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ATUAGAGDLIUTIT

GRØNLANDSPOSTEN

Nunarput EF-imit anivoq

EF-Bâj



Euroscepticism in Greenland in the 1970s and 1980s

PhD project at Humboldt University of Berlin / University of Iceland (2009-14)

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From „support”...

- **September 1961:** Landsråd and Greenland’s Folketing MPs support Greenland’s inclusion in Denmark’s EEC membership application
- **September 1967:** Landsråd and Greenland’s Folketing MPs support Greenland’s inclusion in Denmark’s EEC membership application
- **December 1971:** Executive committee of the Landsråd backs EEC negotiation result for Greenland

... to rejection

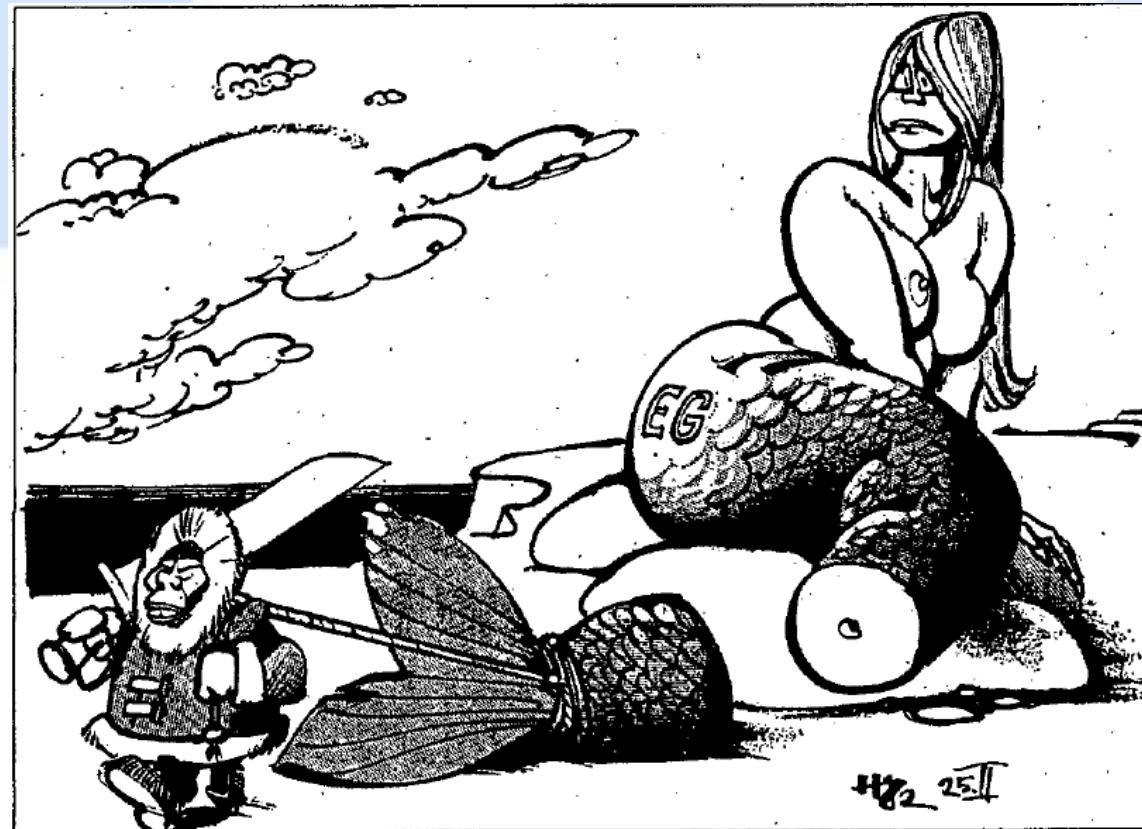
- **September 1972:** Landsråd opposes EC membership (12-4-1, 71-24%)
- **October 1972:** Greenland rejects EC membership in a referendum (70-30%); but overall „Danish“ vote in favour (37-63%)
- **January 1973:** Greenland joins the EC
- **February 1982:** Greenland rejects continued EC membership in a referendum (52-46%)
- **February 1985:** Greenland withdraws

Greenlandic EC membership: A lost cause from the outset?

