



City Research Online

City, University of London Institutional Repository

Citation: Taylor, J.E. (1999). A comparison and analysis of European Union news coverage in the UK and Danish newspaper press. (Unpublished Doctoral thesis, City University London)

This is the accepted version of the paper.

This version of the publication may differ from the final published version.

Permanent repository link: <https://openaccess.city.ac.uk/id/eprint/7875/>

Link to published version:

Copyright: City Research Online aims to make research outputs of City, University of London available to a wider audience. Copyright and Moral Rights remain with the author(s) and/or copyright holders. URLs from City Research Online may be freely distributed and linked to.

Reuse: Copies of full items can be used for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes without prior permission or charge. Provided that the authors, title and full bibliographic details are credited, a hyperlink and/or URL is given for the original metadata page and the content is not changed in any way.

**A COMPARISON AND ANALYSIS OF EUROPEAN UNION NEWS
COVERAGE IN THE UK AND DANISH NEWSPAPER PRESS**

by

Janet Elizabeth Taylor

**A thesis submitted to City University for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

**City University
Department of Journalism
Northampton Square, London EC1V 0HB**

March 1999

CONTENTS

Chapter 1 **p1**

Literature review.

Chapter 2 **p25**

Methodology

Chapter 3 **p34**

A comparison of the background to the newspaper industry in the UK and Denmark and of the nature of the individual titles.

Chapter 4 **p56**

An analysis and comparison of the newspaper texts in respect of the areas outlined in Chapter 3.

Chapter 5 **p90**

A comparison of the political backgrounds and structures in the UK and Denmark, as well as geography, and historical and current relationships with the EU.

Chapter 6 **p118**

An analysis and comparison of the newspaper texts in respect of the areas outlined in Chapter 5.

Chapter 7 **p145**

A comparison of the UK and Denmark in respect of newspaper reporting in the business, finance and the international context, including an analysis of both the specific nature of reporting in this field, and of the relationship of each country to the EU in the business, finance and the international context in general.

Chapter 8

p157

Using comparisons between the general news and business sections in the newspapers during the sample period, as well as the specific business and international titles, this Chapter examines, comparatively, the aspects outlined in Chapter 7.

Chapter 9

p183

An analysis and comparison of the relationship of the UK and Denmark to the EU in terms of foreign policy, including expansion, defence and human rights.

Chapter 10

p190

An analysis and comparison of the newspaper texts in respect of the areas outlined in Chapter 9.

Chapter 11

p201

A comparison of journalists and journalistic practices in the UK and Denmark.

Chapter 12

p215

An analysis and comparison of the newspaper texts in respect of areas outlined in Chapter 11.

Chapter 13

p232

Summary, conclusions and suggested areas for further study.

Bibliography and references

p258

APPENDICES

Appendix 1 -	EU stories in UK, Danish, and international and business newspapers during the sample period	p282
Appendix 2 -	Newspaper circulation figures	p395
Appendix 3 -	Newspaper stories about EC attempts to improve its image	p397
Appendix 4 -	Volume and type of EU coverage during the sample period	p399
Appendix 5 -	International and business newspapers	p402
Appendix 6 -	List of journalist interviewees	p405
Appendix 7 -	Questionnaire	p406
Appendix 8 -	Danish referendums in respect of EEC/EC/EU membership	p408
Appendix 9 -	Newspaper reports of UK U-turn over support for Euro-sceptic Danes	p409
Appendix 10 -	Codes of Practice	p411
Appendix 11 -	Newspaper story themes	p418

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis could not have been written without the help of numerous people. First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor Professor Hugh Stephenson for his help and encouragement. His wisdom, knowledge, patience and good humour were crucial in maintaining my enthusiasm throughout the project. Access to his guidance has been a privilege for which I am deeply grateful.

My thanks also go to the staff at Danmarks Journalisthøjskole. I am indebted to them for allowing me to use their facilities and for providing information. John Frølich, Professor Erik Farmann, Anna Nejrup and the DJH library staff deserve particular thanks.

I am also grateful to all the journalists who agreed to be interviewed for this project. I appreciate the time they took to answer my questions, and thoughtfulness that went into their responses.

Furthermore, my thanks go to the friends and family members who collected newspapers for me and who were supportive and understanding throughout.

I am grateful, too, to my managers and colleagues at the University of the West of England for allowing me to use the University's facilities to pursue my research, and for giving me the flexible working conditions to accommodate my studies. These have been invaluable. I am particularly indebted to Professor Gisela Shaw for guidance in the early stages of my research, and to many other members of UWE's Faculty of Languages and European Studies whose advice and encouragement got me off to a good start. My managers and colleagues in Marketing and Communications also deserve thanks for their unwavering support and interest. I have particularly valued Jo Paker's linguistic expertise.

Finally, I would like to pay a special tribute to my parents without whose support in ways too numerous to mention this research would not have been possible. This thesis is dedicated to them.

DECLARATION

I grant powers of discretion to the University Librarian to allow this thesis to be copied in whole or in part without further reference to me. This permission covers only single copies made for study purposes, subject to normal conditions of acknowledgement.

ABSTRACT

The British and the Danes are equally sceptical in their approach to the European Union. Around half the population of each country is opposed to the closer integration of EU member states. Given that, one would expect British and Danish newspaper coverage of EU events also to be broadly similar. This is, however, not the case. While the UK newspapers take a line that is overwhelmingly Euro-sceptic, the Danish newspapers are almost all pro-European. At the same time, there are differences in reporting approaches and styles in that, although the Danish papers clearly express their Euro-friendly stances in, for example, leader columns, they nevertheless cover all sides of the debate, and tend to be even-handed in their news reports. This is frequently not the case in their British counterparts. Furthermore, while the UK newspapers tend to report EU news primarily from a domestic standpoint, their Danish counterparts take a more 'international' approach and are more inclined to relate reports to a wider European context.

This thesis demonstrates that these dissimilarities are the result of differences in the UK and Denmark in the areas of influence that affect the way journalists choose and handle news stories. These areas of influence, as defined by Paul Voakes, are: individual; small group; organisation; competition; occupation; the law; and extra media. Overall, this thesis argues that the effects of these differences are to produce EU coverage in the UK newspaper press that is significantly more unbalanced, distorted and nationalistic than it is in its Danish counterpart and that such skewed reporting is often the result of a conscious abandonment in the British press of standard practices for the achievement of a 'fair' and 'accurate' representation of news events.

Chapter 1

Literature Review

In commenting on, and drawing conclusions from, the way the European Union is covered, comparatively, in the UK and Danish press, this thesis will draw on a number of different areas of previous and current study. The field of mass media research is wide and the large number of studies and views that have been published requires a selective approach to be made in this Chapter. Thus, this literature review gives a critical analysis of work that is most relevant to this thesis, covered in general terms. The following Chapter will look in more detail at the specific studies that will be used as models for this research exercise, and as academic terms of reference. Later sections, too, will focus more closely on previous work that is directly relevant to the specific subject areas covered by this thesis.

The general work reviewed here includes the research of academics (who are chiefly sociology or media studies experts and who approach the subject primarily from a theoretical point of view), as well as the observations of actual journalists - or those who work closely with them - who are familiar with the reality of the working practices of the press.

Although this study will look primarily at aspects of working practice (McQuail, 1983, p18), it is helpful to set this in a wider theoretical framework. Furthermore, since a combination of research approaches will be made, and reference made to a number of different areas in which research has been conducted, it is appropriate also to set these in context.

Newspapers: their paradoxical role

The power of the newspaper press - what it says, what it does not say, and about whom - is profound. For, regardless of whether or not the public are influenced by what they read in newspapers, those who are in the news think they are and act accordingly (Campbell and Bonner, p53; McNair, p20; Negrine, p6; *et al*). Keeping an eye on what the press says, playing to the press in order to gain coverage for the positive and trying equally hard to stop

them unearthing the negative: few leading figures these days do not consider these measures necessary.

The circulation figures of the UK and Danish newspapers (see Appendix 2) are a further indication of how much penetration the individual titles enjoy within each country. Clearly, newspapers are big business and they are in fierce competition. But in addition to being a business - and thus under pressure to give customers and advertisers what they want - the newspaper press has a non-commercial role as an essential element in society in general, and in the democratic process in particular. This is, namely, to provide the citizenry with the information it needs to make suitable electoral choices, and to expose the wrong-doing of those in power.

In terms of Europe, this means that, while the newspapers are ideally expected to inform readers about what is happening in the EU, they must not do this in a way that bores their readers and thus deters them from buying the product. Journalists must thus negotiate a delicate balance.

Newspapers as an essential element in the democratic process

The media are often the only source of information people have about events that occur outside their realm of experience. As such they are in control of readers' terms of reference, and this is certainly true of the EU. Indeed, as the edition of Eurobarometer (the European Commission's biannual analysis of public opinion in the European Union), published just after the sample period of this research, shows (p45), 61 per cent of Danes read a newspaper daily, and 50 per cent of the British. Only 13 per cent and 23 per cent, respectively, read newspapers less than once or twice a week. Asked where they thought they should be able to find information about the EU (in this instance specifically about citizens' rights), 64 per cent of respondents from all EU member states had cited the press. It was second only to television which had a 69 per cent rating. Clearly, people perceive newspapers as a prime source of EU information.

Journalists thus act as mediators, collecting information about - and then ideally explaining -

the actions of 'remote' EU bureaucrats and politicians to their readers in terms they can understand and with reference to their 'maps of meaning' (Stuart Hall *et al*, 1981, p337). To do this, they must constantly relate the events about which they are reporting to the experience of their readers; the newspapers' audience must be able to understand how the events they are reading about will affect their lives or relate to issues about which they are already informed and in which they are already interested. This need constantly to make reference to the familiar could explain why, as Tunstall (1971, p18) points out: '...news has to seem interesting and new in some way or other. But it must not seem too new, too surprising, or the news organisation will fail to notice it.' According to the Danish editor, Arne Notkin (p43), 'the press is not a mirror of reality. The press is the reader's window on reality. A window equipped with a viewer and a spotlight that must illuminate, focus and interpret essential and meaningful aspects of reality'. He adds that the role of the press in a democratic society is 'not just to reveal scandals and problems...but also to supply explanations as to why problems emerge, who created them and who can solve them'.

This need to concentrate on the needs of the reader, to adhere to what will be relevant and familiar to readers - and ideally further to explain and interpret - is reflected in training manuals which generally stress to aspiring journalists that a consideration of the reader is the starting point for any journalistic activity (Meilby, p17; Sellars, p4). But while commerce might dictate that the reader, as customer, must be the prime focus, this does not necessarily marry comfortably with newspapers' other, 'public service' role. What newspaper-readers 'want' to know is not necessarily the same as what they 'ought' to know (Entman, p23; O'Neill, p15; Fuller, p186). Perhaps a public service press that could ignore market forces could force-feed them the facts that academics such as Chomsky (1989, p17) think they 'ought' to absorb. However, there is no incentive or obligation for the newspaper press in its current form to take a moral high-ground if that is not what readers want. It is unrealistic to imagine that a commercially-dependent press should accept responsibility for informing Chomsky's slothful masses if they themselves do not see the need to be informed. As Entman argues throughout his book, *Democracy without Citizens*, in an ideal society, an involved and responsible citizenry would make its own efforts to ensure that it was appropriately informed about all the political options available to enable it to make an informed choice of government. In reality this does not happen.

Furthermore, as later Chapters of this thesis will show, there are many other influences - not least the views of proprietors or the newspaper's individual ethos - of which journalists have also to take account, and which may also deflect them from focusing wholeheartedly on the newspapers' public service role.

However, what will appeal to readers - and be relevant to them - is certainly one of the strongest influencing factors in the way journalists handle EU news. And thus, in striving to make sense of events on behalf of readers (Negrine, p139), journalists are themselves reluctant to move outside a fairly restricted - but, for them, easily recognisable - spectrum. This necessarily means that they operate within the unchallenged parameters of a 'limited and recurring range of images and ideas' (Klapper, p26). In this respect, therefore, the views of such theorists as Hartley (p58), Hall *et al* (1981, p343), Westergaard (p95) and the Glasgow University Media Group (1976, p1) do have validity: the media do reinforce existing prejudices and preserve the *status quo*, as a result of their attempts to engage readers - to find common ground. It is not, however, because they are necessarily reflecting the propaganda of a hierarchy, or that they are party to any conspiracy. Although 'élite' sources are significant (as will be discussed later) there is little evidence to suggest that journalists connive consciously or unconsciously to preserve the interests of the ruling classes or the dominant ideology as is sometimes suggested by academics. For instance, Herman and Chomsky's 'propaganda model' of the press (p1), and their explanation of its part in reducing the general public to apathy and obedience as the only way in which democracy can survive, gives journalists little credit for having the wit to question the ruling élite, and assumes too little autonomy on their part. It is also too simplistic an explanation for what is a much more complex process (Negrine, p152).

Indeed, in selecting and presenting news, journalists generally adhere to standard news values and procedures (Hetherington, p18), or more specifically to those outlined in the next Chapter (p31). These values are, however, fashioned according to the context in which decisions on newsworthiness are being made. As this thesis argues, a country's historical relationship to the EU, the national and individual newspaper ethos, professional practices and ethics all blend to affect the way EU news is handled.

Furthermore, by acting as a barometer of its time (F. Williams, p1), the press not only indicates the biases and prejudices of its readers, it also reinforces and feeds them. Readers like to see their views mirrored in their newspapers - and newspapers are generally expected to take a stance. However, it is the exclusion of any debate about - or even an airing of - contrary views that is democratically undesirable. If readers are not exposed to the full spectrum of views, or given all the material facts, they will not be able to make reasoned electoral choices.

The arguments that surround just how important the press is in influencing opinion are worth examining here, at least in brief. After all, what is written about the EU would not matter if the press had no substantial effect on what people think. In the debate that has taken place over the past decades, researchers have taken a variety of stances. Some have argued that the media can have a profound effect (for instance, Robinson), some that, if it has an influence at all, it is limited (studies that suggest this conclusion are cited by: Curran, in Curran, Smith and Wingate, p134; Priestland, p63; Brody, p122; Negrine, p206; and Hartley, p138), or others, that it does have a profound effect, but that this is gradual (Bagdikian, 1983, pX). As McQuail (1983, p176) relates, since the beginning of the century, there have been three stages of research into the effects of mass communication. An initial stage identified a profound effect, a second - lasting from around 1940 to the early 1960s - claimed only a negligible influence, and the third, which persists, returned to a belief in a substantial influence, at least in some respects. However, none of the researchers in the field has been able to present conclusive evidence. Indeed, as Thomsen (1982, p5), H. Richards (p180), Curran and Seaton (1991, p257), Seymour-Ure (1974, p43) and McQuail (1983, p67) point out, the effects of the media on their audience are difficult to measure and nobody has yet devised a convincing method of assessing these effects in isolation from the myriad other influences to which human beings are subject. Furthermore, if, as Seymour-Ure points out (1991, p198), the reading public does not even have a strong sense of the partisanship of their newspaper, it would suggest that newspapers have only a restricted ability to sway views - at least in the political arena. Supporters of this view point out that, even when the *Sun* was vigorously in favour of the right-wing policies of the Thatcher Government, many of its readers were voting Labour¹. Thus, although Martin Linton, writing in *New Statesman & Society* (22 March, 1996, p20), claims that his research indicates that the *Sun*'s

right-wing approach in the run up to the 1992 election did turn voters to the Tories, other commentators have suggested a more modest influence. The Danish media academic, Niels Thomsen, has noted that, in Denmark, too, the political affiliations of newspapers have traditionally had little effect on voters' intentions (1965, p91). Similarly, in the wake of the 1997 UK General Election, *Press Gazette*, quoting a variety of leading journalists, suggested that the media did have a role in setting the agenda, but had little effect on the final results (13 June, 1997, p11). Among other researchers to argue that the public is not malleable are Priestland (p25) and Calcutt (in a paper delivered at a City University Conference on 4 February, 1995), and others have suggested that, no matter what is written, readers will simply interpret what they read to suit or even to reinforce their existing views (Vidmar; Wales; Curran, in Curran, Smith and Wingate, p135; Westergaard, 1977, p111; *et al*).

Public scepticism about the credibility of newspapers and journalists, and the low esteem in which they are held - in the UK and in Denmark² - further suggests that newspapers often lack the respect that would be needed for them to affect views wholesale.

This is clearly an area in which, for the moment at least, theories must float without any definitive evidence. However, it does seem likely that, while newspapers are unlikely to prompt dramatic swings of opinion overnight, a 'slow-drip' effect could change views in the long-term. For instance, while a brief flurry of anti-EU stories might have little effect on readers, a relentless stream over months or years, might well have an impact. As Richard Brody (p111) puts it:

Public inattention to the details of politics is made of resistant material that can be best worn away by persistent exposure. There seems to be little reason to doubt the proposition that the longer a story runs and the more prominence it is accorded by the media, the larger the proportion of the public that will declare it an important national issue.

In such a long run, a negative EU picture painted in the press might well eventually be seen as the norm and thus become the consensus. Ultimately it might be accepted as read that, say, the rest of Europe is hostile to the UK or that other member states are dishonest in their financial dealings, or devious in their political aspirations.

Open to less debate is the role of the press in agenda-setting. Indeed, according to Entman (p76), this is, in any case, more significant. He writes:

...the distinction between "what to think" and "what to think about" is misleading. Nobody, no force, can ever successfully "tell people what to think". Short of sophisticated torture or "brainwashing", no form of communication can compel anything more than feigned obeisance. The way to control attitudes is to provide a partial selection of information for a person to think about, or process. The only means of influencing what people think is precisely to control what they think about.

Thus, regardless of whether the press does or does not change existing views, it certainly has a strong influence in determining what the public has a view about. The role of the press as agenda-setter has been the subject of much interesting academic debate which has a significance for this thesis (Altschull, p194; Erbring, Goldenberg, and Miller; Gurevitch and Blumler, p272; Parisot, p71; McCombs and Shaw, 1990, p73; Mortensen, Poulsen and Stigel, p224; *et al*). Of all the EU activities that take place, newspapers can only realistically cover a few, and so there must necessarily be a considerable amount about which readers will remain unaware. In other words, the newspapers set the agenda in terms of what EU matters their readers are aware of - and the only ones, therefore, about which they can have an opinion.

The press as watchdog

Journalists do frequently have a legitimate reason for painting negative pictures of organisations and individuals, including the EU. Exposing threats to the national - and therefore to readers' - interests is part of journalists' watchdog role. In this, however, the press faces a paradox. On the one hand, in compliance with a striving for objectivity (p14), it is expected to mirror events without obvious intervention - letting the facts speak for themselves. This is a requirement of its role as purveyor of information in the democratic process. On the other hand, in its capacity as watchdog, it is expected, proactively, to nose out scandal and dirty dealings, particularly in respect of those who wield political power. For this reason, the relationship between politicians and the press is inevitably uneasy (Negrine; Jones; *et al*). Journalists need the willingness of politicians to provide information and quotes to enable them to write authoritative stories, and politicians need the publicity

journalists can offer them in order to stay in the public eye. However, while fostering links with politicians, journalists seek not to be manipulated by them; ideally, they do not wish to act simply as a mouthpiece to spout a certain set of views, and may at some stage need to criticise that politician. For their part, politicians are constantly wary lest the journalist should do just that.

Thus, with such complex interactions, and such paradoxical roles, it is little wonder that the press must, as Walter Lippmann (in Graber, p37, and quoted in Altschull, p190) pointed out, be only partially effective. It cannot hope to carry the whole spectrum of views from which the electorate can make a choice, or to cover these even-handedly. Neither can it hope to expose wrong-doing with any kind of objectivity or absolute fairness. Even if it could, the vast reams of uninteresting 'facts' that this would involve would be unlikely to attract readers. Furthermore, the nature of news in focusing on single events means that there is little opportunity outside the feature and comment sections to place events in context, to examine the background and to assess the future. For example, Entman (p21) criticises newspaper coverage of presidential campaigns for concentrating on the 'horse race' rather than on the policy issues or records of the candidates. William Gilsdorf (p169) and Karen Siune (1982, 1989) point to a similar simplification of issues in both Canadian and Danish press reports of those countries' respective elections. And in more general contexts, Raymond Snoddy (p61), Gail Tuchman (1978, p134), Paul Hoch (p139) and Gerald Priestland (p17), too, have all highlighted the 'superficiality' of the press in concentrating on solitary happenings rather than on social processes which generally have a more lasting impact on readers. As Tuchman stresses, the tempo of news work, which requires a different story every day, is what determines the emphasis on single events rather than on issues which, again, limits the value of newspapers to democracy in general, and to the EU in particular.

Newspapers as entertainment

The difficult task the press has of balancing its roles as watchdog and as purveyor of information in the democratic process is made still more difficult by a further function it has assumed in recent years. For, in addition to everything else, newspapers are now also

expected to be entertaining. If they are not, then their readers will go elsewhere, and in the harsh commercial world in which newspapers operate these days, this must be avoided. Readers are relatively uninterested in politics, government, or foreign affairs (Chapter 10, p189) and read newspapers not so much to find out what is going on, as to be entertained. They have developed a notion of news as 'infotainment' (G Williams, 1994, p5), or 'show biz' (Max Hastings, quoted in Snoddy, p140). The 'bonk and yuck' (McNair, p145), or 'junk' journalism (Tessa Mayes at City University Conference, 4 February, 1995) of the British tabloids is an extreme manifestation of this, but even the British broadsheets have of late been criticised for 'dumbing down' their contents and for their 'tabloidisation'. In her study of election coverage in the Danish press, Karen Siune (1989), too, noted how the style adopted by Danish journalists belonged, in her view, more to the world of entertainment, than to the realm of 'serious' reporting where it traditionally belonged.

But here, too, newspapers can be faced with a dilemma. Particularly in the UK, it has been shown that what interests readers is the scandal, the 'bad' news, the sex and sleaze. Indeed, the *Sun*, which has often been accused of pandering to the lowest common denominator, featuring scantily clad women, invading the privacy of the rich and famous for juicy stories, playing to xenophobia and other unpleasant human traits, is easily the top-selling UK daily newspaper (see Appendix 2). So, while accepting that there must be boundaries of decency - although these are subjective and largely indefinable - journalists have to try to give readers what they want, and in an easily digestible style. Gone are the straight and sober reports that were the stuff of early newspapers, to be replaced by stories in the distinctive 'news style'. They are designed to have dramatic appeal; to be a form of 'popular literature' (Tunstall, 1977, p36).

What is news?

Since assessments of newsworthiness form an important element of this thesis, it is necessary to have some definitions of what 'news' is. The analogy of the press as mirror of the society in which it operates is an ideal, but it is unrealistic. Newspapers cannot reflect every event that takes place, so they must be more akin to flashlights, briefly highlighting just a selection. As Walter Lippmann (in Graber, p37) saw it, the press is 'not a mirror of social conditions,

but the report of an aspect that has obtruded itself'. Of these events that have 'obtruded', some will have warranted an appearance in a number of newspapers in a number of countries, many others will be presented only to local audiences. Even when a story has achieved global coverage, it is likely to have been presented in a host of different ways; different aspects will have been highlighted, different facts presented, and different witnesses and experts quoted.

However, before an event stands any chance at all of inclusion, it must first be caught in the 'news net'. This description, coined by Gail Tuchman (1978, p22), refers to the 'net' of reporters or agencies scattered around the globe, from whom newspapers glean their stories. Any event must, therefore, fall within this net if it is to be considered. The structure of the news net as it impinges on EU coverage is thus significant, especially since, as David Morgan argues (p335), the specific nature of the EU news net particularly affects British reporters who report from Brussels. Journalists in his survey reported that the Commission's 'overly French style of administration and news release' that 'mixes naïveté with Machiavellian tendencies' was, for them, 'ultimately self-defeating'. Furthermore, the proliferation of official and semi-official sources, including pressure groups, could lead to an excess of information to be sifted through, they said. Some reported that pressure to reflect the home government's stance in their reports of Union events further restricted their choice and handling of EU news. And as a further negative influence on the nature of the news net for British reporters in Brussels, Morgan points out (p337) that the particularly adversarial style of some of the UK's newspapers tends to nurture wariness - and even hostility - among EU officials who are, of course, major sources of Union news.

