column is written in turn by the researchers at the Centre for European Politics. The column does not represent a common CEP-position.*

### Workshops at CEP

In the coming months CEP will host two international workshops. From 22-23 November Ph.D. Fellow at CEP Ruxandra Lupu Dinesen, together with Roskilde University and the Nordic International Studies Association, is organizing the workshop ‘*The EU and the issue of power in times of uncertainties: After the storm(s) comes.... What?*’

The next workshop will take place from 13-14 December and is entitled ‘*Coping with power dispersion? Autonomy, coordination and control in multi-level systems.*’ It is organized by Post.Doc at CEP Mads Dagnis Jensen, Christel Koop from King’s College and Michaël Tatham from the University of Bergen.

### CEP Board

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The newsletter is published four times a year and includes the latest updates on activities and European research at the Centre for European Politics. You can also follow CEP at:  
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