- EC Common Fisheries Policy vs. the fisheries interests of the small and fish-dependent North Atlantic nations (*economic motivation to remain outside?*)
- Greenland's struggle for increased self-determination vs. European integration process (*political motivation to remain outside?*)
- Political debate in Greenland in the 1970s and 1980s dominated by fisheries

Economically motivated?

Hypothesis: Fisheries interests kept Greenland outside



Dependence on fisheries (2010)

Rank	Nation	Total capture production (t)	Population (1,000)	Capture production (t) per capita (1,000)	Export income (per cent)
1	Norway	2 675 292	4 883	548	6.6
2	Iceland	1 060 640	318	3 335	39.3
3	Spain	968 662	46 217	21	1.0
4	Denmark	828 016	5 565	149	2.8
5	UK	612 655	62 247	10	0.5
6	France	426 514	64 877	7	0.3
7	Faroe Islands	393 875	49	8 038	91.5
8	Netherlands	389 357	16 623	23	0.6
9	Ireland	318 942	4 451	72	0.4
10	Italy	234 101	60 575	4	0.2
11	Portugal	222 944	10 642	21	1.5
12	Germany	222 771	81 636	3	0.1
13	Sweden	212 035	9 394	23	1.7
14	Greenland	209 446	56	3 740	87.6

EC enlargement and fishing limits

Jun 1970: EC Membership applications (DK, IE, NO, UK);
IS does not want to join, FO want consideration time