Deciding what events have the greatest amount of 'news value' and should thus be offered to the newspaper or agency for which they work - and how - is one of journalists' everyday activities. Although many have attempted short, catchy definitions of what constitutes a good news story, only a detailed description can really capture the full essence (see next Chapter, p31). Nevertheless, the short definitions are enlightening in that they illustrate what practitioners in particular see as the prime qualities of newsworthiness, and the 'instant' criteria against which they are making their judgements. For instance, William Randolph Hearst's definition of news as something someone does not want you to print (the rest being

advertisements) (quoted in Hetherington, p1), is a good warning to any reporter likely to be seduced into writing copy that is over-fulsome. But it does suggest that news must necessarily be 'bad', which is not inevitably the case³. Tom Baistow (p67) speaks of news as fundamentally 'information you did not possess before', while Altschull (p131) describes the professional mystique of good reporters having a nose for a story, or a gut instinct. Bell (1991, p191) suggests that 'news is what an authoritative source tells a journalist', while, for Fuller (p6), news is 'a report of what a news organization has recently learned about matters of some significance or interest to the specific community that news organization serves'. There are, too, Hetherington's practical criteria - that each event should be considered for its political, social, economic and human importance, and also for its interest, excitement and entertainment value (p21).

In providing his definition of what provides 'interest' in a story, Whitaker (p50) cites 'the interplay between the familiar and the unfamiliar, the commonplace and the extraordinary, the good and the bad, the expected and the unexpected, the happy and the sad, the normal and the abnormal'. In other words, the event must be firmly rooted in what is familiar to its readers, but with an element of the extraordinary. He goes on to cite three factors against which journalists measure their judgement. The first is tradition - precedent and experience - again highlighting the eternal recurrence of news (Paul Rock makes the same point, p64). The second is the judgement of colleagues, for contrary to the image of the hungry newshound constantly on the look-out for a scoop, most journalists prefer to hunt in packs (Priestland, p33; Bevins, p15; Campbell and Bonner, p50; McQuail, 1987, p98) and feel happier when they and their colleagues are covering the same stories. Indeed, in his study of working practices, Tunstall (1971, p205) found that there was considerable sharing of information among journalists on competing newspapers, and that this was accepted practice. Furthermore, as this thesis shows, the media feed constantly off each other for story leads (Kellner in Raboy and Dagenais, p46; Kruuse, 1991, p195).

Whitaker's third check is that of the 'expectations of superiors'. In this, he was highlighting, among others, the influence of corporate owners, which is discussed in Chapter 3, p48.

Thus the concept of 'newsworthiness' has spawned a wealth of definitions, and a number of

commentators have agreed with Whitaker that there is no infallible formula for predicting what events will become news (because the circumstances governing the selection are never constant). For instance, David Manning White (1950), who was one of the first researchers to examine the 'gatekeeper' role of journalists, concluded even then that story choices were subjective and that an all-encompassing definition of what made an event 'newsworthy' would be difficult to compose.

But although the process of news selection is complex, and is subject to numerous influences, there is, nevertheless, validity in attempts to identify the criteria at play. The most significant attempt on this front was made by the Norwegian researchers, Galtung and Ruge, in their seminal study *The Structure of Foreign News* (1965). Their detailed list, later added to by Bell (1991, p155), has the validity of encompassing the variety of factors that cause an event to 'obtrude'. Whereas other attempts only partially define the subject, this effort to describe in full the apparently elusive quality of 'newsworthiness' deserves the credit it has received since its publication in 1965, and will be used as a major reference tool in this study.

The influence of sources

All journalists rely heavily on sources to provide them with news stories, comment and background information. These are generally 'officials' who are sufficiently high up to acquire the information needed by the journalist, or 'experts' who can give an authoritative comment. Journalists rarely quote sources who do not fall into these categories, unless they are directly involved in the event (Raboy, p141), and it is considered that the use of such sources lends credibility and 'weight' to a story and enables the journalist to stand back from what he or she is writing. Although a study by Slater and Rouner suggests that *who* the source is might not matter as much to readers as journalists think⁴, it can be argued that a source who is recognisable to readers is still preferable to one who has no apparent authority. Indeed, as Fuller claims (p59), the identity of the source is often the most important fact in a story.

Sources can be official - a nominated spokesman, for instance - or unofficial, and may appear in a story named or unnamed. Who they are, and how they are described in the ultimate news story, can be revealing as this thesis shows. Unattributable or unnamed sources in particular are often a cause of dispute. Hiding behind anonymity, they sometimes use the press as a weapon in their own battles, and they can generally do this without fear of exposure: regardless of legal consequences, journalists are generally unwilling to name sources and risk discouraging others from coming forward in the future.

However, the practice of using high-placed sources - named or unnamed - for story leads and comment is rightly seen as both a blessing and a curse. On the plus side, journalists gain relatively easy - and inexpensive - access to information which can then be passed on to readers. But as a definite minus, journalists hear only what the source wants them to (Brown *et al*, 1987). They can, too, feel compromised should they, for instance, want to criticise that source or if they also seek the comments of a rival to that source. The danger is that the journalist may feel in thrall to someone on whom he or she might rely for leads (Tunstall, 1971, p170; Kruuse, 1991, p64). And although journalists may well seek the views of others to add balance to the story, there is pressure not to say anything to displease a regular source and thus risk losing good stories in the future. Some research suggests that even when journalists believe they have handled a story fairly, the source may not agree. For instance, William Tillinghast revealed that sources were invariably dissatisfied with stories that were neutral or balanced with contrary views (Charnley made a similar observation in 1936). The expectation was that the source's point of view - along with just those facts the source had revealed, and no more - would be reflected in the printed story. As a further potential problem for journalists who rely heavily on established sources, Sigal (p33) points out that these can keep churning out the same views and subjects with the result that 'new' opinions are kept out of the press.

Other potential disadvantages are cited by Marxist theorists who maintain that the prevalence of high-ranking official sources is a prime reason why the press supports the ruling classes to the detriment of the rest of society. Further, the prevalence these days of the professional spin doctor, whose aim is to manage the news for his or her client's benefit, has perturbed many practitioners. For instance, Nicholas Jones⁵ and George Jones⁶ are among many

leading journalists who have complained about the tactics of spin doctors who attempt to bully or manipulate them into toeing a specific line⁷. Writing in *New Statesman & Society* (24 May, 1996, p26), Joy Johnson, formerly Labour's head of communications, and the then *Financial Times* journalist, John Kampfner, also lamented the influence of the spin doctors in lowering the standard of political journalism, specifically by fostering the use of 'sound-bites and unattributable innuendo'. With few exceptions (eg Steve Richards in the 'Politics' column of *New Statesman & Society*, 6 September, 1996, p8), these practitioners claim that spin doctors wield considerable - and undesirable - influence. However, although the name is relatively new, the practice of 'spin-doctoring' is not⁸. Indeed, in his book, *The Abuse of Power*, James Margach details the never-ending war between Downing Street and Fleet Street he witnessed during 44 years as a political correspondent. Convinced of the need to keep the newspapers on their side, the Prime Ministers in Margach's experience adopted a variety of methods, many quite ruthless, to achieve that end.

Even so, it is acknowledged as more prevalent these days, and pervades many areas of press activity, including that of the EU. For instance, in 1993, attempts to manoeuvre the press into painting a positive picture of the EU drew an indignant response from the international press which vehemently resented such an overt attempt to control what it published⁹.

However, without the official or unofficial, named or unnamed, high-ranking source, it is difficult to see how else journalists would come by much of the information they glean about government, companies or any other organisations. Sources are used exactly because they are in positions of authority so that the information they give will be credible to readers and will justify the story's inclusion in the newspaper (Jones, p83). Furthermore, sources who understand the elements of news selection are a boon to busy journalists and stand a good chance of seeing their stories - with or without 'spin' - appearing in the press.

Objectivity and bias

Convention has it that journalists must strive for objectivity: that they should be neutral observers (Wheeler, p2), separating 'events' from 'interpretation' and 'reports' from 'comment' (Mortensen, Poulsen and Stigel, p142). In this view, bias should be kept out of

stories and every effort made to give both sides a say. It is a key professional ethic (Chapter 11, p204). Nevertheless, as many academics have convincingly argued (McNair, p22; MacLean, p148; Entman, p31; Bagdikian, p181; *et al*), objectivity is not possible, and it should be seen more as an attitude of mind than a realisable goal. Furthermore, some practitioners claim that opinion is not just inevitably reflected in news reports, but indeed *should* be (Fuller, p123). As this thesis will argue, choices in news stories covered, the facts included, the people quoted, the language used, the pictures featured - even the position and size of story within the newspaper - all reveal the series of personal judgements journalists make about events and their perpetrators. It could not be otherwise, and by exercising these judgements on behalf of their readers, journalists inevitably show bias.

Even so, journalists are now conventionally expected at least to appear to be attempting 'impartiality', and the mechanics of this are an element of most formal training courses (Chapter 11, p205). As Entman explains (p30), objectivity rules contain two primary requirements. The first is depersonalisation, whereby reporters seek to keep any personal comments out of their news stories and stick to the facts. The second is balance, in that the views of spokespersons from both sides of an argument are covered in the story in order that one side should not appear to be favoured over the other. Rosenblum (p56) goes one further, suggesting 'triangulation' - quotes from a third source - to boost credibility, and Tuchman (1978, p82) describes the 'web of facticity' whereby 'facts' are identified and given credibility by cross-referencing to a number of sources, the idea being that this 'web' will convince the reader of both the accuracy and objectivity of the story. The downfall of these objectivity requirements is that it is not always obvious what a 'fact' is, and choice must be made in respect of which 'facts' are included in a story and in what order. As for spokesmen chosen to comment on the 'facts', even compositely they will not be able to present a fraction of the whole 'truth' - even if such a concept actually exists - leaving the reader with an incomplete picture. Indeed, the impossibility of establishing 'the truth' in a journalistic or any other context is described by Kruuse (p153). In the absence of an absolute, she argues, the decision of what 'the truth' is rests on the subjective view of the individual who decides on the basis of whatever seems to be true at the moment in question. It is necessarily vague, and even then, no information that is relayed through a human being can be objective since each person must relate information to his or her pre-set - and personal

- understanding of the world (MacLean, p148). Each reporter must make sense of it from his or her subjective points of reference before he or she can pass it on, inevitably tinged with this subjectivity. In Manoff's words (p218): '...journalism can be seen as an activity that judges events while it reports them by juxtaposing, amalgamating, or separating facts, event and opinion in order to find in them their "story".'

The language used is also significant as this thesis will argue. John Hartley, Roger Fowler, Allan Bell (1991), Teun van Dijk (1985, 1988) and the Glasgow University Media Group (1976, 1980, 1985, 1993) are among the leading figures who have provided thought-provoking analyses of language use in newspapers. Some of their findings will be used as points of reference for this thesis and will be discussed at depth in the next Chapter.

Stereotyping, too, is significant, particularly in the UK press. This is a trait from which foreigners - and consequently the EU as an amalgamation of foreigners - are among those who particularly suffer. According to Fowler (p17), a stereotype is 'a socially-constructed mental pigeon-hole into which events and individuals can be sorted, thereby making such events and individuals comprehensible'. And, as a journalistic device, it forms a dual purpose in, first, fostering a rapport with the reader - the reporter establishing a common understanding of the world - and, second, as a form of shorthand. If it can be assumed that, say, all Germans are big, domineering and have no sense of humour, or that the Italians are hysterical, the French sneaky, and so forth, then headlines can be chosen and references made accordingly without need for further explanation. Indeed, the pressure to simplify for the benefit of giving the reader an easy read, and to use as few words as possible - in accordance with normal working practices - makes stereotyping irresistible for hard-pressed journalists, internationally. In their thesis on stereotyping, Lance Bennett and Murray Edelman support this view that: 'Recurring and stereotyped news stories portray a dynamic world of change while disguising old ideological understandings and solutions as social truth.' Their argument that 'political actors and journalists alike maximise their chances of gaining credibility with the mass audience by fitting new events into old symbolic moulds' is persuasive, as is Chomsky's claim that the US press creates stereotypical heroes and devils in its reporting (p282).

Similarly, the temptation to assume what the story will be in advance - from a stereotype of the people and subject involved - and then to make the facts fit this assumption, is a bad habit many reporters fall into (Kruuse, 1991, p189; McQuail, 1987, p98).

The impact of these tendencies and temptations on the way foreigners and other 'deviants' from the newspapers' cultural norm (Glasgow University Media Group, 1976, p14) are treated in the UK press has spawned a number of interesting studies. And the fact that researchers such as the Canadian, Eleanor MacLean, (p147) can point to examples of the stereotyping of foreigners in the North American press, and that it is also commented on by, among others, researchers from Denmark (Kruuse, 1991, p189), America (Bennett and Edelman), Holland (van Dijk, 1988 p135) and Spain (Martin Rojo), suggests that this is a human tendency affecting all newspapers that operate within westernised, market-led press systems. It is not an exclusively British malaise that relates exclusively to UK reporting of the EU, although it is particularly extreme in that context. Talking specifically about the British press and European integration, Gerlinde Hardt-Mautner cites numerous examples of stereotyping in UK newspapers. These reveal a deep hostility towards, and suspicion of, other Europeans. Tunstall, too, comments on an increasingly hostile approach to Brussels taken by the British press (1996, p352), as does Snoddy (p192), while Lieve van de Walle (in Musolff and Schäffner, p77) argues that 'even if the press overtly defends enlargement (of the EU), it simultaneously encourages division and rivalry by innuendo and playing on stereotypes'. By the style of reports and language used, unquestioning assumptions are made that other Europeans are 'different' and 'threatening' and thus fair game for a good deal of mockery and insult. In a feature in *The Times* of June 9, 1992, Michael Dynes berated the British press for an obsession with 'barmy Brussels bureaucrats' which had led to a flurry of stories purporting to illustrate various EU follies. Threats to do away with British milkmen, the ruling that carrots should be classed as fruit, the threatened ban on prawn-flavoured crisps - erroneous stories of this ilk were a distortion that was being used to discredit Europe, he said¹⁰. In a feature entitled 'Babel' (Prospect, June 1996, p77), John Lloyd went further, accusing the 'Europhobic Tory press' of 'a journalism of outrage, hyperbole and abuse'. He added: 'When the *Daily Express* can - casually - call Helmut Kohl a fat old hypocrite, it becomes clear that any instinct grounded in fairness or balance, or even simple good manners, no longer operates.' In so doing, he warned, the British papers were

creating 'the monster Europe heaving its distended body on to the virgin Britannia'. In this respect, as this thesis will show, the UK press as a whole is far more extreme than is its Danish counterpart.

In a similar, though less abusive, vein, newspapers in general frequently adopt a 'them and us' approach to anyone who does not figure among their readership. Again, this is part of the process of relating to the reader - fostering the idea that reporter and audience share a view of the world from which others, whose views and experience are different, are excluded. According to Morley (in Skovmand and Schrøder, p68), this is understandable and part of a need human beings feel for national 'identity' which concentrates on distinctions rather than similarities with other nationals. Nevertheless, this tendency can be problematic for pro-Europeans who want their nations - British or Danish - to feel that the rest of the EU is part of 'us' and not 'them' and that cultural identity will ultimately be European rather than primarily British, Danish or any other nationality.

A further device that can act as a distorting measure is personalisation and, again, this frequently occurs as a method of simplification. Fowler (p15), for instance, talks about how, in the British press, Arthur Scargill has come to be associated with a raft of alleged negative values in trade unionism. Brody (p116) and Manoff (p14) describe how the American president can often be portrayed by the US press as if he were the embodiment of the government, if not the whole country. In terms of EU coverage, the most blatant example of this of late has been in the treatment of Jacques Delors, who long suffered the role of scapegoat in the UK press. During his term as EC President - from 1985 to 1995 - he became the personification of all that was deemed wrong in the EU (Hardt-Mautner, p187), and his image as a *bête noire* persists. Thus, despite the fact that such individuals are only small parts of larger decision-making bodies of often great complexity, the temptation to simplify and pin blame - or otherwise - on one easily caricatured person is a device that the press often resorts to at the expense of fairness.

The overt influence of commerce and politics

Commerce

Not all newspaper bias is unwitting or clandestine. Most newspapers proclaim allegiance to a political ideology (although most claim that 'comment' is generally kept out of news stories and confined to the leader columns or feature pages) and the external influence of commerce also has a significant impact on what news is reported, and how. In his outline of the libertarian theory of the press, Siebert (Siebert, Peterson and Schramm, p39) paints the idealistic picture that grew from this: of mass media free to inform and entertain and to act as an intermediary between a democratically-elected government and the people who vote for it. In other words this 'free' press would be a platform for a host of different views thanks to the financial independence brought about by advertising. However, the reality, as Siebert admits, has not been so rosy, not least because the need for finance imposes its own shackles. The newspapers may be free of direct obligations to specific political parties, but that does not mean that they have no paymasters to serve. Now that advertisers, corporate owners or share-holders call the tune, it could be argued that the press is no more free than it has ever been.

Of course, heed must now be paid to the corporate bottom line. Even so, claims made by some mass media commentators (for instance, Chomsky and Fowler), that journalists are little more than puppets of big business, serving only the interests of capitalism, assume too little freedom on the part of reporters and editors. Certainly, journalists are obliged to adhere to the 'line' taken by their newspaper. As Paul Hoch puts it (p97): 'The enterprising reporter, like the exam-minded student, takes his cue from his grader, and supplies the sort of material he thinks his editors find most pleasing.' He adds (p99) that 'editors do not have to lecture their reporters and correspondents on their responsibilities. A few swipes of the cutting scissors or another story stuffed into the rubbish bin provide a much more effective lesson'. As Anthony Bevin puts it (p15):

...it is daft to suggest that individuals can buck the system, ignore the pre-set "taste" of their newspapers, use their own news-sense in reporting the truth of any event, and survive. Dissident reporters who do not deliver the goods suffer professional death.

They are ridden by newsdesks and backbench executives, they have their stories spiked on a systematic basis, and face the worst form of newspaper punishment - by-line deprivation.

However, adhering to the pre-set newspaper line is not necessarily the same as paying regular heed to an individual proprietor's foibles, or to the sensitivities of advertisers. Furthermore, since journalists necessarily enjoy a considerable degree of independence from supervisory control, and given that they must constantly make choices about EU news in their 'gatekeeper' roles, it could be argued that it would be impractical for either to have absolute influence, all the time. As Hartley suggests (p48):

It would be wrong for us to assume that because of the commercial context, the news media simply reproduce the ideas and ideologies of those who own them, or of those who "count" in the commercial world at large...not all news media have one owner, and even among the newspapers which do have a continuous history of private ownership...his ideas and ideology play second fiddle to a more imperative commercial dictate, namely financial survival.

However, while Hartley's observations hold true if the newspaper industries of both the UK and Denmark are viewed as a whole, this research shows that the views of such proprietors as Rupert Murdoch and, to a lesser extent, Conrad Black, are highly influential in terms of the EU events chosen to appear in the newspapers they own, and in the way these are handled. This bears out the opinions of such observers as Granville Williams (p57), who has maintained that journalists are under considerable pressure to do as they are told by corporate bosses, on pain of being side-lined. Anthony Bevens (p13), too, is among many others who have cited the part newspaper proprietors have played in 'crippling the scribes'.

However, although it is primarily only a section of the British press - albeit a significant one - that is influenced by interventionist proprietors, and the Danish press as a whole is relatively unaffected, the fight for 'financial survival' is common to the newspapers of both countries: they may or may not be looking constantly over their shoulders at corporate owners or advertisers, but they are certainly acutely aware of each other. Consequently, as the newspapers have battled to boost circulation figures, 'quick read' material (Tunstall, 1996, p11) has often triumphed over more serious reporting, and there has been an abundance of trivia to appeal to the baser instincts of mankind. This has often been relayed

in an inappropriately sensationalist fashion (Campbell and Bonner, p48).

Newspapers rely primarily on two sources of income. The first is the cover price paid by readers, the second is advertising. The product must thus appeal to both readers and advertisers. It is, however, the former who are of greater importance since, if a paper cannot deliver the right kind of readers in the right numbers, advertisers will not be interested (hence the ferocity of the so-called 'circulation wars' in which newspapers aim to seize readers from each other). For instance, advertisers in the *Financial Times* know that their announcements may be read by only a relatively small number of people, but that they will be relatively wealthy. Conversely, companies buying space in the *Sun* are assured of a larger, but probably less wealthy, audience. Consequently, to stay afloat, newspapers must ensure that their product retains its appeal to the right readers for its style - and consequently for its advertisers.

Of course there are instances where advertisers have withdrawn their support from newspapers that have covered stories that are contrary to their interests (as just one example, Snoddy, p60, cites Distillers, who withdrew from the *Sunday Times* because of the paper's thalidomide campaign). And there is evidence of a pandering to advertisers with features that are little more than 'advertorials' - advertising copy presented as editorial features - (Franklin at the City University Conference, 4 February, 1995). Even so, it seems unlikely that advertisers are an overriding influence in the nature of EU news reporting - in either the UK or Denmark.

However, a further - undisputed - outcome of ferocious competition in both the UK and Denmark is the increasing concentration of press ownership into fewer and fewer hands, or the general contraction of the market into fewer and fewer titles. Newspapers that are part of giant groups are certainly more able to finance expansion, promotional campaigns and innovations. On the minus side, however, this concentration also means that it is almost impossible for newcomers to break into the market - the massive sums needed for a new newspaper to become established are prohibitive (Wheeler, p39). The fewer the titles, the more restricted the spectrum of views reflected, and the less able the press is to perform its function in the democratic process (Seymour-Ure, 1968, p14; McNair, p138). Indeed, this

trend has been causing particular unease in the UK, where it has been the subject of much public debate and calls for legislation¹¹. But in Denmark, too, there is concern. As the Danish editor, Torben Krogh, comments (p9):

Power in the media world is being concentrated into fewer and fewer hands. In other countries there are scary indications of what such concentration can lead to. But even if Denmark has no comparisons to Silvio Berlusconi or Rupert Murdoch, we are also experiencing a concentration. Furthermore, we are far from immune to what is happening on the international media scene.

Politics

Sources are significant to the contents of newspapers (p12). Furthermore, since politics are such a major aspect of the news, the sources who provide political stories - and who are also quoted - are frequently politicians, many of whom are skilled news managers, adept at getting their specific views into newspapers. It is one thing for a paper to have an acknowledged political allegiance and to identify this (Kruuse, 1991, p40, and Schneider and Lewis, for instance, argue that such bias is not necessarily a problem), but it is another for the press to be managed and manipulated by sources in respect of what they cover. The problem lies not so much in the political bias of the newspaper but in distortion of the news for political ends. As has already been discussed (p13), it is in this respect that spin doctors and other skilled political news managers can exert an influence that skews news reporting to an undesirable extent. Highlighting the problem in a hard-hitting feature in *The Times* of 29 January, 1992, the Labour politician, Roy Hattersley, wrote of the newspapers' coverage of Labour policies:

The truth is ruthlessly suppressed and stories are crudely manufactured. But calculated dishonesty - whether by invention or omission - is not the most serious indictment of the Tory press. Their crime against a free society is the way in which they conspire with the Tory Party to create rather than report the news.

