

Nationale Kompromis (engelsk, tysk, fransk)

UDENRIGSMINISTERIET

Medlemmerne af Folketingets
Markedsudvalg og deres stedfor-
trædere

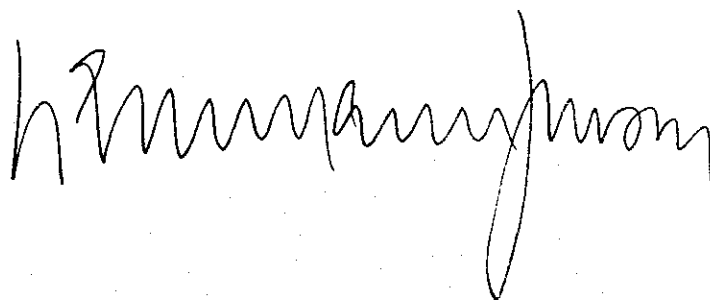
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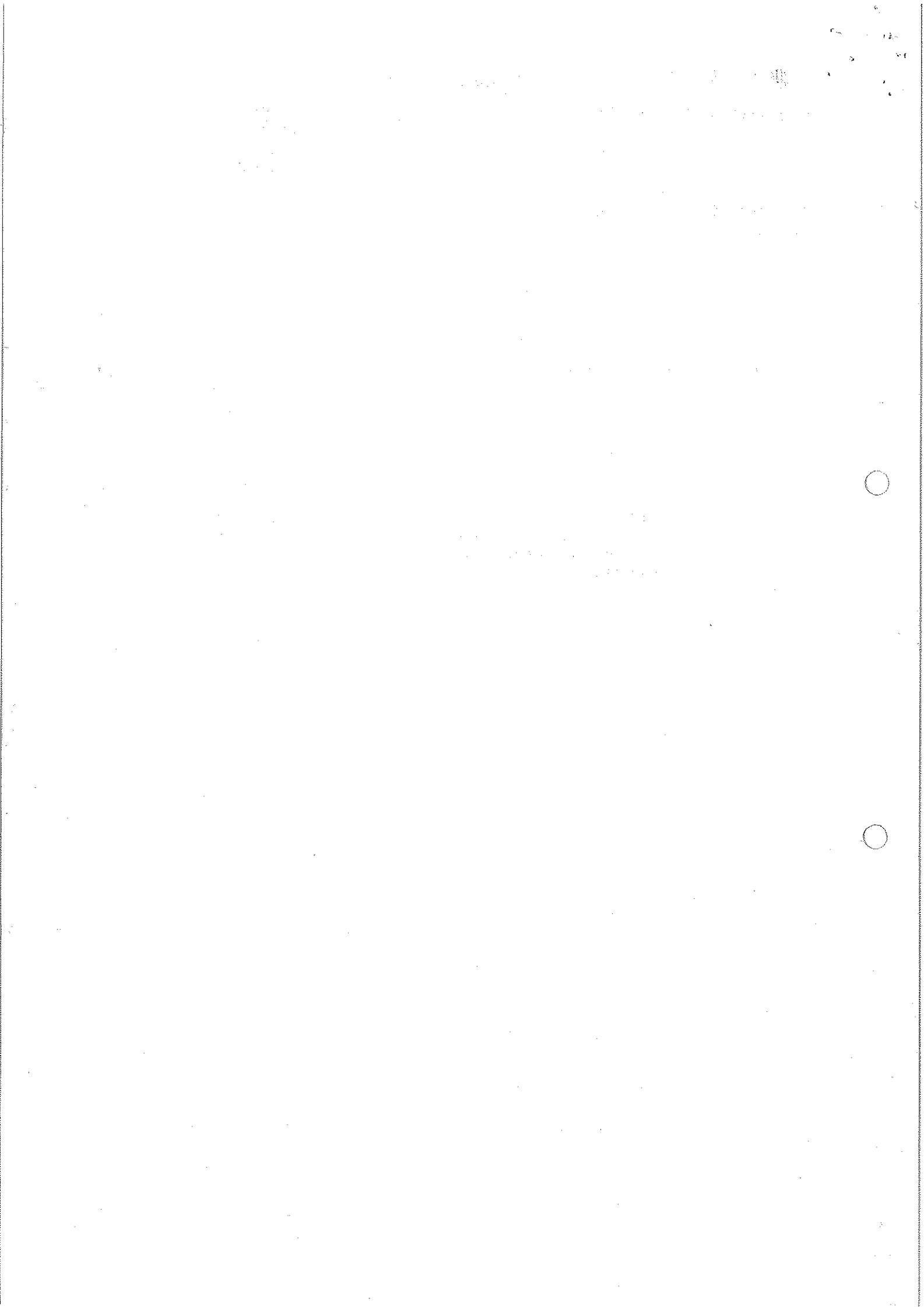
3 bilag Kontor N.1.