Sep/Oct 1972: NO, GL reject EC membership
1974: FO reject EC membership

IS (1958), FO (1959), NO (1961), GL (1963) extend to 12 miles

Jun 1970: EC members (DE, FR, IT, Benelux) decide on CFP: No limit

1971: GL demands 50-mile limit

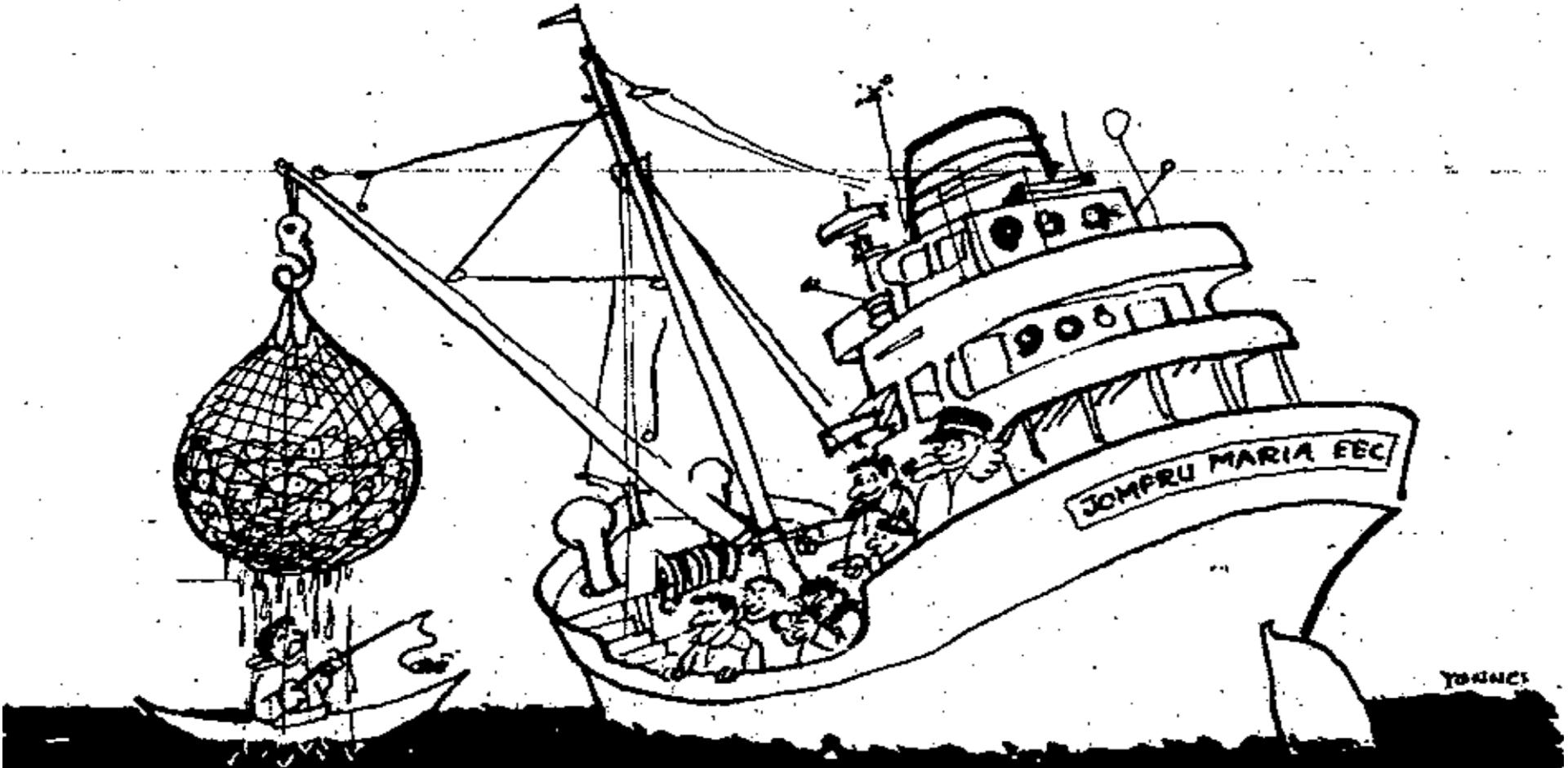
1972: Accession treaties allow for temporary 12-mile limit

Sep 1972: IS extends to 50 miles

1976: IS extends to 200 miles

1977: After UNCLOS: Extension to 200 miles (EC, NO, FO etc.)

EC membership: No exclusive fishing limit beyond 12 miles for Greenland



Fish catches in West Greenlandic waters

	1972		1974		1976	
	<i>tons</i>	<i>pct</i>	<i>tons</i>	<i>pct</i>	<i>tons</i>	<i>pct</i>
Greenland	41,000	29.5	51,000	44.3	44,000	49.7
Other states	98,000	70.5	64,000	55.7	88,000	50.3
Total	139,000	100.0	115,000	100.0	132,000	100.0

	1978		1979		1980	
	<i>tons</i>	<i>pct</i>	<i>tons</i>	<i>pct</i>	<i>tons</i>	<i>pct</i>
Greenland	67,000	52.3	82,000	49.7	101,000	80.8
Other states	61,000	47.7	83,000	50.3	24,000	19.2
Total	128,000	100.0	165,000	100.0	125,000	100.0