As this thesis will show, claims that newspapers are vulnerable to manipulation by sources who feed them distortions, are persuasive. And this is especially true in the sphere of the EU, where passions run particularly high.

End Notes

1. McNair, 1994, p128 quotes a MORI poll of the time showing that 39 per cent of readers of the *Sun* were Tory voters and 48 per cent supported Labour.
2. Reports of the low esteem in which British journalists are held appear in, for instance, Belsey and Chadwick (p8), Jones (p220) and Snoddy (p11). Similar reports about Danish journalists appear in Meilby (p41), and in a *Politiken* story of 10 January, 1997, suggesting that, with MPs, they came at the bottom of a credibility poll held among Danish interviewees.
3. In a feature in the *Daily Telegraph* (28 April, 1993, p18), the journalist John Cole discussed the reason why news is more often 'bad' than 'good'. He was responding to an appeal from another journalist, Martyn Lewis, for more 'good' news. Cole explained that criteria of newsworthiness favour the 'bad' over the 'good', although not exclusively so.
4. Their studies suggest that 'source credentials may not matter to readers so much as the superficial plausibility and quality of what is said'. They add that 'credentials regarding expertise and bias simply do not seem to have a very large effect on beliefs, compared to the quality of the message'.
5. Nicholas Jones' comments on spin doctors appear in his book, *Soundbites and Spin Doctors*.
6. The comments of George Jones - Political Editor of the *Daily Telegraph* - appear in the paper in a feature headed 'Why I refused to put up with the taunts and intimidation of Blair's spin doctor', 21 November, 1996, p2. He complains specifically about the Labour politician, Peter Mandelson.
7. Spin doctors were also the topic of the BBC1 Panorama programme, 17 May, 1996, 9.30pm entitled 'Have they got news for you'. The programme was highly critical of their tactics. The subject was aired again on the BBC Radio 4 'Today' programme on 19 November, 1996, when Peter Mandelson, Kelvin McKenzie and Nicholas Winterton were interviewed on media relationships with politicians in the run-up to the next election.
8. In his book 'Agents of Power: The Role of the News Media in Human Affairs' (1984), Altschull cites examples of press 'management' by American Presidents going back as far as the 1880s (p71).
9. The reactions of newspapers in both the UK and Denmark to these attempts appear in Appendix 3.
10. Among other references to British newspaper hostility towards the EU, an article by Stephen Kelly in *Free Press* (the journal of the Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom) of July-August 1996 (p2) headed 'Football Crazy', criticised the newspapers for xenophobic and insulting references to other European football teams in the European Football Championships.

In the leader column of *Tribune*, 17 May, 1996, p2, a piece headed 'Paper thin loyalties' commented on how the newspapers are united in 'a visceral xenophobia' towards Europe.

In booklets entitled 'Do you believe all you read in the newspapers?' (1994) and 'Do you STILL believe all you read in the newspapers?' (1995), the European Commission itself details a host of inaccurate newspaper stories, explaining the truth behind them. An occasional 'Press Watch' series of leaflets is introduced with the following statement: 'After almost a century of UK membership of the European Community, the media continues to pump out myths and inaccuracies. While it is the case that the number of invented Euromyths has finally begun to decline, there has been a marked increase in editorialising within so-called news stories. There is a reluctance among some newspapers to print corrections and almost never will they countenance publishing a balanced, factual reply...'.

11. For instance, recent conferences organised by the Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom have concentrated on the threat to democracy of the concentration of media ownership. These conferences, 'Media Versus the People: Media Ownership and Democracy' (18 March, 1995, at the TUC Conference Centre, London) and 'Media and Democracy - the real share issue' (18 May, 1996, also at the TUC Conference Centre) have attracted leading figures from the trade unions, politics, the press and academia.

Chapter 2

Methodology

The attitude of the British and the Danes towards the EU has, historically, been broadly similar. Both joined the then EEC in 1973 and, since then, have been among the Union's most sceptical member states. The Eurobarometer public opinion survey (Number 46) published in May 1997, reveals that, when it comes to support for European Union membership, the British and Danes are among the least enthusiastic (p8) - the Danes at number 10 and the UK at 13. Furthermore, 31 per cent of Danes think EU membership is a 'bad thing' compared with 28 per cent of UK citizens. Similarly, Denmark and the UK are in a small group - also including Finland and Sweden - which Eurobarometer (p24) identifies as those least keen to see further European integration. The findings of this Eurobarometer survey do not stand alone, and are supported by polls commissioned by, for instance, the *Financial Times*, *The Sunday Times* and *Børsen* (Chapter 5, p100 and p105), as well as by the results of referendums held in Denmark about the nature of the Danes' relationship with the EU (Appendix 8). All indicate similar levels of scepticism within the two countries.

However, in reporting news about the European Union, the newspaper press in each country is significantly different. While the British newspapers often take strong anti-European lines in the way they choose stories and then report them, or report EU news primarily from a domestic standpoint, the Danish newspapers are substantially more even-handed and take a more 'international' approach in that they are more inclined to relate reports to a wider European context. They show a greater willingness to present a more varied selection of views and comment.

This thesis attempts to identify and analyse the reasons for this by examining the 'areas of influence' that affect the way journalists approach their work as identified by Paul Voakes (p24). These are: individual; small group; organisation; competition; occupation; the law; and extra media. The aim is to highlight differences within these areas of influence in the

UK and Denmark that help to explain why the treatment of EU news in the two countries is not consistent. Thus, this thesis looks at four major areas. The first is the newspaper industry structure - including the national context in which it operates - and nature of the individual titles within each country. The second is the political background and structure of each country, including its current and historical relationship with the EU and with its individual member states. The third is business, finance and the international context and the fourth is training, professional conventions, and ethical obligations and constraints.

Factors of newsworthiness

As a means of adjudging newspaper texts, use is made in this thesis of established 'factors of newsworthiness'. Most efforts to define what constitutes 'news' have run into difficulties (Staab, p423). However, the most comprehensive attempt is that of two Norwegian researchers, Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge, whose explanation for how 'events' become 'news' was published in 1965 in the *Journal of Peace Research*.

They identify 12 factors which make events newsworthy. The more of these an 'event' offers, the more likely it is to make its way on to the news pages. These are: Recency; Superlativeness; Unambiguity; Relevance; Consonance; Unexpectedness; Continuity; Composition; Eliteness of nations involved; Eliteness of people involved; Personalisation; and Negativity. To this list, Allan Bell, a New Zealand-based practising journalist and academic sociolinguist, adds four of his own (p158): Competition; Co-option; Predictability; and Prefabrication.

The news stories that appeared during the sample period are adjudged against these 'factors of newsworthiness' in Chapter 13. In conjunction with the evidence revealed by the comparison of the areas of influence that affect British and Danish journalists, as discussed above, these 'factors of newsworthiness' are used as a gauge against which specific news stories can be adjudged. They are thus used to explain and comment on the differences in the choice and handling of these news texts.

Linguistic analysis

The theories of Voakes, Galtung and Ruge, and Bell are the primary influences on the methodology used in this thesis. But the work of other researchers is also significant in respect of other elements that will be examined, including the language used in newspaper texts about the EU. This reveals a great deal about the perceived nature of the EU and the attitudes of writers towards it. Specifically, attention is focused on the following:

Headlines and lead paragraphs

The aim of headlines and lead paragraphs in newspapers is not just to encapsulate the story or give the gist of a feature, but also to 'sell' them to readers. Most newspaper readers skim through their newspapers, stopping only when a headline captures their interest. As Brookes says (p467), the headline acts as a focus, summarising the major news points, the 'actors' involved and the mood of the story. The reader will often then read the first paragraph which, again, is a précis of the major elements of the story. As Bell (1991, p150) describes it, 'the lead (paragraph) pares the story back to its essential point, and the headline abstracts the lead itself'. As he continues, these elements also focus the story in a particular direction, and 'form the lens through which the rest of the story is viewed'.

Words

The choice of words in the headline and lead paragraph in particular and in the story in general, is revealing. As many researchers have pointed out, some words are more emotive than others, or have particular connotations (Glasgow University Media Group, 1980, p165). Hartley, for instance, identifies what he terms 'hooray' words like 'freedom fighter', and 'boo' words, like 'terrorist' (p21), while van Dijk (in Jensen, p116) uses the example of 'mob' or 'crowd' to describe a group of people. In both cases, the choice the journalist makes indicates his or her perception of that individual or group.

Metaphors, too, are significant and, as Andrew Marshall points out (in the *Independent on Sunday*, 11 September, 1994 and 2 July, 1995), they have been regularly used in respect of

the EU. He cites multi-tracks, hard cores, temples, trees, pillars, convoys and hearts, as among those that have made regular appearances in the UK press in recent years. As will be seen, metaphors of transport were particularly prevalent during the sample period. Marshall's observations are echoed by Christina Schäffner (Musolff and Schäffner, p31), who points out that such metaphors appear in translation throughout Europe.

However, although most common metaphors do translate well, language differences within Europe can be problematic, particularly in terms of 'false friends' - those words that look almost the same in different languages, but have different meanings or connotations. On that front, Musolff (Musolff and Schäffner, p15) particularly cites the word 'federalism' which most English speakers associate with 'centralism' - a concept much loathed by many British politicians. However, for the Germans, French and Danes, 'Föderalismus', 'fédéralisme' or 'føderalisme' suggest the opposite. This difference was relevant during the sample period.

Stereotyping, discussed in the previous Chapter (p16), is also relevant here in that certain words are associated with certain types of people or nationalities and regularly crop up, thus enforcing the image. For example, in her study of the UK newspaper press, Hardt-Mautner (p184) points to regular 'negative labelling' of Jacques Delors as, for instance, the 'Froggie chief', deviant spelling that ridicules foreigners by mimicking their accents in print, and constant associations of, say, the French with garlic, and of the Germans with sauerkraut. Indeed, as this research shows, the Germans in particular, and the EU in general are often portrayed and described in the language of war and conflict even in relatively minor situations where such vocabulary is inappropriately extreme.

Style

Newspaper writers also try to relate to readers in a style that they will find familiar (Hartley, p96). Or, as Bell (1991, p105) suggests:

I believe the essence of style is that speakers are responding to their audience. It is typically manifested in a speaker shifting her style to be more like that of the person she is talking to. The basic dimension on which we can examine a speaker's style is therefore a responsive one.

He continues that this is in keeping with the wish of the writer both to accommodate readers and to seek their approval; to engage them in conversational style as a 'friend'. A function of this is to bring remote figures, or bodies, of authority down to a level at which they are more accessible to their readers - and to which they can more easily relate. However, as Fowler points out (p40), in the particular case of the *Sun*, this adopted style is an exaggerated form of the way its readers converse in reality¹.

Additionally, stylistic elements such as distancing devices can be illuminating. For instance, quotation marks can be used to indicate that these are not the newspaper's or the individual journalist's words or comments and are thus possibly suspect. And verbs such as 'claim' and 'allege', may also be used to suggest that the comments to which they refer, may or may not be true.

Similarly, journalists may use such 'stance adverbs' (Lipari, p821) as 'obviously', 'clearly', 'apparently' and 'presumably', which can 'augment or diminish the legitimacy of knowledge claims, masquerade as evidence, and steer readers toward a preferred interpretation of the news'.

Story structure

The order in which 'facts' are included in the story indicates what importance the authors attribute to each. It also indicates what the authors believe their readers will consider of most significance (Fuller, p125; Bell, 1991, p150). Similarly, the higher up the story facts or people appear, the more important they are deemed to be. It can also be argued that the sources quoted, and the amount of space given to each - ie, the way the newspaper has, or has not, 'balanced' a story, giving both sides of the argument an equal say, or generally backing up the statements of one source with those of another - also indicate bias or prejudice.

Other elements

In addition to the text itself, an examination of its position in the newspaper can give an

indication of its significance. In his study, Gaunt (p93) identifies the following five indicators of the importance that might be accorded to a story:

- Front-page location
- Front-page above the fold
- More than three paragraphs
- Printed with photograph
- Printed across two or more columns.

The section the text is in, too, can indicate how it is categorised, as can the surrounding material - editorial and advertising - and pictures used. Hartley (p181), for instance, details six elements of news photos that can be significant, including people depicted, their expressions, the context of the picture, where it is placed on the page, its context and quality. Hall, too, (in Cohen and Young, p226) makes similar points giving a case study of how the expressions in head-and-shoulders pictures of the former politician, Reginald Maudlin, governed the mood of the various newspaper stories detailing his resignation in July 1972 from the post of Home Secretary in the Heath Government.

Raw data

As a substantial part of this research, a selection of UK and Danish newspapers was monitored over a period from January 14, 1997 to February 14, 1997, inclusive, for items in which the EU played a major role. These were specifically those stories or features in which the EU, or an aspect of it, was mentioned in the headline and/or in the opening paragraph¹. News In Brief items were not included as their brevity provided little scope for meaningful analysis. The sample period was chosen to represent a 'typical' month in that it included no extraordinary events in the EU calendar, nor national holidays, although it did include a two-day strike among journalists on the Danish newspapers, *Berlingske Tidende* and *BT*, during which those papers were not published.

1. All the stories that appeared in the focal newspapers during the sample period are listed in Appendix 1.

The UK newspapers chosen were the *Sun*, *The Mirror*, *The Express*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Telegraph*, *The Times*, the *Guardian* and *The Independent*. These titles were picked as they represent leading national newspapers in the UK within the three acknowledged categories of down-market tabloid (the *Sun* and *The Mirror*), mid-market tabloid (the *Daily Mail* and *The Express*) and the broadsheets, or quality press (the *Daily Telegraph*, *The Times*, the *Guardian* and *The Independent*)².

The Danish newspapers chosen were *Ekstra Bladet*, *BT*, *Politiken*, *Berlingske Tidende*, *Information* and *Jyllands-Posten*, because they, too, are of national significance, in terms of both circulation and prestige, and because they include examples from the two newspaper categories in Denmark - tabloid (*Ekstra Bladet* and *BT*) and broadsheet (*Berlingske Tidende*, *Politiken*, *Information* and *Jyllands-Posten*).

This basic fund of raw data, which is analysed in this thesis, comprises a total of 390 newspapers, 586 news stories and 238 features, leaders and comment pieces. These are detailed in Appendix 4.

For the purposes of Chapters 7, 8, 9 and 10 - which will examine the business, finance and the international context - coverage of relevant EU stories that appeared within the same time-span in other specific financial and international newspapers was also used for comparison³. The use of these titles as an extra dimension sheds further light on the focal newspapers in this study. These additional newspapers included the *Financial Times*, the *International Herald Tribune*, the *Wall Street Journal Europe* and the now defunct *European*.

The fifth title in this category - *Børsen* - while not international, nevertheless also provides a different and interesting slant to business and financial news aimed at Danish readers. Brief descriptions and background details of these newspapers, along with the number of relevant stories used in this study, appear in Appendix 5.

2. The circulation figures for all the newspapers in this study appear in Appendix 2.

3. The stories that appeared in these additional titles during the sample period are also listed in Appendix 1.

Interviews with journalists

To support the material from the newspapers mentioned above, interviews were held with a cross-section of 20 journalists - 13 British and seven Danish (see Appendix 6). These were semi-structured, telephone interviews which aimed primarily to discover the attitudes and opinions of these journalists in respect of their newspapers' handling of the EU and the relationship between the EU and the newspaper press in general (see Appendix 7). The choice of UK interviewees was influenced by those whose by-lines had appeared against EU stories published in the sample period. They also represented a variety of reporting spheres. The conscious decision was made not to include UK journalists who were specifically EU correspondents, as they - and their practices - have been the subject of a recent study by David Morgan (p321). The idea was that this work should build on that study. The choice of Danish interviewees was assisted by leads presented by the Royal Danish Embassy's list of accredited Danish journalists in the UK, and through contacts made at Danmarks Journalisthøjskole.

As previous researchers have discovered (specifically Delano and Henningham, p58), busy journalists are not keen to complete written questionnaires, and the inevitable uncertainty of their daily routine and whereabouts makes appointments for face-to-face interviews difficult. Furthermore, the need to talk to Danish journalists - based in Århus, Copenhagen and Brussels - meant that interviews by telephone were the most feasible option.

The composition of the questionnaire was influenced by the work of a number of researchers who have made previous studies of journalists and their working practices, primarily Jeremy Tunstall (1971 and 1996). The work of Donsbach (p19) relating to the way journalists understand both the nature of their audience and their role towards that audience, was also influential as was that of Delano and Henningham, and Siune (1982 and 1989).

The questions were divided into two sections. The first was designed to identify, in general terms, journalists' sources of EU news and the frequency with which the EU was relevant to their sphere of activity, as well as the practical aspects of their work in terms of access to information. It also aimed to elicit the prevalence of 'news management' by external

agencies, the influence - if any - of newspapers' commercial interests and whether or not a newspaper's 'line' on the EU was known to the journalist, and influential to him or her. A final question aimed to find out if individual journalists felt that the EU was being treated in a way that was different to that in which any other institution or general topic was handled.

In the second section, journalists' general views were sought in respect of the relationship between the EU and the newspaper press. Much of this section was influenced by initiatives and publications launched by the EU in recent years (see Chapter 1, End Note 10, p24), which have lamented the inaccuracies about the Union and its activities that have appeared, particularly in the newspaper press. The aim was to discover what journalists felt a newspaper's role was in respect of the EU, whether EU complaints about its treatment by the press were justified, and what improvements could be made - by the newspapers in the way they handle EU news, and by the EU in the way it treats journalists and presents information.

End Note

1. As Deborah Cameron points out (1996, pp315), many newspapers have a 'style sheet' or 'style book', which is in keeping with their ethos, and to which all copy must conform. Individual stylistic conventions are matters with which journalists are required to conform.

Chapter 3

The British and Danish newspaper industry structure and the nature of the individual titles.

Circulation figures

In both the UK and Denmark, the newspaper press is divided into tabloids and broadsheets, with the latter generally enjoying the most prestige and credibility¹. However, unlike their British counterparts, the Danish tabloid newspapers do not currently outsell the broadsheets. As the circulation figures show (in Appendix 2), there is little difference between sales figures for most of the Danish newspapers in this study, while the corresponding tally for their British counterparts shows that the tabloids outsell the broadsheets by a considerable margin.

The nature and style of the broadsheets

In terms of historical chronologies and landmarks, however, the UK and Danish press have much in common. For instance, the two traditional newspapers of the 'establishment' - *The Times* and *Berlingske Tidende* - came into existence in the 18th century. *The Times*, first published in 1785 under the title the *Daily Universal Register*, is the UK's oldest surviving daily national newspaper, and, according to claims in its information pack, more than 60 per cent of its readers are in the top social categories. Similarly, *Berlingske Tidende*, established in 1749, is Denmark's oldest surviving newspaper. According to its information pack, readers of that title, too, tend to be high earners from the upper social classes, most of whom are conservative and well-educated.

There are, however, differences in their historical relationship with their respective national governments. For *The Times*, the influence of early editors such as Thomas Barnes (appointed in 1817) and John T Delane (who followed him in 1841) was fundamental in this respect. Barnes owes his fame to a determination to ally his paper more to the feeling of the

country than to a particular party and he sought not so much to form public opinion, as to 'discover and express it' (Francis Williams, p15). His goal was journalistic independence and he did not shrink from criticising the government of the day - an approach that was treading new ground - despite heavy pressure to toe the line. John T Delane was equally committed to this philosophy of press independence.

Since then, there have been periods when *The Times* has been obviously biased towards the political right. For instance, Geoffrey Dawson, first appointed editor in 1912, was an intimate friend of the Tory ruling élite and reflected their views with little attempt at objectivity (Heren, p27). However, there have also been editors who have been committed to greater political neutrality, including, for instance, Harold Evans, who was appointed editor in 1981 (Evans, p4), and Simon Jenkins, whose leadership began in 1990 (Curran and Seaton, p89).

Although, in the past two decades, *The Times* has generally maintained a policy of political objectivity and independence, its personality has changed. The introduction in 1982 of the up-market bingo game, Portfolio, is considered by many to have marked the end of its era of intellectual superiority, and the enduring inclusion of consumer-interest stories in prominent positions has furthered this trend. Stories that were interesting, rather than simply important, crept in - and stayed. The language also became less sedate².

In contrast, *Berlingske Tidende* has a longer history of close links with the governing élite of its day. It was established by the immigrant German printer, Ernst Hénrich Berling, in the days of Absolute Monarchy in Denmark, when royal consent was required before any newspaper could publish. Thus approved, *Berlingske Tidende* was granted sole rights to publish public announcements - assuring its survival in the early years (Behrens, p27) - and even after the abolition of the Absolute Monarchy in 1849, the paper still retained its position of privilege as the purveyor of official announcements (Søllinge and Thomsen, 1989, p52). It was not until 1904 that the paper finally broke free from this link, and 1949 before it shed its formal ties with the Danish Konservativ (Conservative) Party to emerge as the organ of 'democratic conservatism' (Behrens, p27). It retains its traditional personality and stance, as well as its strong links with the establishment and big business. These were particularly

highlighted during the crisis of 1977, when *Berlingske Tidende*'s printers went on strike for 141 days. Had it not been for donations - totalling more than 80 million kroner - made at the time by some of Denmark's biggest business concerns, the newspaper would have folded.

The *Daily Telegraph* and *Jyllands-Posten* also show strong similarities. The former was established in 1855 following the lifting of Stamp Duty which had acted as a tax on newspapers (Francis Williams, p34; Curran and Seaton, p30). It did not seek to compete with *The Times* in terms of news coverage or bulk, and although it espoused the philosophy of journalistic independence, it was not so politically neutral. The undisguised right-wing stance taken by the paper from its birth remains to this day, and it still counts businessmen and professionals among its chief readers.

However, in common with *The Times*, the *Daily Telegraph* has undergone some 'tabloidisation' in recent years, with front page stories and pictures often given over to celebrities and other 'light' news³.

Although now 'independent bourgeois' (Søllinge and Thomsen, 1991, p475), *Jyllands-Posten* was established in 1871 as a regional, Jutland-based newspaper that was a direct supporter of the Danish Conservative party - an allegiance it did not shed until 1938. Like the *Daily Telegraph*, it retains many right-wing philosophies, including support for private enterprise, and a corresponding lack of enthusiasm for the excesses of the welfare state and policies that distort the free market, including subsidies and import regulations. However, as this research shows, it has undergone less 'tabloidisation' than the *Daily Telegraph* and, despite its conservative personality and thorough reporting style, it was Denmark's top selling newspaper during the sample period (see Appendix 2) with a circulation figure that beat even those of the tabloids. In contrast, although the *Daily Telegraph* far outsells its broadsheet rivals, it has not yet overtaken any of the UK tabloids and comes nowhere near the down-market titles.

In terms of personality and political stance, it is also feasible to link the *Guardian* and *Politiken*: both are 'liberal' in their approach and are particularly popular among the 'caring' professions, such as education and the social and health services. The former - which owes

much of its current style and personality to C P Scott, who joined the paper in 1871⁵ - was originally a 'regional' paper called the Manchester Guardian. However, it dropped 'Manchester' from its title in 1959, started a separate edition in London and has since become established as a national newspaper. Its editorial stance in respect of domestic politics and the nature of the UK's relationship with the EU is best summed up by its leader column on the eve of the 1997 General Election (30 April, 1997, p20), in which it stated:

This newspaper has - by structure, ownership and inclination - always remained independent of political parties. We have, at various times since the War, endorsed all three of the main alternatives on offer. The choice this time is a relatively simple one. We would like to see a very different country after May 1 and we believe that a strong and confident Labour Government can best create it.

Later in the column, it point out that: 'We are instinctive pro-Europeans' although it admitted to 'deep caution about the single currency'.