J.nr. 400.C.2-0

Dato 30. oktober 1992

Under henvisning til skrivelse af 27. oktober 1992
hvormed fremsendtes papir om Danmark i Europa, frem-
sendes vedlagt papiret i engelsk, tysk og fransk
oversættelse.





DENMARK IN EUROPE

A. Introductory remarks

The Danish "no" to European Union on 2 June 1992 reflected the fact that the majority of Danes do not wish a United States of Europe. It was not, however, a "no" to EC membership or European co-operation.

With a result of 50,7% votes against and 49,3% in favour, the political parties must formulate a national compromise which can unite the population on Denmark's participation in further EC co-operation.

Europe needs binding co-operation. This is a pre-condition for progress in Europe, with peace, employment and the environment being given pride of place.

The EC is the natural framework for such co-operation with the aim being that the EC should embrace all European democracies.

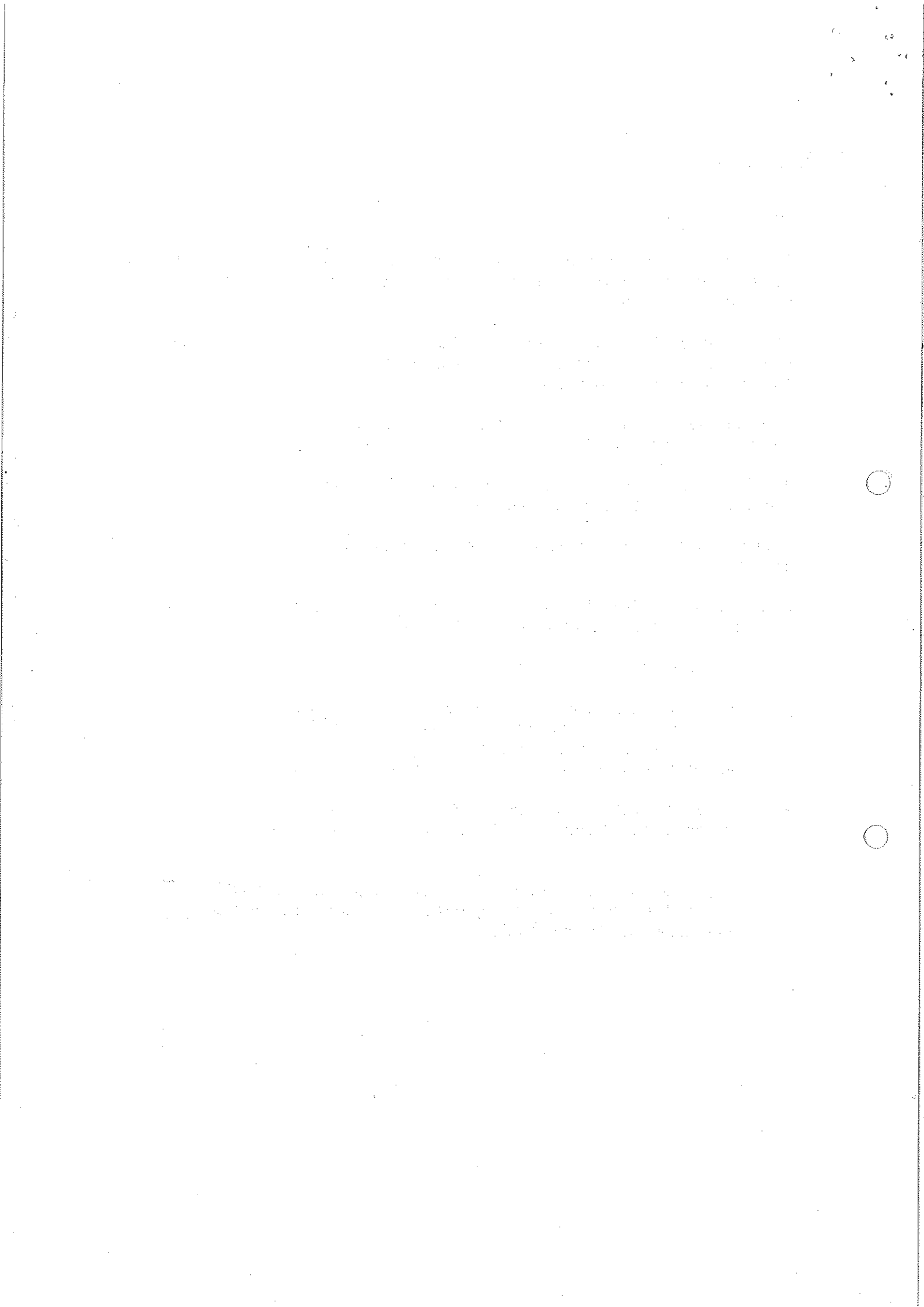
Denmark must not be isolated but must play an active role in the further development of Europe.