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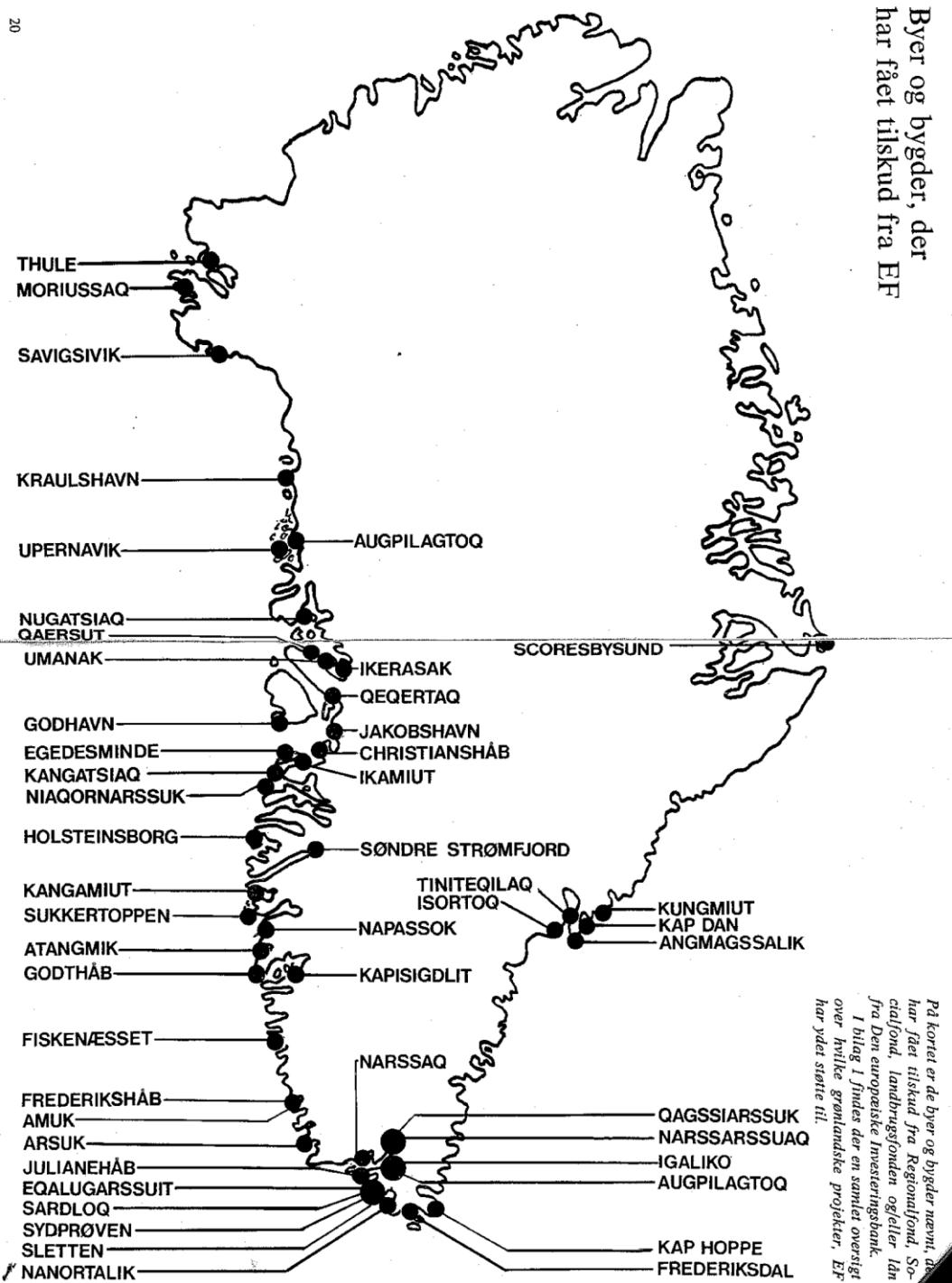


Unlawful fisheries



Grants and loans to Greenland in million DKK

<i>Year</i>	<i>ESF</i>	<i>ERDF</i>	<i>EAGGF</i>	<i>Total grants</i>	<i>EIB credits</i>
1973	6.4	-	-	6.4	51.2
1974	4.7	-	-	4.7	38.0
1975	11.6	24.9	-	36.5	N/A
1976	16.1	33.9	2.8	52.8	N/A
1977	21.2	40.9	2.9	65.0	50.0
1978	26.7	37.9	1.9	66.5	80.0
1979	53.0	70.6	5.6	129.2	74.0
1980	44.8	64.8	2.3	111.9	36.0
1981	43.5	112.4	0.1	156.0	41.2
Total	223.0	385.4	15.6	624.0	370.4



Villages in Greenland, which received EC subsidies

Right to catch vs. right for market access

How much worth is reserving the catch for oneself if one cannot sell it on the market?