Politiken, founded in 1884 by a group of Venstre (Liberal) politicians⁶ and other liberal-minded citizens, was originally intended as the mouthpiece of Venstre's radical 'European' wing (Søllinge and Thomsen, 1989, p174; and 1991, p165), and also took a leading position as a literary political opinion newspaper. Although it was not until 1970 that formal, specific party political affiliations were relinquished, in reality it had generally pursued an independent line since the arrival of Henrik Cavling as editor in 1905. One of the most influential figures in the history of Danish journalism, Cavling was opposed to a narrow coverage of political events and had, for that time, innovative ideas about objectivity. Thus, during his 12 years in the post, Cavling made substantial alterations to the paper, modernising it according to the 'Anglo-Saxon' blueprint (Thomsen, 1986, p320) and broadening its content to appeal to a wider spectrum of political persuasions. Even so, it retained its general adherence to the policies of the Radikale Venstre party until around 1980, when it began to align itself more closely to those of Socialdemokratiet (the Social Democrat Party). This shift has since enabled the paper to mirror more closely the political affiliations of the majority of its readers.

The youngest of the broadsheets in both Denmark and the UK - *Information*, first published

during WW2 as the mouthpiece of the Danish Resistance, and *The Independent*, established in 1986 - also share similarities in that both staunchly maintain a neutral political stance. Much respected for the service it provided during WW2, *Information* continued after 1945 as an independent newspaper, supported by both the former members of the Resistance and 'the independent intelligentsia' who perceived a need for a paper that was sophisticated and able to deliver politically unbiased information (Behrens, p75). Since then, it has aimed to provide a forum for independent thought. Its serious, thorough debates on national and international policy, along with features aimed at the culturally élite, make no concessions to mass appeal. And although its circulation figure is relatively small - and it is regularly beset by financial crises (Wivel, p106) - it is much respected for its intellectual rigour and has been a breeding ground for some of Denmark's best journalistic talents'.

When Andreas Whittam Smith, former City Editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, formulated the blueprint for *The Independent*, he, too, had in mind a newspaper that would be independent of party bias (Crozier, p11). In its leader column on the eve of the 1997 General Election (30 April, 1997, p19), *The Independent* summed up its stance, personality, and the rationale behind its birth as follows:

The paper embodied the spirit of diversity, of competitiveness, of individuality and liberty...The founding fathers of this newspaper felt strongly that it should not presume to tell its readers how to vote. We still feel that way.

It later added that, 'our imaginary voter is a proud, but not slavish, pro-European'.

However, that paper, too, has struggled to stay afloat. Indeed, although both *Information* and *The Independent* are often valued and respected for their determination not to take a political stance, their failure to flourish accords with the views of Fuller, who writes (p93):

Newspapers that hold audiences over long periods of time have editorial positions that rest comfortably within the mainstream of the political spectrum of their communities. They also try to develop editorial philosophies that have coherence and intellectual integrity so that they do not appear to blow this way and that based on pressure or the fashion of the moment.

The nature and style of the tabloids

There are also aspects of the British and Danish tabloids that correspond; for instance, all exhibit a style and choice of subject matter that is generally 'lighter' than those of the corresponding national broadsheets.

BT - Berlingske Tidende's tabloid stablemate - was initially seen as a 'news extra' reporting in particular on WW1. But it soon flourished as an entertaining 'lunchtime paper'⁸ in its own right, with an emphasis on sport, film, humour and other 'light' subjects, delivered in a way that recognised the fact that its readers lacked detailed knowledge of current affairs, and were easily bored (Søllinge and Thomsen, 1991, p209). In its politics, it was, like *Berlingske Tidende*, initially a supporter of the Konservativ Party, but, since 1975, has been politically independent, and even before then, had been conservative almost in passing (Søllinge and Thomsen, 1991, p209). Its current political stance can best be described as mildly 'bourgeois'.

Denmark's top-selling tabloid, *Ekstra Bladet*, was established in 1904 and shares the political stance of its broadsheet sister publication, *Politiken*, in that it was initially linked to the Radikale Venstre and now, although independent of any specific party, has more in common with the Social Democrats. Initially published to act as a 'news extra' to *Politiken* - providing the latest information about the war between Russia and Japan - *Ekstra Bladet* soon found a niche for itself as a popular tabloid, developing a personality that was strident and passionate against what it saw as hypocrisy, indecision and general incompetence among figures of authority against whom it often made vigorous attacks (Søllinge and Thomsen, 1991, p196).

From 1922 onwards, *Ekstra Bladet's* history can be summed up as a constant battle against *BT*. At least three times in its life - 1922, 1958 and 1963 - its publishers have considered closing it, but each time it has been saved, both by cutting production costs and by sharpening the quality of its editorial. Owing much of its original format to the 'recipe drawn from the English popular press' (Søllinge and Thomsen, 1991, p197), it is particularly renowned for its campaigning role, which has been underlined by its slogan as the paper 'der

tør hvor andre tier' (which dares where others keep silent). After softening its tone in the late 1950s, it has now resumed an aggressive style, unafraid to tackle taboo subjects or to challenge conventional morality; its frank treatment, in particular, of sex - in text and pictures - has been notable and it has regularly been criticised by the Danish Pressenævnet (the equivalent of the UK's Press Complaints Commission - see Chapter 11, p211) for intrusive reporting and disregard for the privacy of individuals.

However, although in the intensity of their 'circulation wars' the Danish tabloids mirror their UK counterparts, there are differences in the market structures. In the UK, for instance, the tabloids are divided between the mid-market titles of the *Daily Mail* and the *Express*, and the down-market *Mirror* and *Sun*. With just two major tabloid titles, the Danish newspaper market does not have this distinction. Furthermore, although *Ekstra Bladet* has been accused of sensationalism and unwarranted intrusion into privacy, it is still easily outdone by the *Sun* on that front and, to a lesser extent, by the *Mirror*. The *Sun* and its sister publication, the *News of the World*, for instance, have become notorious for their excesses, which have regularly threatened the entire UK newspaper industry with the imposition of greater legal curbs on its activities (Snoddy, p107, *et al*). Soft porn and saucy stories about the sexual exploits of all and sundry frequently substitute for serious news, while the main focus of human interest is the Royal Family and the stars of the TV soap operas. Writing in the *New Statesman* (5 July, 1996, p12), John Pilger accused some of the British tabloids of having become little more than 'entertaining trash'. Furthermore, the tabloid philosophy, identified by Jeremy Seabrook (in *New Society*, 5 June, 1987, p16-18) that assumes that 'other people will get you if you don't get them first', and that 'the highest purpose of the individual (is) to get his or her hands on the loot', is at its most extreme in the *Sun*. Although it started life in 1912 as the *Daily Herald* - a mouthpiece of the Labour Party (H Richards, p2) - it was renamed the *Sun* in 1964, following its acquisition by Cecil King who thought that he could improve the paper's parlous financial state with a new name and a general facelift (Jenkins, p37). When he failed, the paper was bought by Rupert Murdoch in 1969, who encouraged both its drift down-market and, from 1975, its shift to the political right (Hanlin, p39). As this research shows, during the sample period at least, the *Sun* was also vehemently Euro-sceptic.

Although less prone to such excesses as those exhibited by the *Sun*, the *Mirror* - established in 1903 (Allen and Frost, p5) - nevertheless shares its focus on short news stories about trivia or the exploits of 'celebrities' with, as this research shows, relatively little space given to 'serious' news topics. It is, however, firmly left-wing - its leader column on the eve of the 1997 General Election, entitled 'Gang up on every Tory', stated that 'the Conservative Party must not just be beaten, not just thrashed but totally smashed' - and in line with the Labour Party's official position, it supports a positive line on the EU.

The mid-market tabloids - the *Express* and the *Daily Mail* - give relatively greater in-depth coverage of news events, and include more 'serious' topics than do their down-market counterparts. Even so, they are still strident in style, and their right-wing, Euro-sceptic views⁹ permeate all their pages and were clearly evident during the sample period. Thus, although, as this research shows, in terms of story choice and style, the Danish tabloid titles are more closely aligned to the UK mid-market varieties than to the down-market ones, they still tend to be less extreme in style, and generally adhere more closely to the principles of 'fair' reporting and journalistic ethics. Their political stances do not colour their news reporting to the same extent, and they are less adversarial.

The national context

The circulation figures and styles of the newspapers in this research suggest that the Danes as a nation are more committed to 'serious' newspapers than are the British. Furthermore, more Danes than UK inhabitants read a newspaper each day (in addition to the information discussed on p25, the EC's Eurobarometer public opinion survey also suggests that 61 per cent of Danes read a newspaper each day compared with only 50 per cent of the British).

Other significant differences include the fact that, compared with their Danish counterparts, the UK newspapers have a much longer history of independence from specific political parties. Whereas the Danish titles have only relatively recently shed their direct links to specific political parties, the UK newspapers have generally been independent from birth. For instance, although the *Daily Telegraph* is - and always has been - right-wing, it has never automatically supported the policies of the Conservative Party. Thus, the British

newspapers have a more deeply ingrained tradition of challenging the Government and Opposition of the day - a longer-established role as the Fourth Estate of the Realm (Boyce, in Boyce, Curran and Wingate, p19), and watchdog in respect of the other three¹⁰.

The Danish newspaper press has also, historically, been more regionally-focused for several reasons. In Denmark, education became compulsory in 1814 (it was not until 1870 that similar legislation was passed in the UK) which meant that Danes as a whole - in both rural and urban locations - were consequently able to read long before their British counterparts. This boosted demand for local titles. In addition, the abolition of Absolutism in 1849, when King Frederik VII was forced to relinquish his absolute rule, gave the Danes as a whole more control over their own governance, which gave rise to political debate in which the newspapers played a growing role (Dal, p12; Europa Publications, p935). At the same time, this increasingly educated and enfranchised population began to develop into major social-political groups; a trend which led, particularly during the years from 1870 to 1914, to the emergence of the 'political four-paper system' (Søllinge and Thomsen, 1989, p42). This meant that most major towns in Denmark had four newspapers, each vigorously supporting its political party: Højre (the Right) representing the conservative upper- and middle-classes; Venstre (the Liberals), primarily representing farmers; Socialdemokratiet (Social Democrat) representing the labour movement; and, from 1905, Det Radikale Venstre (the Radical-Liberal Party), comprising smallholders and certain parts of the intelligentsia (Dal, p12; Thomsen, 1965, p87). The tally of titles peaked in 1920, when no fewer than 156 provincial titles were serving a population of around four million Danes.

From the early decades of this century, however, changing journalistic fashions in the Western world as a whole began to alter the nature of Danish newspapers. Fresh ideas about journalism meant that the Danish newspapers, formerly conveyors of somewhat staid reports of events that toed party lines, began to liven up their pages. Particularly after WW2, the growing emphasis on 'straight reporting' and the pursuit of objectivity in news stories - ideally leaving comment and interpretation to the feature and leader sections - militated against the 'political four-paper system' with its unashamed bias throughout. This boosted the trend towards independence from distinct political parties. However, according to Søllinge and Thomsen (1991, p111), even more significant than this break with specific

parties was the general change in political reporting that, in keeping with professional ideals of 'fairness', was more inclined to give the views of all sides in the political debate. The notion of the press as watchdog, keeping an eye on the actions of officialdom in all its guises, also gained ground among the Danish papers, which appreciated that this role could only be realistically fulfilled by a press that was prepared to look at all those in power, in whatever sphere or capacity, with scepticism. Thus, this 'new journalism' tended to straddle former political and social lines of demarcation. It also reflected the mood of its readers who had, themselves, been losing interest in a 'party press' and were increasingly disinclined to adhere rigidly to social class divides (Søllinge and Thomsen, 1991, p62).

Furthermore, during the 1960s and 1970s in particular, increasing competition put financial pressure on some titles and there were many closures. The strongest provincial newspapers thus tended to become monopolies in their areas, adjusting their editorial style and content to meet the needs of all the readers in their patch. The highly partisan and esoteric personalities of earlier newspapers were consequently superseded by titles - now numbering less than 40¹¹ - with more general appeal that were willing to air debate of all political persuasions. In addition, some 'regional' titles mounted campaigns to increase the geographical scope of their market - a policy that was particularly successful for *Jyllands-Posten*, which has subsequently joined the other titles in this research to become 'landsdækkende' ('country-covering'). These are titles that have developed sales outside their immediate region to the extent that they are sold nationwide.

This, again, contrasts with the UK, where, with the exception of the *Guardian*, all the titles in this research have been national - and London-based - from birth. They have, consequently, always enjoyed a role that has had national, rather than just regional, significance.

The law, as it impinges on journalistic activity, is a further area where differences between the UK and Denmark are significant to this research. For instance, the absence of a Constitution in the UK means that freedom of the British press is particularly vulnerable to ever-increasing curbs. As Robertson and Nicol comment (p1):

(British) laws are made piecemeal by Parliament and by judges, who are placed under no overriding constitutional obligation to preserve or protect the media's right to report matters of public interest. British law comprises thousands of separate statutes and decided cases: none of them gives unqualified support to freedom of expression. By and large, Parliament and the judiciary have taken the view that free speech is a very good thing so long as it does not cause trouble.

Rusbridger has similar views (p14). In his analysis of the legal framework in which the British press operates, he says:

There is no First Amendment, no guarantee of free speech or a free press. We famously have liberties but no rights. Even where, in Britain, there have been ringing declarations of free speech...they have invariably been defences of the right to an opinion rather than the right to report or reveal. Some academic lawyers believe the libel law in this country, which protects fair comment more than it protects straight reporting, has led to a tradition in the British press which is more polemical than factual.

In contrast, with the exception of the period from 1940-45, when Denmark was occupied by Germany, the Danes have had a press whose freedom has been protected since 1849 by the Danish Constitution. That gives everyone the right to impart information and inhibits censorship (Østergaard, p37; Thomsen, 1974, p440), albeit within the legal boundaries. For, inevitably, the law does impose limits on both 'press freedom' and 'freedom of speech', and, perhaps also inevitably, where these limits lie in practice has been a matter of regular debate since 1849 (Kruuse in Berlins, Grellier and Kruuse, p33). There are those who argue that all restrictions should be lifted and that the way to deal with 'offensive', 'defamatory' or any other kind of utterances that might be harmful, is not to suppress them, but to defeat them with open and honest debate. Others argue that there is a need for legal restraints to protect vulnerable members of the community from verbal or written attack. There are, too, those who argue that, in terms of methods used by journalists, the end justifies the means. And they are similarly contradicted by those who maintain that no member of Danish society should be above the law, no matter how worthy the ultimately aim of the law-breaking act¹². It is unlikely that these arguments will ever be resolved.

Even so, this legal framework gives Danish journalists support in publishing information, freely, that is denied British journalists. Furthermore, it is one of the elements that have

fostered a far more 'open' system of government in Denmark than exists in the UK (Chapter 5, p106), which has substantial implications for this research. For instance, in arguing against the need for additional legal curbs on the British press, Belsey and Chadwick (p6) maintain that these would further hamper it in fulfilling its vital role as watchdog in the democratic process, especially in what is already a comparatively 'secretive' government system. As they add: 'British public life depends on a strictly interpreted need-to-know principle, and those who are at the receiving end of government - the electorate - are not regarded as needing to know.'

As Robertson and Nicol put it (p412):

Secrecy, said Richard Crossman, is the British disease. Government administrators catch it from the Official Secrets Act and supporting legislation. It is aggravated by bureaucratic rules and arrangements that conspire to place the United Kingdom towards the bottom in the league table of openness in Western democratic government.

Indeed, the restrictive nature and follies of the Official Secrets Act are widely documented. For instance, to Whitaker (p66) it is a 'real menace to Press freedom', while Seymour-Ure (p231) points out that it has rendered 'technically secret' such facts as the number of cups of tea drunk in Whitehall and the usage of paperclips.

According to Robertson and Nicol (p36), another factor that conspires to keep Britain low in openness ratings is 'the refusal of successive Governments to contemplate a Freedom of Information Act, which would give journalists and others a legal right of access to documents prepared by state officials'. As Berlins adds (in Berlins, Grellier and Kruuse, p236), this lack of a Freedom of Information Act means that 'journalists have no right of access to government information (or information from any other public body) unless specifically provided by the law'. Thus, laws in the UK that promote official secrecy are not currently balanced by those that promote the dissemination of information. This has detrimental effects on EU reporting, partly in that British journalists are more restricted in respect of the information they can obtain from official government sources, and how they can report it, and partly in that such 'secrecy' has fostered an ethos in which suspicion on the part of UK journalists towards those in 'government' - in all its guises - becomes the norm. This is

further discussed on p108.

Unlike their British counterparts, journalists in Denmark do benefit from legislation that supports their quest to obtain information from official sources to counterbalance laws that restrict. And although there are many Danes who are keen to improve access still further, Denmark is still among those countries in which information from public authorities is comparatively easy to obtain (Kruuse in Berlins, Grellier and Kruuse, p35). As Thomsen adds (1974, p440), in general the Danish Government tends not to seek to control the flow of news from the administration. This is thanks to the Access to Public Administration Files Act which began life in 1970, with amendments in 1985 and 1991 ultimately ensuring that Danish and EC documents, as well as print-outs of computerised information, are generally freely available. Again, there are inevitably restrictions to this freedom and this applies to some EC documents. As Kruuse points out (as above), although the abolition in 1991 of the automatic classification of EC documents as secret means that Danish citizens have been better informed about EU matters in general, restrictions have still been imposed if information is deemed to have implications in terms of Danish foreign policy or Danish external economic interests. However, although another 'freedom' is thus necessarily fettered, under Danish law - and in contrast to the situation in the UK - there must be a clearly defined reason why such information from an official body or source should be withheld from the press.

Competition and proprietorial influence

In contrast to the general situation in the UK¹³, the Danish newspaper businesses are often organised as foundations to prevent hostile take-overs and to promote editorial independence (Søllinge and Thomsen, 1991, p112). The bulk of their finance comes, more or less equally, from cover prices and advertising (Petersen and Siune in Østergaard, p39). However, as in the UK (Granville Williams, p54), there is a concentration of newspaper ownership in Denmark. De Berlingske Dagblade A/S publishes *Berlingske Tidende*, *BT* and a further weekly title, *Weekendavisen*, and A/S Dagbladet Politiken is responsible for *Politiken* and *Ekstra Bladet*. Both companies, along with Jyllands-Posten A/S, publisher of *Jyllands-Posten*, also control a variety of provincial titles and have further interests in the publishing

and media sphere. The especially ferocious competition between *Berlingske Tidende* and *Jyllands-Posten* is currently having a particularly profound effect on the concentration of ownership, as the publishers of these newspapers buy-up an increasing number of regional titles to enhance their position in the Danish newspaper market.

This concentration of the press - and whether or not state intervention should be used to halt it - is a matter covered in the manifestos of nearly all the Danish political parties. They are generally concerned about the effect a declining number of titles will have on the democratic process - ie in providing platforms for the expression of all sides of the political debate. Indeed, a postal subsidy, designed to enable newspapers to be sent out at a lower-than-usual rate, and the exemption of newspapers from VAT (imposed on most other printed matter in Denmark) are among measures that extend government financial support to the press in a way that minimises the risk that newspaper content might be influenced thereby. Additionally, since 1970, needy papers have had access to a small direct subsidy via the Finance Institute of the Press (Petersen and Siune in Østergaard, p38). These subsidies have been used 'to deal with sudden problems, to implement reorganisation or to initiate the creation of new media' (Kruuse in Berlins, Grellier and Kruuse, p23). The overwhelming feeling among the political parties is that the right of individuals to express their views in the press, freely, as enshrined in the Danish Constitution, must be preserved (Garodkin, p178) and there remains broad support for the 'indirect support' mentioned above. Thus, although concentration of ownership and the pressures of competition affect the British and Danish press alike, there has been more positive, official, action in Denmark to promote the independence of individual newspapers.

Although many press academics have maintained that commercial interests have a direct and profound influence on content and stance of newspapers (Chapter 1, p19), this study showed no evidence of this - so far as EU coverage was concerned - in either the British or Danish titles in this research. All journalists questioned denied without qualification that they ever took a newspaper's commercial interests into account when handling news about the EU. In fact several British journalists said that they did not even know what these were, one commenting that 'we work in healthy ignorance of our paper's commercial interests'. One Danish journalist added that 'if anyone put any (commercial) pressure on, you would just go

contra - that's the way Danes are'.

However, a significant contrast between the nature of the Danish and British newspaper industry can be considered under the heading of Press Barons. Although the Danish press has notable figures in its history whose influence has been significant, they have tended to be journalists who made their marks in editorial terms¹⁴. The Danish press has experienced comparatively little of the dictatorial activities of proprietors, and there have certainly been none in the mould of the British Press Barons. Those individuals have been highly significant in the nature and approach of most of the UK titles in this research - in the moulding and maintaining of the personalities and stances of each and in influencing and shaping the ethos of the British press as a whole, and its relationships with external agents.

To take the major examples, the roles of such early Press Barons as the Lords Northcliffe, Beaverbrook and Rothermere in shaping, respectively, the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Mirror*¹⁵ as the means of enhancing their own power and of projecting their own egos, have been extensively documented (Curran and Seaton, p49; Wheeler, p41, *et al*). Indeed, Northcliffe and Beaverbrook as a team were instrumental in the political revolt that ousted Asquith as Prime Minister in 1916, and they continued to liaise in an attempt, through their respective newspapers, to set a policy agenda for the Conservative Party. The influence of recent and current Press Barons is also profound. Rupert Murdoch's support for Thatcherite policies¹⁶ resulted (from 1975), in a shifting of the *Sun* newspaper to the right, although the bulk of the paper's readers continued to vote Labour (McNair, p128). His subsequent backing for the Labour leader, Tony Blair, is discussed on p58. Regard for Murdoch's business interests is also said to have adversely influenced reporting in *The Times*¹⁷. Similarly, the late Robert Maxwell is reported to have seen the *Daily Mirror* as his personal megaphone, to be taken advantage of as and when it suited him (Hanlin, p33), and Conrad Black, too, has made his mark on the *Daily Telegraph* (Hart-Davis, p292). Although Black's initial approach was to appoint senior executives 'in general sympathy ideologically and philosophically' with his own views and then to leave them a free hand, he has since revealed a more interventionist hand (Curran and Seaton, p90). He is often seen to do this through contributions he writes for inclusion in the letters page, and his journalist wife, Barbara Amiel, also has a regular column¹⁸.

These current proprietors have also had a direct effect on the reporting of EU affairs in the British newspapers they own. For instance, commentators such as Andrew Neil, the former editor-in-chief of the *European*, and Robert Peston, a *Financial Times* journalist (both speaking in the programme, *The Power List*, on Channel 4, Sunday, 1 November, 1998, 6pm), are among those who have maintained that Rupert Murdoch's Euro-sceptic stance - particularly in respect of the euro - permeates the newspapers he owns. And Dr Martin Bond, head of the London office of the European Parliament, has voiced the opinion that, since the EU has threatened to limit media ownership, both Murdoch and Conrad Black have had more to gain from painting as black a picture of the Union as possible in the newspapers they own, than from encouraging enlightening debate on the subject (this comment was reported in the *Press Gazette*, 16 October, 1998, p14). His view is supported by this research.

As Wheeler summarises (p73):

Although press magnates have not generally aspired to political office, they persist in challenging the constitutional norms of elective representation by using their papers to support political parties and express certain ideologies at the expense of alternative viewpoints.

Today, with ownership of most of the major Danish newspapers set up in a way that ensures their financial - and thus their editorial - independence, they continue to enjoy a freedom that is denied a British press which is in many aspects still dominated by interventionist owners. By the same token, British press history boasts far more instances than does its Danish counterpart of megalomaniac proprietors attempting, through their newspapers, to have a direct influence on the government of the day - and even to try to control it. This has inevitably contributed to the often uneasy relationship between the newspapers and national government in the UK. Although the Danish press retains a watchdog and critical role towards government, it does so in more measured tones and there is less overt hostility between the two.