A national compromise will at the same time constitute the starting-point for a fresh popular debate on a more forward-looking European policy.

The following objectives are important in this connection:

- the EC must be made more democratic so that, inter alia, there is greater openness and transparency in its decision-making procedures. At the same time Danish decision-making procedures on EC matters should be changed so as to involve members of the Danish Parliament and the people to a greater degree;
- European co-operation should be more open and flexible so that the EFTA countries and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe become more involved in it.

The means must be provided in Denmark for a permanent, broad-based information campaign concerning Europe. Popular organizations and movements must be involved in such work.



B. Danish initiative vis-à-vis the other Member States

1. Issues of common interest

European co-operation must be in line with the peoples' justified desire to be involved in and play an active part in democratic decisions. Each country's arguments and votes in the Council of Ministers must therefore be public. This should also apply to future intergovernmental conferences.

Efforts must be made to create openness in administration, and EC proposals must be available in all languages before they can be the subject of substantive discussion.

The national parliaments must be more closely involved in co-operation with the EC institutions and co-operation between national parliaments must be developed further.

The European Parliament's scope for exercising effective control over the EC institutions' management and administration must be strengthened.

There must be a clearer division of labour between the EC and the Member States. It must be established which areas of policy are to remain a national responsibility. This applies, for example, as regards health policy, national cultural policy and the content and structure of education. The EC should not interfere in areas which can be dealt with better or just as well by individual countries.

There is no need for those EC rules leading to a bureaucratic or too detailed form of administration.

It should be ensured that EC rules are as far as possible in the nature of framework provisions so that Member States can fill them out with concrete rules in line with particular national conditions. This also implies that the use of Regulations should be limited.

As far as Denmark is concerned it is of decisive importance that the strength of the system of Danish labour market agreements is preserved.

EC legal rules concerning the labour market (the social dimension) must be in the nature of minimum requirements protecting employees' rights.

The principle of subsidiarity must be applied here in order to clarify and adjust EC rules in order to take greater account of different traditions and forms of organization in the individual Member States.

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As a legal principle and a political guideline, the principle of subsidiarity will play an important role in the future development of the Community. This implies an appropriate delimitation of the Community's and the Member States' tasks and will therefore have to be complied with by the Community bodies in all the areas of activity of the Community.

It must at the same time be ensured that problems which are clearly of a transfrontier nature, such as, for example, the environment, continue to be dealt with at Community level.

Environment policy must be based on binding minimum requirements for the protection of the environment at an ever higher level. A plan of action (white paper) must be drawn up on EC work on more extensive environmental measures.

Denmark will endeavour to ensure that the largest possible number of decisions concerning minimum provisions on environment policy are taken by a qualified majority.