	<i>Fish</i>	<i>Minerals</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Total (pct)</i>
Denmark	152	8	14	174	18.9
EC w/o Denmark	225	222	3	450	48.9
EFTA	60	85	0	145	15.8
USA	74	0	2	76	8.2
Third states	8	45	22	75	8.1
<i>Total</i>	519	360	41	920	100.0
<i>Total (pct)</i>	56.4	39.1	4.5	100.0	

Much to lose, nothing to gain...

European Parliament, Directorate-General for Research and Innovation (January 1982): „En gennemgang af de forskellige grønlandske erhvervs situation i relation til EF viser således, at Grønland økonomisk har *meget at tabe og lidt, eller måske intet, at vinde* ved at forlade EF-samarbejdet. Man vil her i al fremtid være afhængig af EF-landenes større eller mindre velvilje og i øvrigt være henvist til et meget usikkert verdensmarked. [...] Herudover vil man uden garanti for at få noget som helst til gengæld give afkald på årlige lån og tilskud på ca. 150 millioner kr. og uden større sandsynlighed for, at Danmark vil erstatte dem.”

DER SPIEGEL

GRÖNLAND

Pure Dummheit

Erstmals seit Bestehen der EG will ein Teil eines Mitgliedslandes aus der Gemeinschaft austreten.

„Economically better to stay inside“

Jonathan Motzfeldt (Siumut, Prime Minister):

„Med hensyn [...] om det ikke var *bedre rent økonomisk at være medlem af EF*, kunne [Jonathan Motzfeldt] bekræfte dette, men nævnte, at han *ud fra en politisk vurdering* anså det for afgørende at *komme ud af EF*, således at *man selv fik kompetence til at styre landet*, hvilket han fandt afgørende. [...] Med hensyn til EF konkluderde formanden, at *der var økonomisk gevinst ved at være medlem, men politisk duede det ikke.*“ (*Grønlands Landstings Forhandlinger, Efteråret 1981*)

Economically motivated?

Only from the retrospective:

Lars Emil Johansen (Siumut, Prime Minister): „Vi kunne ikke have forhandlet os til et mere *fordelagtigt arrangement med EF*. Medlemskab af EF ville heller ikke have været mere *fordelagtigt*.“ (*Grønlands Landstings Forhandlinger, Foråret 1993*)

—: „Med andre ord er Grønlands relationer til EU reguleret ved en aftale, som der er al mulig grund til at være tilfreds med, ikke mindst set med grønlandske øjne. Set med vore øjne må de eksisterende aftaler betegnes som *overordentligt tilfredsstillende*.“ (*Grønlands Landstings Forhandlinger, Foråret 2007*)

Politically motivated?

Hypothesis: EC membership was inextricably bound with the question of Greenland's self-determination and perceived as contradictory to it

Moses Olsen (Siumut), Minister for Social Welfare: „It was exactly this right to determine by ourselves, whether to become a member of the Community or not, [...] that triggered the request for Home Rule, in consequence of which we decided to leave the Community.“ (*on a conference in Copenhagen, 14-15 January 1983*)

1971 a turning point in Greenland

Moses Olsen (Folketing MP): „Selv om vi formelt på papiret er en gruppe danskere på lignen med københavnere og andre, kann ingen nemlig bortforklare, at vi er et folk med eget sprog og eget serpræg, og at vore levevilkår og livsbetingelser mere svarer til de norske, færøske og islandske, end de svarer til de danske. [...] Og det er altså helt klart, at dette er et demokratisk grønlandsk ønske, at Grønlands tilknytning til EF ikke skal svare til den danske. Som ansvarlige politikere må det nu være vor opgave at føre en grønlandsk politik, der er i harmoni med dette folkets ønske.“ (Folketings forhandlinger, 1972-73)

Denmark: Good cop or bad cop?