The newspapers' national role and differences in journalistic cultures

One of the Danish interviewees in this research also felt that there was a difference in the way the UK and Danish national newspaper industries saw their role. For the British, newspapers were primarily a business, to which all other roles and purposes were subsidiary, he said. In contrast, the Danish press took its duty to inform the Danish citizenry about matters of relevance far more seriously. This might sometimes mean 'pages of boring background material', but that was a necessary element of the process, he reckoned, adding that 'the problem today is that you don't have a serious press in Britain'.

In general, the effects of the differences mentioned above are to foster a British press that is markedly more strident, extreme and in many ways more arrogant than its Danish counterpart. Thus, although the UK newspapers have no direct links with specific political parties, they are, nevertheless, often fiercely partisan in their political leanings, to the extent that views that do not correspond are either ignored, or treated with contempt. Such newspapers often show little inclination to use their pages for honest and open debate. This contrasts with the Danish approach. For, although the Danish papers have only comparatively recently shed their direct links with specific political parties, they are less extreme in promoting their own stances, and more willing to publish contrary arguments. Furthermore, a culture has grown up in the UK press that demands an unusually aggressive and adversarial mode of reporting - one which, as Morgan notes (p337), is not always understood in the rest of Europe. He cites also the tendency of some British tabloid newspapers 'to treat government and governance as a joke' or even to sneer at them, as a particularly British trait, not much admired elsewhere. The peculiarity of these traits was evident in the sample period, which illustrated that, although the British and Danish tabloids share common design conventions and a focus on 'light' news and entertainment, neither *BT* nor even *Ekstra Bladet* could match, say, the *Sun* for sensationalism, stridency and personal abuse in their reporting styles.

Several interviewees in this research also supported this point, highlighting a difference in 'journalistic cultures' between the UK and Denmark. Professor Erik Farmann, for instance, commented that some of the worst excesses of the British tabloids - particularly in respect

of invasions of privacy or the publication of details of the private lives of those in power - would not occur in Denmark, not because this would be illegal, but because it was just not the done thing. Another Danish journalist interviewee added that, compared with its Danish counterpart, the British press was 'better at digging out the dirt in internal politics', partly because it had less respect for politicians in general. And one, Brussels-based, Danish journalist observed that his British colleagues were put under more pressure to write stories to fit newspaper 'lines' than he or his colleagues were - 'there is not political control in the same way with the Danish press,' he said.

Individual newspapers' general approaches to EU news

News, it is conventionally maintained, should be reported in a 'straight' way, untainted by comment; and this in theory should hold as true for coverage of the EU as it does for any other news topic. Although most papers have stated opinions about the EU, or about aspects of it, the convention of 'neutral' news reporting should mean that this is not evident in news reports. Indeed, many of the interviewees - British and Danish - maintained that this was the case, although their replies were not consistent. For instance, asked what made a 'good' EU story for their newspaper, many said, as expected, that it would be one which had an impact on their readers: that involved an aspect of EU activity which could be directly related to the everyday life of the UK or Danish readers of the newspaper in question.

However, some of the British journalists did not generally apply such 'neutral' criteria to an appraisal of what constituted a 'good' EU story. For instance, definitions included 'Brussels, Germany or France coming up with some proposal or plan which puts us in rather an awkward position, and Tory Euro-sceptics warning that this is the end of the world as we know it', for another, 'it would need to reveal or illustrate the way that an over-mighty Brussels is seeking to impose its views on the British nation', and for a third, 'anything that appears to show the EU meddling in British affairs - putting it crudely, anti-EU stories tend to be good stories'.

There was, however, agreement on both sides that, in the words of a Danish interviewee, 'a key ingredient of a good story would be conflict. That is the primary one'. This was

echoed by many British journalists who added 'controversy' and 'confrontation' to the list. This identification of 'conflict' particularly matches the 'negativity' factor of newsworthiness identified by Galtung and Ruge (Chapter 2, p32) and does not mean that the EU has in that respect been singled out for uniquely unfair treatment. However, in citing events with an anti-EU bias as being particularly 'good' the UK journalists were indicating that an additional 'factor of newsworthiness' was being uniquely applied in the case of the Union. In other words, neutral judgement was being suspended in order to support an image of the EU as a bad thing. Stories that matched all the other factors of newsworthiness - and would thus in the normal turn of events have warranted a place in the newspaper - would therefore have failed to get a mention if they presented the Union in a positive light.

The role of the newspaper in respect of the EU

Less diversity was shown in responses to the question about the perceived role of a newspaper in respect of the EU. Journalists from both countries were in broad agreement about this. Although for many journalists, British and Danish, this was 'to explain, to interpret, to comment on and to make the system as transparent and clear as possible', simply 'to inform', and, particularly in the case of the tabloids, 'to entertain', some also stressed the watchdog role. The need to simplify and explain the convoluted procedures of the Union was another perceived role, made more difficult, some felt, by the 'jargon' often used by EU officials and the documents of impenetrably complex text that they sometimes publish. One British broadsheet interviewee also felt that his newspaper had a role in influencing what happened in the EU in much the same way as it would seek to influence the UK Government or any other organisation.

More specifically, one Dane explained that 'the most basic role is information. On top of that is the role of watchdog, then on top of that again, we would add our specific editorial line'. In other words, this 'pyramid' of an overall role put the dissemination of information as the foundation, with add-ons - in decreasing order of magnitude - of a watchdog function, and then a 'slant' to progress that particular newspaper's pro-European stance, while promoting its campaign for more democracy in the Union and its institutions, he said.

However, although the answers given by British and Danish journalists about the role of the newspaper in respect of the EU were broadly the same, the text analysis revealed substantial differences in the way this role had been fulfilled in practice. The 'idealistic' responses of the UK journalists frequently failed to match the reality revealed in British newspaper reports.

Is the EU treated differently?

To the question about whether the EU was treated differently in their newspaper to any other subject, most Danes replied that it was not. The consensus was that it was subjected to exactly the same journalistic conventions in terms of both assessing newsworthiness and in the subsequent handling of the story. That said, its all-pervasive influence - and the fact that it straddled 'basic boundaries' within a newspaper between, say, domestic, business, foreign, culture and sports news - meant that it was, of itself, unusual. But that was not deemed to affect the attitudes of journalists towards it. One Dane did, however, make the point that, in his opinion, the EU was different in that it was so often 'dry and boring', rarely yielding colourful features - at least in the Danish press. Suggesting one major difference between the two countries, he added that, in the UK, EU reporting 'is very colourful because it's always about how strange the other guys are'. The overall approach of the Danes and British to other countries - and the way this manifests itself in the press - is discussed in the next Chapter, but it is worth here agreeing that, at least in the British tabloids, the use of xenophobia to spice up a story, is a major element of news reporting.

Most British journalists, too, claimed that the EU did not receive any unique consideration: stories emerging from it were reckoned to be adjudged in the standard way and against the usual criteria. These responses did, however, sometimes contradict answers given to the previous question about what made a 'good' EU story. There were some who agreed with their Danish colleagues that its all-pervasiveness singled it out for special treatment. But in contrast to the Danes, some British journalists also reckoned that domestic sensitivity about the topic - among both the UK political establishment, and their newspapers' proprietors and editors - ensured that the EU was 'handled with a greater degree of political intensity' than other subjects and that it was 'very important so it's a priority'. But, again, trying to sustain

public interest in the EU was seen as a challenge. As one tabloid journalist put it 'the public can be switched off by the issues, so perhaps we're aware even more of trying to make the EU interesting'. Not easy, she added, if you eschewed *Sun*-style tactics of 'whipping readers into a frenzy' about the subject.

End Notes

1. Although the Danish tabloids do not rival the British down-market varieties in terms of the 'excesses' discussed on p39, a 'credibility barometer', published by *Børsens* Nyhedsmagasin (24 April, 1997, p81), shows that, asked to give a rating about the credibility of 68 nominated organisations, bodies, individuals and so on, of national significance, respondents put *Berlingske Tidende* at 15, *Jyllands-Posten* at 24, *Børsen* at 31, and *Politiken* at 33. The tabloids came in the two bottom places - *BT* at 67 and *Ekstra Bladet* at 68.
2. Leapman makes this point in his book 'Treacherous Estate: The Press after Fleet Street', p72, as does Brian MacArthur in an article entitled 'New readers, new times', in *The Times*, Media and Marketing section, p21, 5 February, 1997.
3. In a feature in the *Guardian* Media supplement of 3 February, 1997, entitled 'The Telegraph, it is a-changin'', Roy Greenslade describes 'the dumbing down of the *Telegraph*' in which 'the once august newspaper now carries front page stories on Princess Di's frocks, Liz Hurley, and John Major's jumper'.
4. The Conservatives, the Liberals and the Social/Radical Liberals in Denmark are sometimes collectively referred to as the 'bourgeois' parties (Miljan, p188).
5. It was founded in 1821, and became daily in 1855 (Engel, 1996, p331).
6. It became a Radikale Venstre (Radical-Liberal) paper in 1905 as that political party evolved.
7. Many write with great fondness of the paper in 'På Nært Hold af Information', a book of reminiscences published in 1993 to mark the paper's 50th anniversary.
8. The Danish terms - 'frokostavis' or 'lunchtime paper' 'frokostformat' or 'lunchtime format' - have come to mean 'tabloid' and stem from the fact that the Danish tabloids were traditionally published later in the day than the broadsheets.
9. These views were expressed in leaders on the eve of the 1997 General Election - in the *Daily Mail*, entitled 'The Battle for Britain', and in *The Express*, entitled 'The Tories have worked hard for vote of confidence'.
10. The three Estates of the Realm were, traditionally, the Clergy, the Nobility and the Commons.

11. The 1996 *Håndbog i Dansk Politik* (Garodkin) cites a tally of 37.
12. For instance, both Helle Nissen Kruuse and Knud Aage Frøbert are among the many Danish practitioners and academics who have joined in the discussion about these different stances.
13. The exception among the UK titles in this research is the *Guardian*, which is controlled by the Scott Trust, rather than by an individual proprietor (Snoddy, p13).
14. These include the major Danish 'newspaper architects' Christian Gulmann, editor-in-chief of *Berlingske Tidende* from 1913-1934, and Henrik Cavling who took control of *Politiken* in 1905 (Søllinge and Thomsen, 1991, p96).
15. Both *The Mirror* and *The Express* have recently dropped the word 'Daily' from their titles.
16. In a Channel 4 programme - *Royals and Reptiles* - at 8pm on 26 October, 1997, Rupert Murdoch himself admitted that the *Sun* was 'Thatcherite not Tory'. The programme went on to discuss the fact that, as an anti-Royalist, who was opposed to the class system and the British establishment in general, Murdoch was no Tory, and was more than happy for his newspaper to publish embarrassing stories about representatives from these echelons of British society.
17. As a recent example, *The Times*' coverage of China was said to have been toned down so as not to affect Murdoch's business interests in that country. Reports and comments appeared in *The Times*, 4 March, 1998, p2 ('Times coverage of China attacked'), and in *The Independent*, 28 February, 1998, p18 ('The Murdoch mask slips').
18. For instance, in a feature article of 1 May, 1997 (p30), entitled 'Although they dislike me', Barbara Amiel admits that '...my husband remains a firm supporter of the Conservatives and now I urge, passionately, everyone in earshot to vote for them.'

Chapter 4

An analysis of the newspaper texts in the sample period - 14 January, 1997, to 14 February, 1997, inclusive - with reference to newspaper industry structure and the nature of the individual titles.

British tabloids

The Sun

The tabloids in both the UK and Denmark perceive a particularly strong need not just to inform, but also to entertain their readers. In aiming to achieve this, the British tabloids illustrate the point not only that negativity is an important factor of newsworthiness, but also that newspapers are often happier opposing than supporting¹. For the anti-European *Sun*, the EU provided a rich opportunity to attack not just the Union itself, but also British europhile MPs, and other member states, in a flourish of colourful language. Indeed, it was the major topic of no fewer than 18 leader columns attacking the EU on such fronts as the euro, the block on British Airways proposed alliance with American Airlines, the comments of the Japanese head of Toyota, Hiroshi Okuda, and the social chapter. And not only did the paper support Teresa Gorman's Bill for a referendum in respect of the UK's relationship with the EU, it even felt that leaving the Union altogether should be considered (expressed in a leader of 14 January, 'Let people have vote on Europe').

Throughout the sample period, the *Sun*'s arguments against the Union were passionately emotional, with little rational argument used to support its views, or hard facts and figures given. For instance, in damning EMU, it suggested that 'the euro is the first step on the road to oblivion for Britain'... 'a matter of principle' ('Single threat to our nation', 17 January). Two weeks later, it was suggesting again that joining the single currency was 'about the British way of life and our independence' ('Alarm bells', 1 February). Not once did any economic argument come into play. Similarly, in contrasting the economic troubles of the Germans and their high unemployment with the UK's much sounder performance, the

Sun stated 'thank goodness we don't have the social chapter' ('Looking up', 16 January). The complex reasons for German unemployment, including reunification and the burdens placed on Germany by other Eastern and Central Europeans, did not even warrant a passing mention².

In a further leader column, the *Sun* turned its wrath on the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Kenneth Clarke - a supporter of EMU - asking if he was living in cloud cuckoo land. 'He's certainly out of touch with YOU' the paper maintained ('Cuckoo Ken', 27 January). Indeed, the paper regularly addressed its readers directly, fostering a bond, and establishing itself as friend and mouthpiece. Unlike Clarke, the paper said, 'we take the trouble to listen to the people'.

The *Sun's* approach to individuals was often direct and unforgiving. While Kenneth Clarke was 'blundering' (in 'Cuckoo Ken', 27 January), Neil Kinnock, former leader of the Labour Party and currently a European Commissioner, was variously referred to as 'the Welsh windbag' and 'President Windbag' (in 'Rumbling on', 8 February). And as for the current EC President, Jacques Santer, the paper wondered if he was 'blind, deaf or daft' for daring to suggest that people 'want more Europe' (in 'Steam roller', 3 February). This was not, the paper claimed, what opinion polls suggested (although it did not quote any precise details).

Interestingly, some of the most strident language of all was still reserved for the *bête noire* of old, Jacques Delors, following a story which in itself illustrated a significant point. It was a story which brought the paper to a near frenzy of wrath - and which, it transpired, had no basis in fact whatsoever. On 31 January, a welter of stories³ initiated by Dennis Newson - a Brussels-based tabloid correspondent - suggested that, under new EU regulations, Britain would be obliged to erect statues of significant European figures. The notion that effigies of Jacques Delors might consequently replace those of Sir Winston Churchill, prompted the *Sun* to vent its rage at 'the barmy Brussels plan' and 'EU nuts' by issuing a 'frog warning'. 'They've finally gone off their rockers in Brussels' it ranted, giving voice also to incensed war veterans and Euro-sceptic Tories who variously commented that it was 'a disgusting plan to brainwash the people of Britain' and 'a terrifying prospect that must frighten people'. The

paper raged on the following day, with the results of a phone-in during which its readers had, in droves, allegedly voiced their horror at the thought of Delors being so honoured in the UK. However, the *Guardian* revelation on 1 February that this was a 'New Euro-myth from Old Hack' - a piece of whimsy - was not reported in the *Sun* and no correction was made.

This was the best example of a 'euromyth' to appear in the sample period, and illustrated the attractiveness to newspapers of such 'prefabricated' (Chapter 2, p26) stories that fit their Euro-sceptic bill. Newson's story, not checked with any official source, was ideal for promoting the 'daftness' of EU regulations and the threat of the Union imposing its ways on the UK at the expense of its individuality and home-grown heroes. The chance for the paper to lash out, xenophobically, at the 'frog' Delors and his fellow foreigners, was irresistible. It made for entertaining copy.

In those few examples alone, the stridency of the *Sun* in its language, its determination to choose just those facts that matched its anti-EU line, and its style in engaging readers by whipping up their righteous indignation and purporting to be championing their cause against the foreign invaders, was clear. A further examination of words used in headlines also underlines the point. These were full of strong words of conflict or scorn - snub, rap, boob, war, blitz, brush-off, fight, blasts - with the constant implication that the brave Brits were struggling against the EU invasion.

Also worth mentioning was the *Sun*'s treatment of politicians - for here, it can be argued, the influence of Rupert Murdoch loomed large. The majority of the *Sun*'s readers vote Labour, yet, following the Murdoch take-over of the paper in 1969, the paper subsequently became a staunch supporter of the right-wing Thatcher Government⁴. The reasons, it has been claimed, were not so much political conviction on Murdoch's part, but rather commercial interest. Thatcher, he deduced, would be more favourably disposed towards his cross-media ownership plans and less likely to bring in the Monopolies Commission. In the words of Michael Leapman: 'Throughout his career his political allegiances have been dictated not by ideology but by his commercial interests. His papers have customarily supported politicians in power or likely to attain it.' (*The Independent*, Weekend supplement, 7 January). However, it is also true that Murdoch felt a philosophical affinity with the

politics and individual personality of Margaret Thatcher - it was not commerce alone that inspired his support for her policies. But whereas Thatcher suited Murdoch and his aspirations, John Major, with his more lenient approach to Europe in particular (Greenslade, *New Statesman & Society*, 16 February, 1996, p22), did not, and as the 1997 General Election loomed, a Labour victory seemed probable. Thus, it is perhaps not surprising that the *Sun* consequently switched its loyalties to Tony Blair, although such a profound turnaround still took the political world by surprise (David Short and Hilary Clarke in *The European*, 20 March, 1997, p21). According to Short and Clarke, few doubted that Murdoch, rather than the then editor, Stuart Higgins, had been behind this complete change of heart.

Thus, although support for Blair had not yet been declared during the sample period of this study - indeed, on 6 February ('Can voters trust Tony to stop the grabby Germans') the paper even carried a warning that, if elected, Blair would sign the dreaded social chapter - Murdoch's enduring support for Thatcher, and waning enthusiasm for Major, was evident. The latter's hesitancy in ruling Britain out of joining the single currency this century was a cause for exasperation ('Pound saver', 24 January; and 'Alarm bells', 1 February) and his powerlessness was scorned ('Turning point', 5 February). In contrast, Margaret Thatcher's plea for the Maastricht Treaty to be rewritten, with even a chance that the UK could leave the EU altogether if it were not, reaped praise from the paper. As ever, the paper said (in 'Doomed dream', 11 February), 'Lady Thatcher is not afraid to hit the nail on the head...we must not wreck Britain's success for the sake of Europe's bad dream'.

The Mirror

While the *Sun* was ranting against the Union, *The Mirror*, in contrast, was taking a more supportive line. A consistent supporter of the Labour Party, the paper was keen not just to echo that Party's more pro-European line, but also to use the Tories' divisions on the EU as a weapon with which to attack them. But although the sentiments differed, the approach was almost as strident. For instance, Teresa Gorman's Bill was described as 'barmy'... 'sheer madness' ('A barmy Bill', 22 January), the late Nicholas Ridley ('Why Major's still fighting the prattle of Britain', 6 February), who was so suspicious of the Germans, was described

as 'crackers' and, with his comments on EMU, Kenneth Clarke was 'behaving like a hand grenade without a pin' ('PM fights to death on Europe', 24 January).

That the EU featured far less frequently in *The Mirror* than it did in the *Sun* - for instance, eight news stories in the former as opposed to 38 in the latter and, similarly, four leaders as opposed to 18 - could be attributed to the fact that, largely in favour, *The Mirror* lacked the excuse of the *Sun* for anti-EU ferocity. With conflict, as mentioned, being a prime element in newsworthiness, for *The Mirror*, this had to be confined to the EU as a source of strife either within the Tory Party itself, or between the Tory Party and the other EU member states.

Examples in the former category included 'Euro revolt splits Tories' (15 January) in which it was mentioned that 'almost half of John Major's top ministers are in open revolt over Europe'; 'PM fights to death on Europe' (24 January); and 'Top Tory admits Euro fights may cost us jobs' (7 February). In the latter category there was the leader of 6 February - 'Hurd instinct' - in which Douglas Hurd's view that 'constant sniping at Europe is undermining jobs and prosperity' was strongly supported by *The Mirror*, and 'Fury at air merger bid' (15 January) in which the EU objections to the BA/AA alliance, so roundly condemned by the then right-wing *Sun*, were portrayed as welcome attempts to curb 'a giant with massive control of transatlantic routes'. Tory right wingers were thus accused of playing the Euro-sceptic card, and reacting inappropriately towards an EU intervention that was both reasonable and helpful.

Similarly, a story on 2 February, entitled 'Don't bin it - recycle it', described an EU initiative to create compost from waste. The paper clearly saw this as a good idea (in principle, although the practicalities and costs were not discussed), yet, it reported, the British Government was refusing to sign up to the plan

Thus, in common with the *Sun*, *The Mirror*'s arguments were largely emotional rather than rational. Again, few hard facts and figures were used to support arguments, and the focus of EU news was primarily its impact on the UK's internal political situation - chiefly in the opportunity it gave *The Mirror* to attack the then Tory Government.

However, the exception to the otherwise easy run enjoyed by the EU in *The Mirror's* coverage was the Dennis Newson 'euromyth' discussed above. The (inaccurate) notion that British heroes like the Duke of Wellington and Sir Francis Drake could be snubbed in favour of the likes of Jacques Delors, was unacceptable to the paper. Again, like the *Sun*, *The Mirror* did not correct this story when it subsequently turned out to be myth.

The Daily Mail

Among the British tabloids, *The Mirror* stood alone in its general support for the EU. For, like the *Sun*, the *Daily Mail* and *The Express* were vehemently opposed, and in just as strident a style.

Castigating 'these insufferable lame duck keepers' for attempting to block the BA/AA alliance (in a leader of 15 January), the *Daily Mail* accused the Competition Commissioner, Karel van Miert, of 'insufferable cheek'. On 24 January (in 'The empty rhetoric of Malcolm Rifkind'), the paper lamented the 'demeaning spectacle' of Malcolm Rifkind taking his Euro-sceptic views to the peoples of Europe when their views 'matter not one jot to the clique of politicians and bureaucrats running the EU'. There were, too, harsh words for Neil Kinnock for daring to appear as a contender for the future presidency of the Union. 'Nothing it seems can keep the old windbag down', the paper sneered ('Kinnock in charge', 8 February). This followed a personal attack on Kinnock in a story headed 'Not a lot of plain talk as Kinnock talks planes' (16 January) when the newspaper mocked his verbosity - even taking this as the story's main news point - during an interview about airline subsidies on Radio 4's Today programme.

This adversarial style was also evident in the way the paper depicted the UK's relationship with the EU as a battle, with the Union constantly attempting to interfere - in airlines policy, in the tax and social security system and in employment legislation. In common with the *Sun*, the *Daily Mail* made the sweeping assumption that the social chapter was solely to blame for Germany's unemployment troubles (in 'Kohl comfort for the Tories', 11 February) while, again without any facts to back up its stance, the paper waxed ever-more hysterical about the supposed dangers of EMU. For instance, Andrew Alexander (in 'The big issue

that's a winner', 24 January), angry with Major for sitting on the fence in his approach to the subject, did not see the need to pander in the slightest to the Tory pro-Europeans who wanted to 'wait and see'. As he wrote: '...party unity pales into insignificance alongside the sheer magnitude and potential horrors of EMU'...it is 'a nightmare'...'a dangerous leap in the dark'. However, just why this was, and what the precise implications would be, were omitted in a torrent of emotion about powers allegedly being taken from the British Government by power-hungry - and unelected - Brussels bureaucrats.