As regards the actual formulation of legal acts, Denmark will, moreover, strive to ensure that Member States cannot be forced to implement provisions resulting in lower environmental protection requirements.

The internal market must be maintained and improved. If this is not done there will be a considerable danger of a relapse into protectionism and egoistic economic policies both of which will destroy the scope for improvements in employment and economic progress.

If the possibilities of economic co-operation between the EC Member States are to be exploited satisfactorily, the EC must in practice make combating unemployment a crucial objective for the Communities. Steps must be taken in the direction of stronger and more co-ordinated efforts to increase employment in Europe.

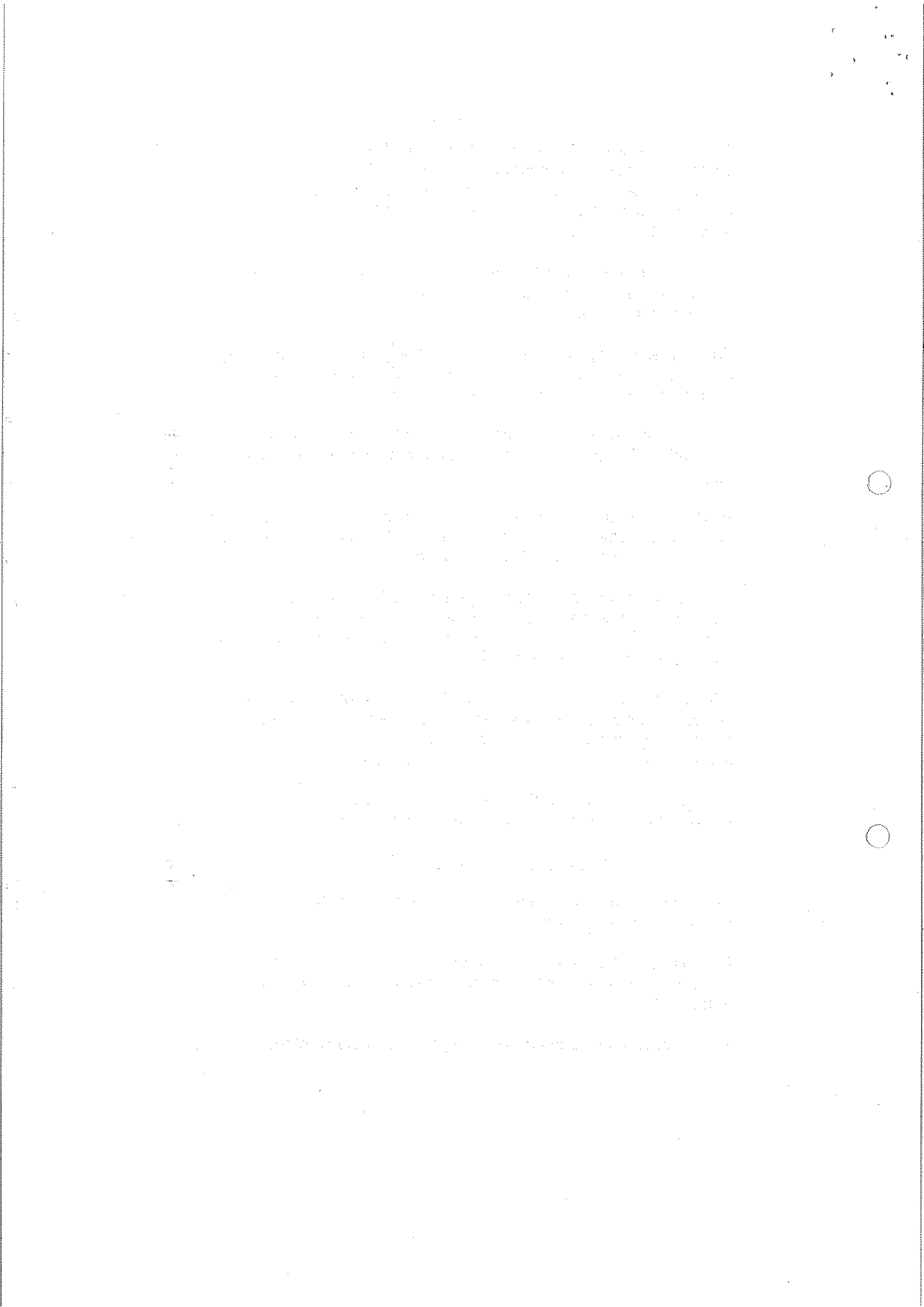
It must be expressly laid down that Denmark will itself determine its social standards and its policy on the distribution of income, social benefits, etc.