1972 referendum:

- Dissatisfaction with DK imposing EC membership on the Greenlandic people against their will
- Rejection of EC membership was less motivated by subject matters, but a direct resistance against Danish rule
- Remedy against Danish rule: Increased self-determination and not EC rule

1982 referendum:

- Dissatisfaction with the EC
- DK: Rather an ally of Greenland than an enemy within the EC

Greenland: A lost cause for the EC

- EC membership inextricably connected to and equalised with Danish rule
- Danish treatment in the first referendum in 1972 had shown what would be the case in the EC
- A „pooling of sovereignty“ discourse was impossible

Jonathan Motzfeldt (Siumut, Prime Minister): „Hvis du stemte for Hjemmestyret må du også stemme Nej til fortsat medlemsskab af EF. Det er ganske enkelt en forudsætning for, at Hjemmestyret kan få nogen mening.“
(A/G, 3.2.1982)

Home Rule vs. European integration

Lars Emil Johansen (Siumut): „Hjemmestyre er en proces, der peger hen imod politisk selvstændighed, EF-samarbejdet er en proces, der peger hen imod integration og stadig mere sammensmelting medlemslandene imellem. Det siger sig selv, at *disse to mål ikke kan forenes*. Vi har truffet vor valg i Grønland. *Vi vælger hjemmestyre frem for EF-assimilation.*“ (in: Siumut, 2. Oktober 1979).

Atassut's change of course

„Lars Chemnitz lagde ikke skjul på, at *de store EF-tilskud* var baggrunden for, at hans parti ønskede et fortsat medlemskab i EF.“ (AG, 18.11.1981)

Lars Chemnitz (Atassut): „Atassut's first argument has always been that withdrawal will *threaten the Danish Realm.*“ (Sermitsiaq, 19.02.1982)

Fisheries = politically important

Moses Olsen (Siumut, Minister of Social Affairs):
„Home Rule wouldn‘t be worth much, if it lacked
the power to master its own fishery.“*(on a
conference in Copenhagen, 14-15 January 1983)*

Siumut party paper (1979): „Vi har ikke noget
imod at dele vore fiskeressourcer med andre lande i
det omfang, vi har ressourcer i overskud, men *det
skal være vores egen suveræne afgørelse, om vi
kann give bort af ressourcerne. Vi vil selv [...]
afgøre*, hvor meget og efter hvilket mønster
fremmede fiskere kann arbejde i fiskeriterritoriet
omkring Grønland.“

Fisheries = politically important

Jonathan Motzfeldt (Siumut), Prime Minister:

„Fiskeri i grønlandske farvande er med andre ord efter udmeldelsen ikke længere nogen RET EF har, men en MULIGHED vi tilbyder. [...] Lad mig igen slå fast, at vi ikke for enhver pris ønsker at drive EF's fiskere ud af vores farvande. De må gerne fiske heroppe, og vi vil gerne indgå en aftale med EF om fortsat fiskeri og salg af fisk. Men det bliver for fremtiden på VORES betingelser, og ikke på deres. Det er jo *netop dét selve udmeldelsen drejer sig om.*“ (*Grönlands Landstings Forhandlingar, Efteraret 1981*)

Summing up for discussion...

Euroscepticism in Greenland in the 1970s and 80s

- Greenland's withdrawal from the EU was motivated by its struggle for self-determination
- Dissatisfaction with Danish rule transposed itself on the EC → Self-determination was considered contradictory to EU membership from the outset
- The control of fisheries was inextricably bound to self-determination; deciding about the catch oneself was rather a political than an economic necessity

Thank you!

This research project was supervised at...



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