Indeed, the *Daily Mail* used every opportunity to take a swipe at the EU, no matter how weak the justification. For example, in a story headed 'An identity crisis' (22 January), the paper told how plans to impose a Europe-wide bank and identity card had 'triggered fury' from right-wingers and civil liberties groups. Although it was clear from the story that such cards would pose no more threat than the usual array of credit and other plastic cards carried by most of the population, the fact that this was an EU initiative had the paper mentioning 'further attempts by Brussels to seize control of Britain's right to run its own economy', and linking it to the threat of EMU. Just why it would have such far-reaching and sinister implications was not mentioned. Similarly, a chance to thumb its nose at Jacques Santer for once accusing Britain of wanting to return to Dickensian sweatshops, was relished. In a story headed 'Brussels is accused on rights for workers' (27 January), the paper pointed out that 'forever preaching to Britain about workers' rights, the European Commission is itself now accused of violating basic employment standards by recruiting an army of labour on the cheap'. And, in common with *The Mirror* and the *Sun*, the paper made much of the Dennis Newson 'euromyth', again without subsequent correction.

Also worth mentioning was the vague story on 16 January - 'Britain tried to blackmail me on BSE says Santer' - in which the EC President was reported to have levelled accusations against John Major. Just what the blackmail related to, what form it took, and in what context it was delivered, was absent from this story, which took Santer's remark as its sole news point and then provoked an 'icy' response about it from an unnamed Major 'aide'.

The Express

Also ferociously opposed to the EU, *The Express*, too, was direct in its language. For example, on 3 February ('Vital power base or threat to freedom?'), Europe was likened to 'a cancer growing at the tribal ties binding all the political parties' and on 6 February, in 'We just want Brussels to get off our backs', it talked about 'the spectre of the European superstate haunting Britain'. The British people were deceived back in 1973 about what joining the then EEC would lead to, the paper claimed, and they did not bargain for a 'blizzard of regulations that would criminalise some of our old customs and drive some of our firms out of business'.

Metaphors of war and aggression were rampant. On 14 January ('Hi-Jacqued'), 'incensed' Tory MPs were reported to be urging John Major 'to declare war on Brussels' over EU plans to block the BA/AA alliance; on 20 January, Rifkind was said to be 'throwing down the gauntlet to Kohl' in 'the battle over the future of Europe'; and on 22 January, Kenneth Clarke was reported as 'routing rebels...in the titanic struggle over a European single currency'.

And, again, there were figures of derision. The warnings of Hiroshi Okuda, the head of Toyota, of the possible detrimental consequences of the British staying out of EMU, were described as 'strange, surprising, even eccentric'; while, in the front page lead story of 14 January, mentioned above, Jacques Santer was personally blamed for vetoing the BA/AA deal - although this would never have been his decision alone. Another regular tabloid victim, Neil Kinnock, also came under ruthless attack in *The Express*. Using the well-worn 'old Welsh Windbag' epithet, the paper ridiculed him mercilessly for his alleged verbosity ('In other words the old Welsh Windbag's back', 16 January); while a particularly spiteful story ('Kinnock hope for top post at last', 8 February) about his possible bid to succeed Santer had Norman Tebbit commenting that: 'It's a devastating comment on the Commission's usefulness that a double reject who has never held a proper job should be considered for the Presidency'.

Again in common with other tabloids, *The Express* sought even the most tenuous stories to

back its anti-EU theme. For instance, the story about recycling, seen by *The Mirror* as a good EU idea that was being blocked by an unhelpful Tory Government, appeared in *The Express* on 27 January under the heading 'Here's another rubbish idea from Europe'. 'Brussels', it said, was on the verge of 'ordering' every British household to separate its rubbish in a 'recycling revolution'. However, unable to make the detail of the scheme sound unreasonable, the paper still managed to insert a note of negativity by pointing out that 'Britain has no veto over final approval' - thus, once again, leaving the reader with an overall impression of the UK as EU puppet. Even an apparently innocent story ('Mint peps up debate on Europe', 4 February) about how free packets of Euromints - a new brand of sweets - had been sent out to all MPs in Britain as a promotional gesture by their manufacturers, did not escape a quote from Euro-sceptic MP, Teddy Taylor, that 'in view of the terrible waste of money that the European Union is costing Britain and all the problems the bureaucrats in Brussels are causing us, I think it is a terrible name to give a mint'.

There was, too, the arguably 'manufactured' story of 31 January ('Riddle of Tory link to Toyota') which hinted vaguely at 'suggestions' that, primarily Edwina Currie, but also Michael Heseltine and Kenneth Clarke, might have encouraged the Toyota chief to voice his concerns about Britain's attitude to EMU. There was, however, no indication of where the 'suggestions' had come from and no evidence was offered. The substance of the story was solely unattributed allegations, subsequently denied. But it included no concrete inaccuracies, and managed to plant a suspicion in readers' minds that the real reasons for Okuda's pro-EMU comments were more to do with narrow self interest than political conviction

In common with other newspapers, *The Express* claims to champion the views of its readers in the stance it takes towards the EU. Indeed, in a series of four major features on the Union, from 3 to 6 February, the paper gave them the chance to join in a telephone poll. In a series of emotive questions, readers were asked to vote on whether the UK should 'be ruled from Brussels or Westminster', whether foreign fishermen should be excluded from a bigger area of the seas around the British Isles, and so on. Interestingly enough, however, the responses quoted by the newspaper showed a comparatively rational approach, not echoed in its columns. Several readers had even suggested that there was some merit in EMU. The

claim by *The Express* that readers were 'confused' by EU issues, was not borne out by those it chose to quote.

Danish tabloids

Ekstra Bladet

While the British tabloids, with the exception of *The Mirror*, were raging on about the EU, the Danish tabloids appeared far less interested in the subject. Throughout the sample period, *Ekstra Bladet* contained just two news stories and one leader, none of which would have caused any alarm in Brussels.

The subject of one of the stories ('Aristocracy on support') - and of the linked leader ('Earls on welfare'), both on 31 January - was the extent to which major Danish landowners were benefiting from subsidies under the Common Agricultural Policy. The suggestion was that these landowners, many of them from the Danish aristocracy, were milking the system, although many claimed that without support they would have to sell up. Thus, although the CAP was criticised for being complicated, the paper was challenging its own countrymen to defend their actions, rather than berating the EU itself.

The second story, ('Bridge money', 14 February), was an amusing piece about the problems faced by the Austrian artist, Robert Kaliena, who, the paper reported, had been going around on tip-toe in order not to offend any member states in his designs for the forthcoming euro notes. One wrong move, the paper jested, and there would be crisis meetings in the EU.

BT

Although, with 16 news stories and four leader columns, *BT* featured more EU news than its Danish tabloid rival, it still did not give the Union the same degree of coverage as did the British tabloids. There were no front-page EU stories at all during the sample period, and, in those that did appear, the concentration was not on the notion of the EU or 'Brussels' as a whole, but rather on individual concrete issues and events, particularly when Danish

politicians were involved. For instance, the Danish MEP, Bertil Haarder, who is also a member of the Danish Folketing, was quoted (in 'I give 200,000 kroner a year to handicapped children', 14 January) asserting that he was well able to carry out both roles. There were stories on 6, 7 and 10 February ('So we will drop the pension scheme', 'MEPs must pay tax on insurance' and 'Helveg (hinders things)', respectively) about how Danish MEPs were likely to lose the tax-free status of their insurance and pension packages. And the fate of the Danish Commissioner, Ritt Bjerregaard, as she, along with other members of the European Commission, faced the disapproval of the European Parliament over the EC's handling of the BSE affair, was also widely discussed ('Ritt's fate hangs in the balance', 14 January; and 'Ritt is saved', 16 January).

Indeed, BSE was the focus of considerable concern in Denmark, with *BT* in its 'Madness' leader column of 6 February, suggesting that the fact that economic interests had come before the health of consumers in this matter highlighted serious faults in the system and the way it operated. The paper also criticised the Danish Government for not taking the matter up with more vigour. Just how the European Commission and Parliament were going to settle the matter of blame, decide on the punishment, and make changes to structures and procedures to prevent a similar catastrophe in future, were debated

The Danish opt-outs to the original Maastricht Treaty, discussed in Chapter 5, were a further subject of concern to the paper but, as was clear in the leader of 23 January, ('Woolliness and concealment') the paper's criticisms were directed more towards the Danish Government than the EU. The paper was critical of Danish politicians for failing to ignite the debate about the options available to the Danes, and to discuss just what would happen if the next referendum resulted in another No vote. This was echoed on 5 February in the leader 'Man in a tight spot', in which the Prime Minister, Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, was criticised for, among other things, failing to follow his own calls for open and flourishing debate on the EU. The divided opinions of the Danes - and their politicians - about the nature of Denmark's relationship with the Union were also the subject of the story 'Fears a new EU No' (21 January).

Of other EU topics chosen by *BT* during the sample period, the prospect of an expanded EU

- taking in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe - also featured. And, typically for a tabloid (p39), it was the anticipated financial gain for the Danes that this would bring - rather than the implications for the stability of Europe - that provided the focus. 'We will be richer in an expanded EU', the paper reported (22 January).

BT certainly concentrated on news of direct relevance to its Danish readers, and the actions of Danes in the EU political arena were considered particularly newsworthy. But there was no singling out of individuals for contemptuous or savage personal attack. There was, of course, criticism of individuals and organisations, but the language was moderate, reasons for complaint clearly presented, and examples of stridency few.

Comparison of tabloids

Conflict is, as mentioned, a major factor of newsworthiness, and appreciated as such by the tabloids of both countries. However, whereas the Danish tabloids simply reported conflict, the UK tabloids seemed often to add to it - or even to create it - themselves. And, while the UK newspapers concentrated on the all-encompassing, intangible and philosophical issues of just how much 'Brussels' should be allowed to dominate the UK in a welter of shapes and forms, many of them unspecified, the Danish *BT*, in particular, was more specific in highlighting areas of dispute, the reasons for these, and how they could be resolved. Far less indignant about the role of the EU in the governance of individual member states, the Danish tabloids considered the Union less newsworthy than did their British counterparts, possibly because, without the ranting and raving, EU issues could not be made sufficiently 'entertaining'. Even so, *BT*, at least, seemed more intent on its role of 'informing' readers, giving detailed arguments and explanations of procedures in a way unmatched by the British tabloids, whose coverage held relatively little factual information and was primarily emotional.

Furthermore, although all the tabloids profess a political stance, the Danish varieties could not match the bigotry of their British counterparts, or their ferocity in pouring contempt on those holding alternative views.

The British broadsheets

While the tabloids focus on entertainment, with a style that is light in terms of both content and presentation, the broadsheets have traditionally been more serious. And despite the alleged 'dumbing down' of the British broadsheets, their style is still markedly more sedate in most instances.

The EU, however, is a topic about which broadsheet feelings run as high they do in the tabloids, and a similar tendency to aggression, mockery and insult can often be observed

The Daily Telegraph

The *Daily Telegraph*, for instance, right-wing and Euro-sceptic in its political stance, was relentless in its determination to present the Union in a bad light, its seven leaders on the subject were consistently negative. On 15 January, under the heading 'A second CAP?', the paper hoped not to see an EU airlines policy emerging to match the 'impressive failures' of policies on agriculture and fisheries. On January 17 and 24, ('Single currency, single taxation' and 'Now rule out entry') leaders suggested that, were EMU to be imposed, it would, in Lord Tebbit's words, lead to 'national parliaments becoming little more than rate-capped county councils'. The already-mentioned Hiroshi Okuda, and Niall Fitzgerald, Chairman of Unilever, who both spoke in favour of EMU, were sneered at. For instance, in 'A row made in Japan' (the leader on 31 January), Okuda - from 'the Olympian remove of Tokyo' - was accused of confusing the single currency with the single market. A similar - nationalistic - jibe was levelled at Fitzgerald in 'Double Dutch on EMU' (13 February). He was reckoned to be biased because he was from Ireland, as 'beneficiaries of European largesse on a massive scale' the Irish were 'incorrigible Euro-enthusiasts', the paper told its readers.

There was, too, 'A dark day for drivers' (also on 13 February), as the *Daily Telegraph* bristled at the emerging directive from Brussels proposing that British motorists should drive with their running lights on during the day. That the British people should suffer the indignity of rules which govern them being formulated elsewhere 'adds injury to insult', the

paper declared.

This negativity, found in the leader columns, is not surprising, given the *Daily Telegraph's* stance on the EU and its support for the political right-wing. The fact that it continued in the news columns, and to such a wide extent, was perhaps more significant - and less forgivable. Of the 55 EU stories carried by the paper during the sample period, 45 were entirely negative, in that they concentrated on the EU in terms of strife or irritation, seven were neutral reports, and even the three 'positive' stories were qualified.

The language in the news stories, too, was strident, with widespread use of words of conflict. In the headlines and lead paragraphs alone, the choice was rich - fight, battle, row, clash, hostility, attack, wrath, kicked around, shot down, drawing fire.

In picking conflict, the *Daily Telegraph* was adhering to the principle that controversy and disharmony make good news stories. Consequently, reports of rows between Euro-sceptics and pro-Europeans on the domestic political front - within and between the major political parties - were common, as was coverage of the EU as the cause of international strife. The Germans, for instance, were at odds with the Italians over the latter's attempts to meet the criteria for entry to EMU in the first wave on January 1, 1999. There were hints of 'fudged' figures and 'creative accounting' boosting German fears that Italian membership would weaken EMU. On another front, the French and Germans were at times squabbling over how the European Central Bank would be run and at others apparently ganging up to pursue their vision of a federal Europe, regardless of the views of other member states. These news stories, common to the UK, Danish and international press, are discussed at length in subsequent Chapters.

Even so, in its coverage of the EU, the *Daily Telegraph* seemed rarely to miss any opportunity to concentrate on the negative aspects of the Union, even if this meant distorting, or over reacting to, the facts. For instance, the story of 14 January ('Euro code is unobtainable') about plans to introduce a federal dialling code, featured a quote from the then Trade and Technology Minister, Ian Taylor, that this would not be acceptable on the grounds that it signified a further shift towards a federal superstate. The 20 January story ('European

rules "stifle biotech")), quoted the remarks of Henry Miller, a professor at Stanford University in California, that 'yesterday's Nazis destroyed art they deemed unnatural, today's "greens" destroy science they deem unnatural'. In the first case, a mountain was made out of a molehill, and in the second, a highly emotive image was inappropriately evoked, especially since, in neither case, was any attempt made to present an opposing view.

Thus, in common with the tabloids, the *Daily Telegraph* exhibited a strident and aggressive style when dealing with the EU. There were, too, personal insults - although largely confined to 'foreigners' in the shape of Hiroshi Okuda and Niall Fitzgerald - and a tendency to look for the anti-EU angle in a story, no matter how tenuous. The right-wing, Euro-sceptic stance of the paper thus permeated not just the leader columns, but also the news stories, and, again, the emphasis was on the 'emotional' aspect of a Great Britain ruled by foreigners, with little factual evidence to back up anti-EU arguments. The paper did pursue its 'watchdog' role with zeal, but there was less evidence of a determination to 'inform and explain' the EU and its regulations to readers in a rational way.

The Times

More centrist in its political stance than the *Daily Telegraph*, *The Times* was certainly less strident in its tone when addressing EU issues, although there were some elements of the Union about which strong emotion was voiced.

EMU, for instance - a notion towards which *The Times* was clearly opposed - was the major element of 31 of the 70 news stories - understandably perhaps, since, as stated in a leader of 24 January ('Ruling out'), *The Times* saw EMU as 'the most critical question to face the country in decades'. The paper also voiced its opposition to the social chapter (specifically in the leader headed 'Irreversible opt-in', 6 February), although it admitted that this was not so much because of what the document currently contained, but more because of what it might lead to in the future. Thus, in its pragmatic approach, *The Times* did not follow some of the UK tabloids in falsely blaming the social chapter, exclusively, for such woes as the German unemployment situation. Rather, it foresaw possible future problems in the UK signing over even more power to the EU. For this same reason, the topic of 'federalism'

led to some relatively emotional reporting for the paper. As already discussed (Chapter 2, p28) 'federalism' means different things to different nationalities. For the British, however, it is generally linked to perceived moves, spearheaded by the French and German, to strip member states of their powers, and to centralise decision-making in Brussels. As such it is viewed with undisguised alarm. On 20 January, for instance, Malcolm Rifkind's challenge to Chancellor Kohl to 'spell out EU limits' was a major page two story for *The Times*. A day later, in 'Show of power by Paris-Bonn axis outflanks Britain', the paper told its readers about Germany and France 'brushing off' Britain's conditions for a multi-speed Europe - ie, one in which member states could choose the degree to which they became integrated within the Union - 'in a show of force that underlined the gulf that divides London from the big EU powers in the drive to revamp the Maastricht Treaty'.

The paper also jibbed at what it perceived as the EU overstepping the mark in the BSE affair. On the 15 January ('Hogg sparks fresh row by dismissing EU legal threat'), it announced the triggering of 'further confrontation' between the Government and the EU with a 'defiant' Douglas Hogg refusing to answer for his actions to Reimer Bö, chairman of the EC inquiry into the disease. An indignant 'Downing Street spokesman' was quoted pointing out that 'British Ministers are answerable to Westminster'... 'it is not for them (the EC) to be summoning us to the European Parliament'. And there was some disquiet at EU 'interference' in the BA/AA alliance proposals, specifically on 15 January, when, in a story headed 'Brussels threat to BA rejected', Tory sceptic MP, Teddy Taylor, was quoted saying that here was another example of the way 'the EU stretches the powers in the treaties to interfere with almost every aspect of our way of life and our business activities'.

Yet despite these examples, and the use of words of strife - anger, fight, battle, hostility, to name a selection - *The Times* was more rational in its approach, at least in comparison with the UK tabloids and the *Daily Telegraph*. For instance, there was a greater variety of views on a wider spectrum of EU matters expressed in feature columns - including EMU, the notion of a Cabinet seat for Europe and the desirability of a referendum on Britain's relationship with the EU. In his feature of 31 January ('Toyota and the Tory Right'), Matthew Parris was even given the chance to hit out at what he saw as 'statists' in the Conservative Party who were basing their opposition to EMU on political rather than

commercial arguments. The Euro-sceptics of both Left and Right were, he argued, more interested in safeguarding the British state, *per se*, than in boosting the real interests of its citizens. In this respect, Parris could also be said to have been arguing against *The Times*' own stance on EMU, which also had more to do with loss of national power, than with financial benefit.

Furthermore, although, as will be discussed in Chapter 12, *The Times* showed a tendency to focus on anti-EU sources for quotes without necessarily balancing these with pro-EU comment, it was less insular and parochial in its coverage than most of the UK newspapers. The plans to expand the EU to incorporate countries in Central and Eastern Europe - a major topic, generally missing from EU reports elsewhere in the UK press - were given substantial coverage, and relationships between, and within, other countries in general were the focus not just of news coverage (eg 'Bonn and Prague heal 50-year rift', 22 January) but also of leaders and features like: 'Germany looks east' (22 January), 'Europe's Eastern sceptics' (14 January), and 'The French Front' (11 February) in which the link between the rise of the French National Front and the demands of the Maastricht Treaty were discussed. Employing much detail and background information, *The Times* succeeded in 'explaining' and 'informing' its readers, setting the EU actions and proposals in context better than many of its UK newspaper counterparts.

As for personal assaults in print, again, *The Times* had few examples. There was a touch of resentment at the 'soothing' words of Yves Thibault de Silguy, the Commissioner for Monetary Affairs, who had suggested that Britain would join EMU once it had been clearly explained and everyone understood it. But that mild example aside, personal attack was rare.

The Guardian

As might be expected, the 'liberal' *Guardian* approached the EU in a way that contrasted with that of its right-wing or centrist counterparts. Indeed, the sample period contained two leader columns - 'Sovereignty is as you make it' (18 January) and 'Europe an apology' (24 January) - in which the paper not only dismissed the hysteria of the 'Europhobes' about perceived threats to UK sovereignty posed by, in particular, monetary integration, but also

voiced its embarrassment at 'the way we talk about other countries', which 'barely rises above the level of abuse'. Yet, although these two definitive leaders set out the *Guardian's* view that the UK should be more positive about, and active in, the EU, coverage was heavily linked to domestic politics, specifically in connection with the forthcoming General Election. Sensing that, at last, the Conservative administration might be ousted, the *Guardian* emulated other UK newspapers in using the EU to make its own political points. This was not least because it had identified the approach to Europe in general, and EMU in particular, as the one issue that differentiated Labour from the Tories (Hugo Young in 'At last, an issue that makes all the difference', 4 February). On the one hand, the EU was used to discredit the Tories, on the other, to promote Labour.

In the first category, in addition to the rich vein of reports on internal Tory wrangling over Europe (reported in all UK newspapers), there were the policy matters. In keeping with its liberal personality, the *Guardian* placed an importance on such subjects as racism and workers' rights, and, during the sample period, found a greater degree of empathy in the EU than in the home Government in these spheres. For instance, in the front page lead story of 27 January ('Major vetoes racism fight') - the subject of which warranted only a brief mention elsewhere in the UK press - it fiercely berated the Prime Minister for blocking an EU plan to establish a centre to monitor racism and xenophobia throughout the Union. Claiming, among a host of accusations, that this exposed the 'hollowness' of Major's recent declaration against racism, the paper further suggested that the fact that this was an EU initiative had clouded his judgement.

Major's onslaught on the social chapter also provoked the *Guardian's* scorn. In its report (5 February) of the Prime Minister's speech of 4 February in Brussels, the paper reported that EU officials were 'baffled and amused' by his interpretation of the implications of the social chapter, which they described as 'rubbish'. Thus the paper painted a picture of Major, the national embarrassment, making his country look foolish in the international arena.

In contrast, the paper presented Labour politicians as reasonable and wise in their approach to the EU. Robin Cook's 'scathing counter offensive' against the 'threat to jobs and prosperity posed by hardline Tory Europhobia', reported on 6 February ('Cook calls on firms

to fight EU sceptics'), suggested that, while the Tories were irrational, their approach to Europe governed by stark xenophobia, Labour politicians, in contrast, were the very essence of reasonableness, viewing the EU on its merits. In the words of Robin Cook, Labour would judge such matters as the single currency solely on 'hard headed economic assessment'. So, although the EU was the issue, the focus of such stories was primarily domestic politics.

Thus there was much personal attack on leading Tories - and much of it in news stories where the reporting was sometimes far from 'straight' and even-handed. And while the likes of Niall Fitzgerald ('Ministers attack Unilever chief over EMU warning', 12 February) and Neil Kinnock ('Happy to take a back seat', 18 January) received tributes to match the attacks they suffered in other UK newspapers, others, like Sir James Goldsmith, did not escape so lightly. The paper even managed to insert a gibe at him in its headline of 17 January with 'Anti-EU party paper off to a 1960 scoop' in which it mocked Goldsmith's Referendum Party for its 'revelation' that the British public had been hoodwinked by the UK politicians leading the negotiations for entry to the then EEC all those decades ago, and that a 'federal' Europe had been the goal all along. The assault continued on 23 January in a story, 'James and a not so peachy poll', in which Goldsmith's attempts to 'nobble an opinion pollster to hide its minuscule level of support' were gleefully exposed.