2. The particular interest of an agreement for Denmark

As a result of the referendum of 2 June, the Bill on Denmark's ratification of the Maastricht Treaty lapsed.

Denmark and the eleven other countries which signed the Treaty are therefore faced with a real problem which can be solved only by all twelve countries together.

An agreement for Denmark must respect the outcome of the referendum.



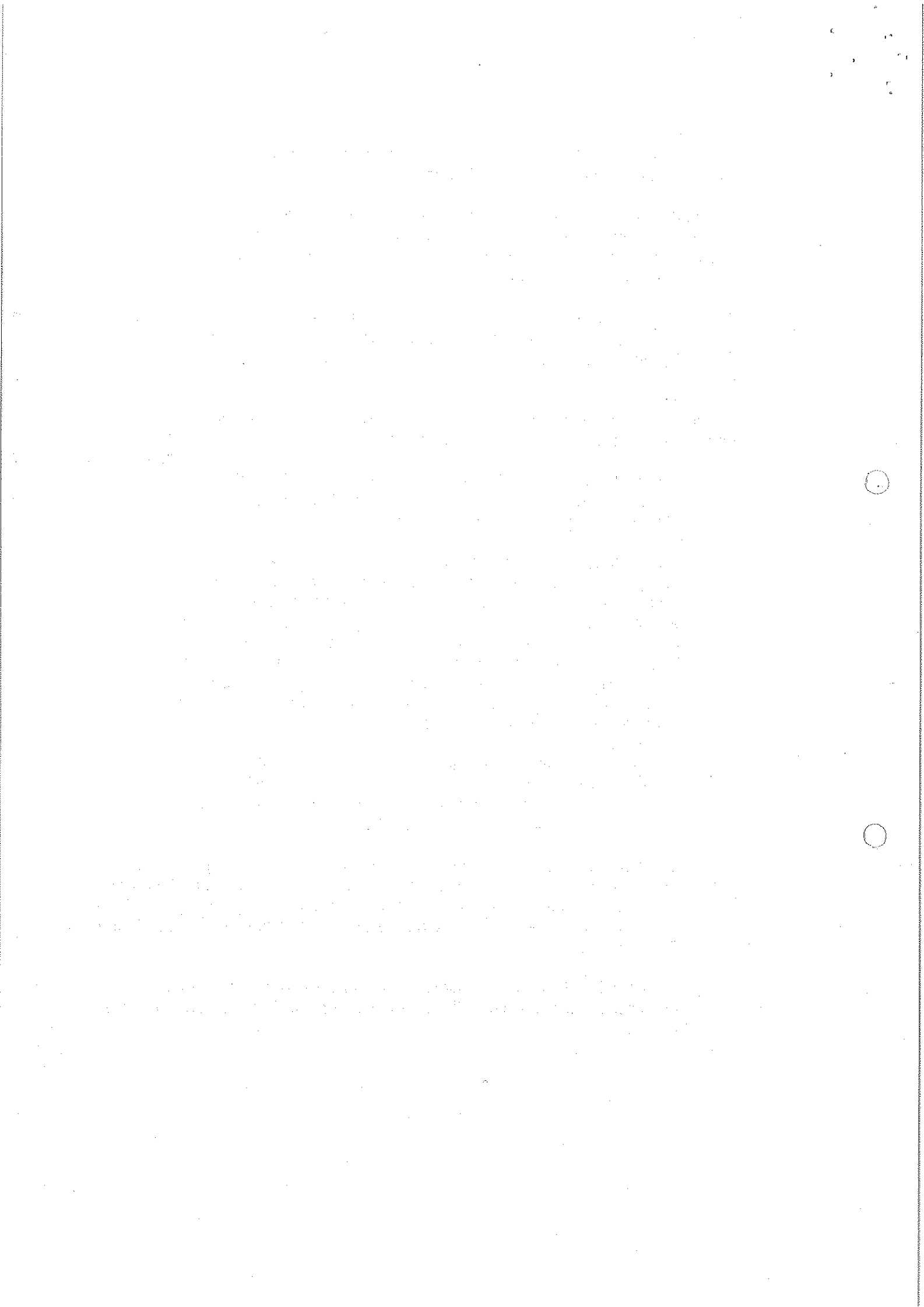
The agreement must represent genuine, substantive amendments to the basic elements which were rejected on 2 June.