The *Guardian's* emotional reporting of EU matters was also liberally peppered with words of conflict. For instance, headlines and lead paragraphs included fight, row, attack, threat, simmering conflict, showdown, bitter war, snub, onslaught and turmoil. And its lack of guest writers in the feature sections kept the debate about Europe and its assorted elements narrow. Nobody attempted to give the Tory view on anything. However, there was far less obsession about perceived power-snatching by Brussels, which was perhaps underlined by the fact that just two of its total of 43 EU news stories focused on EU regulations. This contrasted with nine in both the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Times*, and even then, both were small, and situated well down pages 7 and 13 of their respective editions ('Millionaire wheat and barley barons cash in on huge EU subsidies while small hill farmers are left in the cold', 6 February and 'Ministers fight to save fishery talks', 13 February). The subjects, too - relating to anomalies in the CAP and the protection of North Sea fish stocks - were reasonable and the reporting 'straight'. Also unusually in the British press, the *Guardian*

expressed an appreciation of the need for more concrete facts and figures about the issues surrounding the EU. For instance, in 'Should we join EMU? I don't know. Do you?' (31 January), the paper's former editor, Peter Preston, confessed his ignorance in a debate which was 'an obscurity wrapped in an evasion'. Perhaps triggered by this, the edition of 4 February carried a feature 'Chapter and worse: is it a threat to jobs?' in which the implications of the social chapter were analysed in detail, albeit in tongue-in-cheek mode. And on 10 February there was a double-page feature in which extracts of the book 'The Single Currency - Should Britain Join', written by four *Guardian* writers, were featured and different views expressed.

The Independent

Given its manifesto of political neutrality, *The Independent* made a virtue of its unbiased coverage. And although pro-European, it was, perhaps unsurprisingly, measured in its analysis. There was no passionate zeal for the principle of a united Europe, rather a logically-argued case for the inevitability of the UK being part of the EU, balanced with a realistic approach to the Union's shortcomings. For instance, the leader of 4 February - 'Cook finds the right recipe for Europe' - argued that a 'wait and see' policy in respect of EMU was the only sensible approach. The paper's sole burst of emotion - in the shape of mockery - was reserved for the Tories with their 'weeping lion' poster campaign suggesting 'a somewhat fairy-tale view of the future'. As the paper explained: 'the evil-eyed wicked witch of the west, otherwise known as Tony Blair, is forcing a single currency on his hard-pressed munchkins. But the tearful lion accompanied by a brainless scarecrow and a heartless tinman are going to bound off down the yellow-brick-road and home to safety, far away from those nasty Europhile lefties'. Thus, for *The Independent*, in common with other UK newspapers, one of the most newsworthy aspects of the EU was its role in the battle between the Conservative and Labour Parties. And it made the point again on 10 February in a leader about the social chapter ('The vital message beneath the Euro waffle') in which it claimed that the most important element was not so much what the social chapter itself contained, but more what the response of the major UK political parties to it revealed about their 'position on the vital questions of economic success and jobs creation'.

Despite its general pro-EU stance, the paper still viewed the Union with wariness, particularly in respect of EMU. There was, too, much emphasis given to its 'scoop' apparently unveiling secret plans, spearheaded by France and Germany, to create a single European system for tax and social security, which was the source of disquiet all round. This story ('Now Britain faces single European tax system'), labelled 'exclusive' and appearing as the front page lead on 16 January, was taken up internationally, and represented a major coup for the paper. In wringing every last drop out of its success, the paper ran a follow-up story ('EU confirms common tax plan') on the front page of its next day edition, in which the fact that *The Independent* had acquired this information as an 'exclusive' was as much the focus of the story as the story itself. This emphasis on trumpeting its journalistic triumphs was evident again on 21 January ('Europe urges Annan to reform the UK') when the fact that the paper had, uniquely, obtained a memorandum about the EU's suggestions on how the United Nations might be reformed, was apparently why a weak story was featured - across six columns at the top of page 8, complete with a picture of UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan. A further front page lead 'exclusive' on 3 February, similarly 'weak', revealed a further, vague, plan by the French and Germans to set up a 'stability council' which would 'make European economic policy, which would exclude Britain if it stays outside the single currency'. The story subsequently admitted to the nebulous nature of these plans, and even included a quote from the German Finance Minister, Theo Waigel, that 'a stability council would be an informal body with no decision-making power'.

As the most financially vulnerable of the British broadsheet titles, *The Independent* can perhaps be forgiven for seizing opportunities to underline its investigative credentials - its prowess as watchdog - to establish for itself a respectability and reputation that its youth and lack of passionate convictions deny it. Certainly there was a lack of strident language in its EU coverage and, with the exception, as already mentioned, of some scorn poured on the Tories, there were no personal attacks. Unexpected in a 'neutral' newspaper was, however, the inclusion of features by the vehemently Euro-sceptic MPs, John Redwood and Teddy Taylor: the former ('Jobless in Leipzig, taxed in Liverpool', 17 January), predictably issuing dire warnings about the inevitability of a European income tax accompanying a single currency; the latter ('Beware! VAT on food', 29 January) claiming that the EU would shortly

be taxing food. Also unexpected was the singling out of Lord Tebbit's contribution to the House of Lords' debate on Lord Pearson of Rannoch's Bill designed to curb EU influence over UK legislation. In 'Tebbit calls on Euro-sceptics to provoke crisis (1 February), the ferociously anti-EU politician was allowed free rein, in a news story, to attack a range of topics from loss of sovereignty, to Toyota and Helmut Kohl, without the restraining influence of quotes from others with less fervent views.

Nevertheless, *The Independent* did fulfil the role of 'informing' its readers about EU matters and 'explaining' the detail in complex matters in a relatively commendable way. Its story on 16 January - 'EU fleshes out how "flexibility" would work' - was one example, and its in-depth information about the EU on 22 January, coinciding with the 25th anniversary of UK membership, was another. It was also an effective watchdog.

Certainly *The Independent* was less biased politically than the other UK broadsheets. Often at odds with the Tory newspapers in its more positive approach to the EU, it nevertheless supported the Conservatives when it felt there was justification. For instance, unlike the *Guardian* - the contempt of which for John Major, over his response to the EU's Year against Racism initiative, was manifest - *The Independent*, reporting the same story, took a more balanced approach. Giving the British explanation for the refusal to support the setting up of a centre to monitor racism and xenophobia, it then outlined the record of other member states in their treatment of migrants, with the implication that the UK's record on this front was relatively praiseworthy.

Nevertheless, the politically neutral stance of *The Independent* made it difficult to predict how it would handle any given EU news event and, with no ready-made excuses for personal attacks, a blander style was inevitable. With no passionately held views, it had no reason for passionate reporting, no definite personality emerged, and there was thus little emotional engagement with readers.

Danish broadsheets

Jyllands-Posten

Of all the newspapers in this research project, *Jyllands-Posten* carried the most EU stories during the sample period - 79 - 43 of which appeared in the paper's business and finance section. Indeed, the interests of the paper's business readers - a significant proportion of its total audience - as well as the Jutland farming community, were well catered for, not just in the variety of topics covered, but most significantly in the depth of the information given. For instance, in detail not found in the UK newspapers, *Jyllands-Posten* carries a fortnightly feature in which lawyers discuss the implications of new or proposed EU directives and rulings. Although not a riveting read, these are informative and explanatory. A typical example, that of 20 January was headed 'Trade agencies demand commission', and also covered competition law, and programmes to help SMEs.

Similarly detailed accounts were given in news stories of other regulations. For instance, on 16 January in 'EU plans passports for animals', the paper told its readers how this would be done, the problems it might lead to and the reasons why it was necessary. Under 'New controls for foodstuffs' on the same day, full details were given about Jacques Santer's plans to set up a new controlling agency for foodstuffs in the wake of the BSE débâcle, how and why. Thus, practical reasons for EU regulations were covered, rather than the assumption made that every new move on that front was simply part of a plan to centralise power as an end in itself.

In furtherance of a watchdog role, *Jyllands-Posten* did criticise the EU, but not on ideological grounds, rather for concrete reasons, such as overweening bureaucracy. That was the topic of a story on 17 January which related the exasperation of Danish companies who see the application process for subsidies as a hopeless fight against bureaucracy and acres of paper. The paper also wanted the EU to take a more forceful role in international affairs and in promoting human rights (which will be discussed in Chapter 9) and took some pride in the role of the Danes in persuading the EU to point the finger of guilt at the Iranians for their treatment of the authors Salman Rushdie and Faraj Sarkooris ('EU putting religious

leadership in Iran under pressure', 5 February).

There was much pride in the tone of *Jyllands-Posten* in its reporting of the Danes' sense of responsibility about human rights, and in what it saw as the country's trail-blazing role in environmental protection. The story 'EU praises Danish environmental handbook' (3 February) made much of favourable response to this 'far-reaching initiative', while EU threats to stop the Danish ban on the use of tin cans focused on the comments of the Danish Environment Minister, Svend Auken, that the Commission would be better off pursuing those countries that break environmental legislation, rather than threatening those who are progressive on that front.

Nevertheless, the right of the EU to 'interfere' was rarely questioned by *Jyllands-Posten*, and the paper was the essence of Danish reasonableness. For instance, in the Danish equivalent of the UK's BA/AA alliance row - an overpayment of subsidy to Danish shipyards - the reasons for the 'misunderstanding' were analysed, but no resentment shown about the Union's intervention, nor about its rebuke to the Danes ('EU demands that shipyard subsidy is repaid', 14 January).

Of course, the Danish domestic political debate did influence the paper's coverage of EU matters. Discussion about the opt-outs filled many feature columns, and although the paper's own view was to remove them (clearly voiced in the leader of 22 January, 'The EU's two-stroke engine'), it still featured views that were contrary to this. For instance, in 'Opt-outs don't harm us' (14 February), Steen Gade, an MP from the Socialist People's Party, argued for their retention. Furthermore, the disagreements of politicians about the opt-outs were also the subject of various news stories, although, again, views were expressed, straight, with no indication that the debate was anything other than rational and polite. Indeed, *Jyllands-Posten* rarely became impassioned, even in its leader column. In 'Taboo-laden EU debate' (5 February) it did criticise the (Social Democrat) Prime Minister, Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, for his 'woolliness' over the opt-outs - which it saw as dampening down public debate on the subject - but there were no personal insults, and perhaps the most strident prose appeared in the leader of 22 January (mentioned above), which addressed the concept of 'flexibility', and in which the paper appeared unusually exasperated. Using familiar metaphors of transport,

it lamented that the Danes had been among 'the slow ships in the convoy' hindering the process of European integration. It was thus baffled by their reaction to the notion of 'flexibility'. 'For 25 years Denmark has done what it could to uncouple itself from co-operation,' the paper observed. 'Its fear over a Europe of co-operation has been neurotic. Now, just when it is seriously likely to be uncoupled, it complains'. The piece ended with the mild expletive, 'Herregud!'.

Thus, *Jyllands-Posten*'s general approval of the EU was made manifest in leaders, in a two-page feature marking the 25th anniversary of Danish accession to the Union (22 January) and also in 'positive' news stories. For instance, in 'Danish pigs on the WTO's table' (12 February) the EU was portrayed as the champion of Danish pig farmers for taking the Japanese to task for restricting imports of pigmeat. On the same day, the story 'EU agrees with Danish fishermen' featured Union support for the Danes in a row with Norwegian fishermen. And there was even a feature on 27 January ('It's to do with combined interests') in which Søren Dosenrode-Lynge, Jean Monet professor at Aalborg University, argued that, since the EU was created to secure peace in Europe and not to serve national interests, Danish policy within the EU should not be focused on a desire to increase Danish influence. Nationalist urges should be curbed for the international good, he argued.

Overall, *Jyllands-Posten*'s EU coverage revealed its conservative tone and style. There was much detailed information, particularly for the business and farming community, and Jutland's land border with Germany prompted more references to activities and relationships with that country than was to be found elsewhere in the (Copenhagen-based) Danish press. News stories were factual, and there was relatively little political bias. The emphasis was on thorough and worthy reporting, even if this meant that it was not necessarily lively and entertaining.

Berlingske Tidende

A less measured tone was, however, evident in *Berlingske Tidende*, specifically in its leader columns of which that of 25 January was a good example. Entitled 'Ridiculous EU measurement' the paper took the monthly Danish EC newspaper, *Europa*, to task for trying

to convince its readers that they had the wrong impression about the profligacy of EU bureaucracy, by conducting what the paper felt was a meaningless opinion poll. 'What could such an exercise be used for?', the paper asked. 'Nothing. Absolutely nothing.' And there were more hard hitting leaders in the shape of 'On a child's ticket in the EU' (4 February) and 'EU towards harmonisation' (11 February). In the first the paper pleaded for more discussion about the Danish EU opt-outs, commenting - again with the use of transport metaphors - that the Danes could not retain a 'child's ticket' if they wished to have a continued influence on 'the route of the EU train'. In the second, it commented, sarcastically, that the Social Democrats thought the Danes were 'so hopeless and ignorant' that they would be unable to cope with a referendum covering two matters - the revised Maastricht Treaty *and* one or more of the individual opt-outs. It thereby illustrated, in mildly haughty terms, its right-wing political stance

The subject of EU profligacy, and the unaccountability and size of its bureaucracy, were major campaigning issues for *Berlingske Tidende*. In addition to the 'Ridiculous EU measurement' leader, the matter came up in features such as 'Too expensive to seek EU funding' (11 February), in which it was alleged that European IT companies could spend as much preparing a bid for funds as they ultimately received in the subsidy itself. And it particularly emerged in news stories about the BSE affair (eg 'Fierce attack on EU Commission about mad cow disease', 15 January) in which the complaints of the EU Parliament against the EU Commission were detailed.

Thus, the paper took its watchdog role to heart. But, like *Jyllands-Posten*, it also pursued the bid to 'inform and explain' - most notably with its weekly focus on new EU initiatives and proposals that it felt might affect its readers. And these were certainly comprehensive. For instance, the edition of 18 January covered such matters as the BSE crisis, the settling of the shipyard subsidies affair, the EU proposal to impose VAT on USA telephone services, the EU Parliament's new President, and EU inflation rates, among others. The paper also went into detail to explain the intricacies of 'flexibility' in EU integration (eg in 'EU countries in group work, or on the way to a split', 20 January, 'Ritt B. hopes for a more flexible EU', 21 January, and 'Nyrup: No way round flexible EU', 7 February).

Overall, the interests of *Berlingske Tidende*'s large proportion of business readers were well represented, with much information about EMU, VAT, unfair competition and the failures of the single market. Although quick to criticise the EU when it felt justified, the paper was concerned not so much about the threat it posed to sovereignty as a general concept, or about safeguarding the Danes' power to make their own decisions. Rather, it focused on the practicalities of EU intervention, and whether or not specific regulations and initiatives would make economic sense. In short, *Berlingske Tidende* wanted to see the EU run more efficiently.

Danish domestic political disputes concerning EU issues also received wide coverage (with 10 major stories *Berlingske Tidende* had substantially more than any other Danish newspaper in this study) but the differing views were the focus of these, rather than simply the fact that there was a conflict. For instance, the opinions of all sides of the political debate on the opt-outs, the forthcoming referendum and the what might happen in the case of another No vote, as well as the perceived pros and cons of a 'flexible' Europe, were all aired

Like *Jyllands-Posten*, *Berlingske Tidende* was less inclined than the UK papers to bristle at EU interventions - a point illustrated by the story of 21 January ('EU free TV choice') relating how the authorities in Gentofte (on the outskirts of Copenhagen) had found themselves in breach of EU regulations with a ruling forbidding tenants to erect satellite dishes. That it was the Gentofte authorities who needed to think again - and not the EU - was unquestioned.

Also in common with *Jyllands-Posten*, *Berlingske Tidende* gave detailed analyses of EU issues that might impinge on its readers, and also showed a slight concentration on its 'local' Copenhagen audience (eg the Gentofte story). But it was more strident, and more obviously politically biased. The sarcasm in some of its leaders could perhaps denote a degree of arrogance although, again, there was little personal attack.

Politiken

Perhaps the most critical Danish newspaper in this study was *Politiken* - although it appeared

as ready to point to the failings of the Danes themselves in their relationship with the EU as to the shortcomings of the Union itself. Indeed, the nature of the relationship between Denmark and the Union was a major EU news focus for the paper, featuring in 16 news stories. The way the EU related to non-member countries was also a prime source of interest, accounting for a further 10 of the total.

In terms of criticism, in a leader of 4 February - 'Dumping'- about EU co-operation on refugees, the paper accused the Danes of being 'among the most inhumane and irresponsible countries in Northern Europe when it comes to willingness to received asylum-seekers'. It was equally hard hitting on 10 February with 'Chairmanship - what's the point of it, Niels Helveg?' in which it listed past European chairmanships of which the Danes had failed to take advantage, expressing the hope that current and future ones would be more fruitful. Similarly, in a series of stories with such direct headlines as 'Denmark threatened with isolation' (7 February) and 'Denmark on the way to EU defeat' (22 January), the critical comments of other EU member states towards the Danish stance in respect of, for instance, flexibility, were covered. And in 'EU demands for stricter Danish Nazi laws' (30 January) the growing Danish problem with fascists - and the consequent concern of other countries - was acknowledged.

More than other Danish newspapers, *Politiken* was concerned about fairness in the EU. The story about the election to the EU Presidency of José Maria Gil-Robles ('EU election decided in advance', 14 January) inspired some unusually emotional reporting, particularly in the description of the credentials of the beaten contender, Catherine Lalumière. The injustice of the voting system and her 'great bitterness' were detailed in depth. In 'The ways of power are secret' (17 January), *Politiken* highlighted the lack of transparency in the workings of the EU and there was also concern about the diminishing power of the Danes. In both 'Denmark holds on to its power in the EU' (15 January) and 'The big take the initiative in the EU' (31 January), *Politiken's* fear that Denmark might end up under the control of larger member states was evident - although it also feared the consequences of another referendum No vote. Fraught with threats though the EU was, *Politiken* obviously did not wish its readers to 'risk' another No vote, which it clearly felt its readers would not 'get away with again'. The strength of the paper's concern about this was evident in the bluntly-worded

headline - 'No to EU Treaty will be the same as withdrawal'. This appeared as the front-page lead story on 22 January and reported the wide political consensus that the Danes would have to leave the EU if they produced another referendum No vote.

Although anxious about the growing EU power over Denmark, *Politiken* clearly favoured a more forceful EU in the international arena, and was critical when it felt the Union was shirking its international human rights obligations (eg 'EU turns a blind eye to injustice', 4 February). These elements will be discussed more fully in Chapter 10.

Certainly more strident than its Danish counterparts in its use of language, *Politiken* regularly used words of conflict. Opt-outs were the cause of 'strife' (13 February), the EU and ASEAN were going to 'cross swords' over Burma (13 February), and, with Hiroshi Okuda's comments on the UK and EMU, Toyota had 'thrown a bomb into the British election campaign' ('John Major shaken by Japanese EU enthusiasm', 31 January) Indeed, conflict sparked many reports.

The paper was also more inclined than were other Danish broadsheets, to concentrate on conflict as a news point, and to dish out uncompromising criticism. Even so, it, too, gave an airing to many sides of the EU debate with 17 features, most of them written not by journalists, but by a variety of politicians and other interested parties. While it tended not to include as much of the minutiae of EU regulations and proposals as its rivals, it did offer the weekly 'Europe in a Nutshell' column in which such aspects as the dispute over the control and nature of the proposed European Central Bank and the EU's tussle with the USA over the former's refusal to cease trading with Cuba, were covered. Although, again, the watchdog role did not extend to overtly personal attacks, the paper was ready to criticise a range of 'sinners' - the EU itself, the Danes, the Americans, and a selection of other European member states. And it was more 'caring' in its concern about human rights, and what it saw as the moral responsibility of the Union. In keeping with the inclinations of its readership, many of whom are in the 'caring' professions, *Politiken* placed less emphasis on business matters and the economic pros and cons of EU regulations, and more on relationships between countries and what it perceived as ethical obligations. It was certainly more emotional in its reporting, and its 'liberal' inclinations were evident in both leader

columns, and in the choice and handling of news stories.

Information

As a newspaper aimed at an intellectual readership, *Information* was even more painstaking than the other Danish broadsheets in the detail it provided in its news stories. Relatively small, it consequently had fewer EU stories - just 32. Even so, 13 of those were on the front page (five of them the lead) and there were, in addition, 17 features including two leader columns.

Rational, well argued, and relatively unemotional, leader columns focused on the power vested in the European Parliament (eg 'Madness and eurocrats', 27 January) and on the Swedish approach to EMU ('Wait and see...perhaps', 31 January). Although important, neither of those topics was likely to inspire passion among the paper's readers.

In keeping with the paper's objective to inform readers fully about events in Denmark and abroad (outlined in its mission statement), there was also much focus on international affairs with, for instance, a detailed analysis of the relationship between France and Germany ('They were such good friends...', 29 January) and discussion about the implications to the rest of Europe of the Germans' unemployment problem ('German unemployment as a bogey', 13 February). This interest in the international context was also reflected in news stories such as 'Major seeks a European middle-way' (14 January) and 'British take a tough line towards the EU' (5 February) which contained a full - but comment-free - outline of the strife the EU was causing within British politics.

There was, too, hard headed realism in *Information* about the Danes' true position in Europe. For instance, in 'Denmark's EU dilemma' (17 January), the journalist, Ole Vigant Ryborg (one of the interviewees in this project), presented the cold facts. The Folketing might not like the EU assuming responsibility for taking negotiations about Danish interests to the World Trade Organisation, but it was unlikely that anyone would listen to Denmark speaking alone, he argued.

The paper also exhibited a conscience on behalf of the Danes in such features as 'Denmark is part of the EU hypocrisy' (17 January), written by Jesper Knudsen, Communications Chief for the overseas organisation, Ibis. In this hard-hitting piece, the EU's fine words about helping poor African countries were revealed as hypocritical, given the Union's unwillingness to import their rice and sugar.

Again in common with other Danish broadsheets, *Information's* features were contributed by a wide range of people from public life. But, unlike the others, *Information's* own leader columns took no set line, in keeping with the paper's philosophy of allowing individual writers to use it to voice their own opinions. Thus, during the sample period, there was no discernible *Information* approach to the EU, other than a determination that all opinions should be voiced, provided that they were well-argued. Nevertheless, the paper acknowledged an obligation to act as watchdog. This was especially true in respect of the EU's - and, by extension, the Danes' - responsibilities in terms of the Third World. There was also vigilance in respect of what the paper perceived as a lack of openness and honesty within the EU's institutions. This was particularly evident during wide coverage of the BSE affair - and the crisis in the European Commission that this was causing - which was the subject of six stories, four of which appeared on the front page, one as lead

However, views were generally kept out of news stories, which were often long and detailed. For instance, the EU controversy surrounding the acceptability of genetically modified food - a matter largely absent from the UK press - was covered in minute and often technical detail. There was, for example, 'Auken does not want to ban genetically modified maize' (18 January), with some 25 column inches, and 'EU looks after consumers' (28 January) with a further 20 inches. And, again, the concept of flexibility in terms of European integration was thoroughly explained in both 'EU veto under new pressure' (17 January) and 'Nyrup: Yes to EU of two speeds' (7 February).

In general, *Information's* style was unemotional and detached. It did cover EU matters as a cause of dispute within the Danish political establishment, but in only two major stories - namely 'Social Democrat Party tussle over boundaries for EU debate' (31 January) and 'Social Democrat chiefs fall out over opt-outs' (3 February). There were no personal

attacks.

Although the language contained some words of conflict - namely 'tussle' and 'fight' - these were few and the emphasis was on presenting the facts in often complex (albeit, well-written) detail. Aimed at the well-educated Dane, *Information* was serious throughout in tone, and clearly not aiming to be entertaining. It contained no trivia.

Comparison of broadsheets

The individual analyses above show that each broadsheet newspaper in this study had its own style and stance in keeping with the elements identified in Chapter 3. There were also some clear national differences between the Danish and UK broadsheets.