Denmark must therefore make it clear, in relation to the objectives of the Union which are set out in the Common Provisions, that EC co-operation involves States which, in accordance with the founding Treaties, have freely decided to exercise some of their powers in common.

This common exercise of powers has as its natural premise that Denmark is an independent State, in the sense defined in the Danish constitution and applied by the institutions - Parliament, government, courts and monarchy - rooted in the constitution.

Along with this clearer definition of the aims of Denmark's participation in the co-operation, any agreement must contain the following points:

- Denmark does not participate in the so-called defence policy dimension, which involves membership of the Western European Union and a common defence policy or a common defence.
- Denmark does not participate in the single currency and the economic policy obligations linked to the third stage of Economic and Monetary Union. However, Denmark attaches great importance to participation in exchange-rate co-operation as formulated within the EMS and in the form which is to be carried forward in the second stage. Denmark must remain involved in close exchange-rate co-operation within the EC, even if and when other EC countries move into the third stage. Denmark will thus retain its national powers over financial and monetary policy, including legislation on the National Bank of Denmark.
- Denmark will have no obligations in connection with citizenship of the Union. However, for EC citizens living in Denmark it will retain the right to vote and to stand as a candidate at municipal elections and introduce both aspects for elections to the European Parliament.
- Denmark cannot agree to transfer sovereignty in the area of justice and police affairs, but can take part in the intergovernmental co-operation which has existed to-date. This means that Denmark cannot agree to parts of the third pillar being transferred to the area of supranational co-operation in the first pillar.
- As a result of this, the objectives of the Union set out in the common provisions of the Maastricht Treaty will not apply to Denmark on the above points.



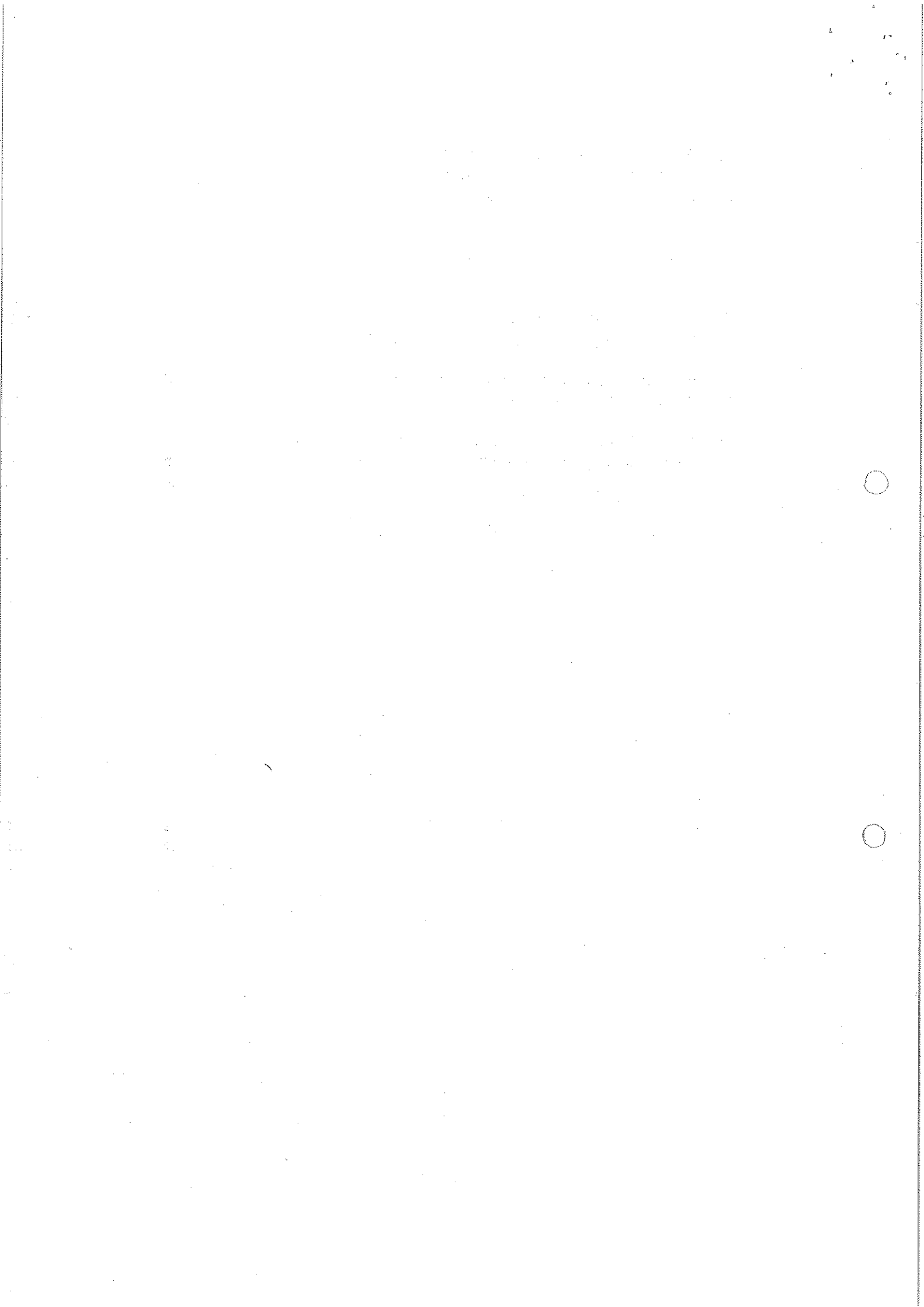
The Danish agreement must be legally binding on all twelve EC Member States and for an unlimited period. In return, Denmark will not stand in the way of other Member States taking co-operation further in one or more of the areas mentioned above.

The precise legal form of the agreement will be laid down in the forthcoming negotiations.

Denmark wishes to make it clear in connection with a Danish agreement that it will in other respects play a full part in EC co-operation.

A further referendum will be held when a result which the Danish Parliament can recommend has been achieved.

The elements set out in B constitute Denmark's contribution to a solution to the questions raised by the Maastricht Treaty and Denmark's situation.



C. Danish positions in discussions at European Council meetings on enlargement

It is important that the negotiations for the accession of EFTA countries should go ahead as rapidly as possible.

The current Treaty strikes a balance between the influence of the large and small Member States (weighted voting, etc.). That balance must be maintained. This must also apply when the Community is extended to include a number of EFTA countries.

Denmark will meet its financial obligations within the Community in full. This also applies to obligations designed to reinforce economic activity and environmental efforts in the least-favoured areas of the Community.

Similarly, Denmark should call for the current contacts with Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary to be stepped up immediately with a view to paving the way to membership .

The Danish "no" set in motion a positive process: a breakthrough was achieved in that governments and the EC institutions came to realize that the people required democracy, openness, nearness and respect for each country's distinctive character.

The principle in the Birmingham declaration that the EC should respect the history, culture and traditions of individual nations must also apply to the new applicant countries and be expressed in the conditions for their membership.

Variations in the twelve Member States' bases for ratification are a demonstration of the flexibility which must naturally be to the benefit of the applicant countries in their efforts to have national wishes taken into account in the accession negotiations.

It is of decisive future importance for Denmark to promote the further development of Nordic co-operation in a wider European framework as well.

If this is to be achieved there must first be an agreement on Denmark's continued participation in EC co-operation. Then, in continuation of that, the Nordic countries will have to reach agreements on membership which take the necessary account of their particular circumstances.

Denmark must work actively to see that this overall picture of the North in Europe can become a reality.

Under the Danish Presidency a wide-ranging conference must be called to look at the development prospects for European co-operation.

30th October 1992

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