First and foremost, they differed in pursuing a perceived role in respect of the EU. If the need to 'inform and explain' is important, the Danish newspapers easily outshone their British counterparts. For, whereas the British papers chose facts and angles to suit a pre-determined view of the EU, omitting details that were at odds with this, the Danish newspapers tended to give readers a much richer background. This is supported by the findings of the Eurobarometer 46 survey (published in May 1997), which indicated that the Danes came top of the list among EU member states when asked about whether or not they felt well informed about the single currency (p36). Some 40 per cent felt this was the case, as opposed to just 23 per cent of British respondents. Similarly, in terms of the EU in general, 44 per cent of Danes felt that they were well-informed (only Luxembourg scored more highly), compared with 29 per cent of the British, who were in eighth place (p48).

The Danish broadsheets also showed much more determination to give a say - in features - to the wide spectrum of opinion within the country, even when this was at odds with the newspaper's own 'line'. This will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter 12.

The traditionally fiery relationship between the British press and politicians was evident in the personal attacks on individual politicians and the stridency with which the UK newspapers showed their disapproval for policies with which they did not agree. This, too, was missing

from the Danish press, which, similarly, was far more measured in its use of language and less dramatic in its choice of headlines. For the British newspapers, the conflict the EU caused between politicians was more of a focus than the issues themselves and there was little attempt to place Britain in the European context. In contrast, there was less of a 'them and us' attitude in the Danish broadsheets, which tended to pay attention not just to making sure its readers knew about - and were thus able to take advantage of - EU regulations and proposals in a positive way, but also felt able to report instances where the EU had proved an asset to the country.

The denials of the individual journalist interviewees that they were influenced by the commercial interests of their newspapers were borne out across the board in the broadsheet newspapers of both countries. But that was one of the few areas of 'commonality'. Further differences were evident in the greater 'tabloidisation' of the UK broadsheets which tended, more than their Danish counterparts, to aim to entertain readers. The emphasis on the rows and the trading of insults between politicians were examples of this, as was the absence of 'heavy' background detail about Union issues. The influence of proprietors - for instance, Rupert Murdoch and his 'Thatcherite' leanings, and Conrad Black and his support for the Tory party, and the distaste of both for greater European integration - was also lacking from the Danish press.

In short, while Danish reporting in both the tabloids and the broadsheets was generally rational and realistic, British accounts, particularly in the right-wing press, were governed by an emotional response to the EU which presented it primarily as a organisation set on demolishing British sovereignty. Indeed, the overall response of much of the British newspaper press in general, can be summed up by the words of Josep R Llobera (p77):

As with the presence of aliens, the process of European Union generates a real fear of losing territory, personality and the power to control one's own affairs;...there arises a crisis of identity which expresses itself in a reactive nationalism, often accompanied by chauvinistic and jingoistic manifestations.

End Notes

1. In a story in the 2 May, 1997, edition of the *Press Gazette*, headed "Papers better off opposing government" Jean Morgan reports an analysis by Jim Chisholm of The Chisholm Business that sales of papers rise when they are at odds with the government of the time.
2. The inaccuracy of the *Sun's* emotive reporting here was highlighted in 'Press Watch' Number Two, February 1997, published by the European Commission, in which it was pointed out that there is no evidence at all to suggest that signing up to the social chapter leads to unemployment. The publication cited five EU member states - including Denmark - who have signed up, all of which have lower unemployment rates than the UK.
3. These included 'You daft bastards', 'Delors will have more statues than Churchill' and 'Must we foot the bill for a Neil Kinnock in stone' on 31 January, as well as 'Delors dream busted' on 1 February.
4. Margaret (later Lady) Thatcher became Prime Minister in 1979.

Chapter 5

The political background and structure of the UK and Denmark, and the historical and current relationship of each with the EU

Historical background

Although the UK and Denmark both joined the then EEC in 1973, the reasons why each chose this date differ, and are significant to this research.

Although there had been support in the UK for a 'European family' in the wake of WW2 - primarily to nurture peace in Europe - it was not initially envisaged that this would include the UK. In 1946, the former Tory Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, had even provided some of the inspiration behind the formation of a European union, specifically as a means of bringing France and Germany together (Pilkington, p8, Hill, p11) The notion at that stage was, however, that the UK would be a promoter rather than an active participant (Borchardt, p9).

Consequently, Britain was not party to the early treaties that laid the foundations for the present EU (Budd and Jones, p22, *et al*), concentrating instead on close links with Commonwealth countries, and also with the USA with whom, it was claimed, a 'special relationship' pertained. Formal, commercial, links with other European countries were limited to membership of the much looser European Free Trade Association (EFTA) in which Britain co-operated with the Scandinavian countries, as well as with Austria, Portugal and Switzerland (Luff, p46). There were, too, formal defence links, via NATO and the Western European Union (which will be discussed in Chapter 9)

When, in the early 1960s, the UK realised that the Common Market had given an economic boost to its participants, and consequently wished to join, it met with resistance particularly from France. This was chiefly in the form of vetoes in 1963 and 1967 by the French President, General de Gaulle, who feared that Britain would be too powerful a partner for

him to control. He also mistrusted the Americans, and felt that the UK was 'a mere pawn in the USA's plan to gain control of European affairs' (Pilkington, p25).

After de Gaulle resigned in 1969, his successor, Georges Pompidou, proved more amenable, and following negotiations with the Tory Prime Minister, Edward Heath, and his chosen negotiator, Geoffrey Rippon, Britain finally joined in 1973 along with Denmark and Ireland. In 1974, under a Labour Government led by Harold Wilson, the UK negotiated new terms with its EU partners which were put to a referendum in 1975, at which, out of a low turn-out of just 64 per cent of those entitled to take part, 66 per cent voted in favour of Britain staying in the Community (Norton, p93; Hill, 4p; Pilkington, p30, *et al*).

Since then, the relationship between Britain and her European partners has remained uneasy (Nicholls in Bulmer, p6) not least because British Prime Ministers since 1975 - specifically Wilson, James Callaghan and Margaret Thatcher - have adopted an often aggressive stance. Thatcher, in particular, was often adversarial in her approach to Europe, fostering a 'them and us' attitude to the then EC, in which Britain was perceived as needing to fight constantly to achieve justice in the face of foreigners who were out to fleece it. Although less aggressive a personality, John Major also developed a confrontational style in his dealings with Europe and, as the sample period illustrates, regularly clashed with politicians from both the EU bureaucracy itself and from its individual member states.

From this brief overview of Britain's historic relationship to the EU, a number of elements emerge that explain difficulties and opinions that are current. For instance, according to Budd and Jones, the problems the UK has experienced with the EU stem primarily from the very fundamental fact that it joined 'too late, at the wrong time, and not on our terms' (p27). They write:

Had we been in from the beginning, the Community would assuredly have been a more acceptable place for the UK. Its common resources would be less massively devoted to agricultural support, and thus in better shape to face the very different problems of today. Our civil servants, businessmen, industrialists, representative bodies and the City (not to mention the media) would have integrated gradually into the system and helped to form it.

Continuing this theme, A.J.Nicholls argues (in Bulmer, p5) that the fact that Britain, initially at least, did not feel the need to be part of a European grouping, has left a lingering sense of detachment. That it felt its affinities lay more with countries further afield - in the Commonwealth and across the Atlantic - meant that there was no spur to the development of a 'cosy relationship' between London and Bonn, or London and Paris, such as flourished between Bonn and Paris. Britain has thus been unable to forge the kind of leading role in Europe that it would have liked. There is, too, evidence that suspicion of both the French and the Germans lingers, at least among the more right-wing politicians in the Tory party - and from whom, as will be seen, many of the country's newspapers take their cue. Lady Thatcher, for instance, writing in Hill (p17), sees Germany's power as 'a problem' and fears an EU dominated by the Germans unless a 'looser' Europe can be retained in which 'individual states retain their freedom of action' (p20). The French, she maintains, have failed in their efforts to contain German power.

Michael Franklin agrees that 'the pull of the Atlantic connection' (p8) has been a major reason for Britain's traditionally uneasy relationship with the rest of the EC, and that its 'instinctive support for the American line' still overrides pressures for the UK to form a united front with its European partners. This remoteness is further enhanced by Britain's geographical position as an island on the outskirts of mainland Europe.

In addition, the confrontational style UK politicians have adopted in interactions with European partners has regularly won the UK a reputation as 'odd man out' - among the most awkward of EU members - which is often inappropriate given that Britain otherwise has a reputation of being among the most diligent countries when it comes to the implementation, and even the formulation, of EU decisions (Franklin, p12). This British aggression thus frequently baffles and exasperates other Europeans leading to the kind of heated exchange so beloved of the newspaper press.

That Denmark sought EEC membership at the same times during the 1960s and early 1970s as did the UK, is not surprising. The UK was, at that stage, Denmark's biggest export market without which it would have been in dire straits. So, although after vetoing the combined entry application of the UK and Denmark in 1963 de Gaulle invited the Danes to

go ahead with membership independently, they chose instead to show 'solidarity with Britain and EFTA' (Miljan, p176). The Danish negotiating position was, however, so closely linked to simultaneous membership of both Denmark and the UK that it is unlikely that a separate deal could have been struck in time to take advantage of de Gaulle's offer, without major political upheavals in Denmark. In short, the Danes, whose food production was enough at the time to feed three times its population (Borchert, p17), badly needed to maintain its links with the UK even though it could see advantages in the free trade opportunities Community membership offered.

Then, as now, EEC membership was undoubtedly a good economic prospect for the Danes. What they felt about the emotional, constitutional and political implications of linking with Europe was, and is, more complex. Yet, in many ways, those implications can be said to be irrelevant. As a small country, Denmark has always been at the whim of larger countries in many ways, so, when the UK began to consider EEC membership, the Danes were faced with 'a necessity of choice' (Miljan p78). Certainly they were concerned about 'the viability of the Danish way of life' (ibid. p156) in the context of the EEC, but they felt no real option in the matter. The realism of the Danish situation, expressed by Eric Scavenius, Danish Foreign Minister 1913-20 and 1940-43, could be said to pertain today as much as it did in the early half of this century. He wrote in 1948 (quoted in Miljan, p159):

It is a widely held view in this country that the foreign policy of Denmark is determined by the Danish Government and Parliament. This, however, is correct only insofar as the formal decisions through which this policy is given expression appear as decisions of these organs. In reality, Danish foreign policy is determined by factors on which the Danish Government has little influence. The main task of Danish foreign policy, therefore, is to keep informed about these factors and their interplay and in this connection to form an opinion of the right moment to exploit the prevailing situation to further Denmark's interests. Decisive among the factors whose interplay determines Danish foreign policy are the actual power relations in the world around us, especially the power balance between the Great Powers next to us.

As Miljan sums it up (p279), 'Denmark did not become a member of the EEC for idealistic or political reasons but because pragmatic economic considerations left no alternative'.

That said, there was an acknowledgement in Denmark of the EEC's role in promoting the stability of Europe (Miljan, p4) by containing Germany, and of providing a united front

against what was, in 1972, seen as the potential threat of domination by the USSR. It was also seen by some as a means of loosening the perceived grip and influence of the USA on a number of aspects of Danish life². Indeed, relationships of the Danes with other countries are, as Scavenius suggested, fundamental to both their actions, and their national personality, and are an area in which contrasts with the UK particularly affect news reporting. The implications of the Danish perception of the USA will be discussed in more depth in Chapters 7 and 9, and there are other major influences. The Danes' relationship with the Germans, for instance, is of fundamental significance, and has to be understood in the context of events particularly during the past two centuries. As Østergård relates (in Lyck, p171):

The political catastrophes of the nineteenth century reduced the multinational absolutist monarchy of the late eighteenth century to a tiny nation state. So small was its size that many in the dominating elite wondered whether it would be able to survive as neighbour to the recently united, aggressively dominant, self-confident Germany.

The loss of Danish land in the last century to what is now Germany thus left the Danes with a lingering suspicion of the Germans, and a determination to resist their cultural influence (Turner, p255). These feelings were much exacerbated during the last war, when Denmark came under German occupation, and remained strong after. And although the Danes understood the reasoning behind the formation of EU's forerunner in the early post war years - as a means of containing Germany - they still worried that any European organisation would automatically be dominated by the Germans (Miljan, p168). So, although Germany is now Denmark's largest export market (Jensen, p37), and is acknowledged as vital to the Danes (Johansen, p56), mixed emotions remain about this 'big brother' (*Ekstra Bladet*, 5 April, 1993, p2), with whom the Danes share a land border. Indeed, in the Danish newspaper coverage of the debate following the 1992 referendum, in which the Danes voted against ratification of the original Maastricht Treaty, this fear of, but dependence on, the Germans was openly acknowledged³. As the texts in the sample period of this research show, this ambivalent attitude persists.

Also of significance - in the early debate about the EEC, and since - is Denmark's relationship with the other Nordic countries. For this, too, affects the Danish view of the Union and is evident in press reporting.

Closely related geographically, culturally and, with the exception of Finnish, linguistically, the Nordic countries have interlinking histories stretching back for many centuries. Although the relationships have often been troubled, and wars frequent, the Scandinavian countries of Norway, Sweden and Denmark in particular have formed unions of varying kinds and in varying degrees of depth (Seidenfaden, p68; Helgadóttir in *The European*, 30 January, 1997, p5). The notion of Nordic or Scandinavian unity has been a recurring theme (Grönholm, p12; Schiller, p238; Sogner, p307; Holmberg, p171), resulting, in, for instance, the founding in 1953 of the Nordic Council - 'a useful forum for discussions between legislators and governments' (Fitzmaurice, p24). Other areas of particular co-operation include open labour markets between the Nordic countries, and Scandinavians need no passports to travel throughout the region⁴.

For the Danes, the entry of the Swedes to the EU has provided an important ally in the Union camp and its actions are watched - and reported on - in depth. It has at least partially allayed fears about isolation from the Nordic community, which many Danes had felt (Pedersen, p194; Wallace p115), and has presented the opportunity for the two countries to unite in promoting a European blueprint for such matters as social welfare and the environment, in which they both consider themselves to be ahead of the field (Debra Johnson in Miles, p200; *BT*, 19 April, 1993, p10). The relationship with the EU outsider, Norway, is also a regular source of news, and the inevitable jealousies and minor spats between close neighbours of long-standing is, as will be seen, an element of this.

Denmark's geographical position also makes its relationship with Eastern Europe and the Baltic States important. The former, in particular, has been the focus of Danish newspaper interest for some years. For instance, debate was particularly strong in 1993 - the period between the original No vote to the Maastricht Treaty, and the second Yes vote after opt-outs had been secured (p103) - when the Danish newspapers were regularly berating heel-draggers in the EU who were failing to support the Central and Eastern European countries' attempts to join the Union. The message was that these EU members were putting short-term self-interest above long-term international benefit⁵.

The reasons why Denmark has been particularly anxious to see the fledgling democracies of

Central and Eastern Europe welcomed into the EU fold have been both concrete and idealistic. In terms of the former, as will be seen from newspaper stories in the sample period, the Danes anticipate increased trading opportunities which will boost Danish wealth. Furthermore, as eager environmentalists, they also see membership of these countries as an indirect means of controlling pollution in that part of the world⁶. As Hilary French maintains (p28):

Because of its location, a significant share of Eastern air and water pollution winds up in Western Europe. Indeed, investing in pollution control in East European countries is a cost-effective way for West European nations to help clean up at home.

There is, too, the question of immigration control. Since the disintegration of the former Soviet Union, Germany has been struggling to accommodate a stream of immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe, and Denmark - attractive as a relatively wealthy nation with generous welfare provisions⁷ - has long feared a flood across its own borders. In its Country Report on Denmark of 1993, The Economist Intelligence Unit reports the results of a poll, carried out by the Greens, in which 62 per cent of Danes said they considered the number of refugees in Denmark, even at that stage, to be a problem, and that they would like a stricter immigration policy. Their anxieties are easy to understand - there is, for instance, no distance at all between the Polish/German border and that dividing Germany from Jutland. In general, therefore, the Danes are in agreement with George Brock's argument in *The Times* of 16 April, 1993, that the choice facing the EU is short-term sacrifices - to open up markets to Eastern Europe and face a reduction in the performance of domestic markets - or long-term problems on its Eastern borders' as the heading sums it up 'Europe's Eastern dilemma: imports or immigrants?'.

On a more idealistic level, the Danes are more anxious than are the British to see stability imposed upon the Central and Eastern European countries as a means of safeguarding peace in the region⁸. Much has been written about the necessity for Western Europe to help its Eastern neighbours, not just as a humanitarian act to reduce poverty in this region as they limp from planned to market economies, but also to eliminate the risk of creating nations of hungry, alienated people who might resort to aggression against rich neighbours who have abandoned them (Kramer, p12; Adelman and Vujovic, p5; Jochimsen, p103, Ekiert, p285,

Mayer, p101).

Thus, Denmark's proximity to these nations, and the vulnerability it feels because of its small size and high living standards, make the relationship between the EU and Eastern Europe one of particular - and positive - focus. An especially close relationship with the Baltic States - specifically Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania - for whom Denmark would like to be a particular champion (Barnes, 1996, p3) - also has its roots in geography and history (Fried, p30). The break-away of these states from Russia, which took place between 1990 and 1992, was achieved with the support of the then Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, and political, cultural and commercial links have since flourished.

Differences between the UK and Denmark in terms of size, geography, history and *per capita* wealth, are, consequently, significant in respect of the attitude of each towards the EU, which is reflected in newspaper reporting. For instance, Britain chose to join the EU, whereas Denmark felt it had no option on account of its smallness and economic dependence on the UK. And, in terms of the Danish national personality, this is significant; the Danes do not expect to take a leading international role in the same way as the British do, feel proud when their activities are praised in the international arena, but can also exhibit a degree of remote superiority on account of their relative wealth and the sophistication of their society. In defining what he dubs 'the Danish sickness' Silberbrandt describes the Danish national identity swinging between 'a feeling of inferiority and an instinctive wonder, suspicion and condescension towards that which is foreign. A mixture of insecurity, easy-going self-sufficiency and an unfounded sense of superior worth' (p61). Østergård (in Lyck, p170) is equally frank about what he terms the Danish national, paradoxical, characteristic of 'humble assertiveness'. As he says: 'We know we are the best, therefore we don't have to brag about it. So never mistake the apparent Danish or Scandinavian humbleness for real humbleness. It often conceals a feeling of superiority.'

British arrogance and a sense of superiority - at least as far as the EU is concerned - does not tend to be tempered by any real or pretend 'humility', as the press reporting in the previous Chapter has shown.

Furthermore, although both countries are suspicious of Germany (Boris Johnson, 1994; Woollacott, 1992; Silberbrandt, p68), the Danes are more fearful of that country than are the British, who tend more to be resentful about the Franco-German alliance that appears to drive the EU, frequently consigning the UK to the sidelines. The fact that the UK was not dominated by Germany in the last war - and in fact saw itself, along with the USA, as its victor - has also left its mark.

Similarly, Denmark's links with Nordic neighbours, and the greater proximity of the Baltic States and Central and Eastern Europe, have had an impact. As Fitzmaurice points out (p165), Denmark is a small nation at the crossroads of Europe - between East and West, North and South - and thus, as will be discussed in Chapter 9, has a particular strategic importance in international defence terms. In contrast, the UK's more remote, entirely insular, location, and its particular links with the USA and the Commonwealth, play an ongoing role in its sense of detachment from mainland Europe in general, and the EU in particular.

The national political backgrounds and public opinion about the EU

The British political parties have vacillated in their approach to Europe (Norton p93) The EU and its forerunners have, furthermore, regularly been a source of domestic political strife, between and within both the major parties This was particularly the case during the sample period of this research - just before the May 1997 General Election - in which Europe had become a central issue. The Tory Party was riven between ferociously Euro-sceptic MPs, including John Redwood, Bill Cash and Sir Teddy Taylor - to mention just a few who were quoted during this period - and the pro-Europeans, such as Kenneth Clarke This split in the Party - described by Steve Richards in the *New Statesman* as a civil war (11 October, 1996, p8) - was a prime source of concern for John Major, who was trying to present the electorate with a united Conservative policy on the EU in the run up to the election Clearly believing that the sceptics formed a majority - or at least would make an embarrassing public show of undisciplined disapproval at any suggestion of greater European integration - Major was, during his dealings with other Europeans during the period, apparently directing his words and deeds more towards the home market, than abroad. Even more than usual his approach

to Europe was strident. Inevitably, however, this stridency was causing qualms among the pro-Europeans although, as this study will show, there is no doubt that the sceptics had more of a say in the UK press as a whole during the sample period.

As for the Labour Party, it was, during the sample period, revealing a more pro-European stance. Shadow Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, had, for instance, spoken of the possibility that the UK might join Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) in the early part of the next century, words that were seized upon for scaremongering purposes by the Tories in their 'New Labour, New Danger' campaign. The Conservative message was that Tony Blair would sell out to the Europeans, turning the UK into a puppet of Brussels bureaucrats. He was nothing but a 'Monsieur Oui'⁹.

According to Franklin (p15), the shift of stance towards the EU has been particularly marked among members of the left-wing of the Labour Party. Although traditionally hostile to the Union, they have, for instance, come to see benefits from joining forces with trades unions and other employee bodies in other member states. This is particularly in respect of the adoption within the UK of EU employment regulations. At the time of the sample period, the social chapter, for instance, to which the UK had not at the time signed up, was seen as desirable; and although the Labour Party as a whole retained reservations about the degree and speed of further integration, it was committed to a more positive attitude towards Europe¹⁰.

The question of sovereignty, too, is fundamental to the British approach to the EU, although some analysts, such as Michael Franklin (p9), see this as a 'misunderstood obsession' (p9). As he argues (p10):

No attempt to differentiate the question of sovereignty from that of national or cultural identity has so far been successful in dispelling the myth that a further pooling of sovereignty in the EC will mean the suppression of the British way of life with all its distinctiveness....The reason for this apparent perversity is largely to be found in the identification of sovereignty with the peculiarly British institution of an all-powerful national parliament, subject, for all practical purposes, to no constitutional limitations and able to delegate powers to lower levels of government or not as it thinks fit.

Any loss of power from Westminster - real or imagined - is thus seen as a loss of national power. Furthermore, with Westminster MPs the ones most directly affected by this apparent haemorrhage of authority, they are likely to be those most inclined to resist the transference of 'their' responsibilities to EU institutions, regardless of whether or not the process affects the national electorate in any real way. As this research shows, whenever possible, they will use the press to support their cause. As Franklin continues, Britain's unique political culture makes it particularly unused to the kind of power-sharing advocated by membership of the EU - and its politicians are therefore hostile to it. This sets the UK apart from other European countries, including Denmark, where political systems are more consensual and the notion of power-sharing consequently more familiar.

With the exception of the referendum in 1975, the British have had no formal opportunities to indicate their views on the nature of the country's relationship with Europe. This is a matter that regularly causes disagreement among British politicians, as was seen in the sample period. What evidence there is of British views comes mainly in the form of polls, such as the Eurobarometer public opinion survey (discussed on p25), and that commissioned by *The Financial Times* and reported on 12 February, 1997 (p7). This latter poll suggested that the majority of British voters saw Europe as 'a major problem', and around two-thirds of interviewees 'were in a state of anguish about the subject'. As the General Election approached, they wanted 'a clear line' on EU policy from the major political parties - something they felt had been lacking. Overall, respondents had a negative view of the Union, reflecting the mood of an earlier NOP poll commissioned by *The Sunday Times*, and reported on 17 March, 1996, p7. That poll claimed that, while 30 per cent of the 1,500 interviewees thought that EC membership had been 'good for Britain', 37 per cent reckoned it had been 'bad for Britain but good for Europe' and 13 per cent felt it had been 'bad for both'.

Yet although the notion of the EU as a political union causes passions to run high in the UK, its role as a single market - ie as a solely economic entity - is much favoured by the UK business community who have already benefited from enhanced trading conditions. This will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Even so, although the economic reasons for the UK to be in the EU are so strong, there is, according to Pilkington, a 'minority, but growing, viewpoint that dares to advocate withdrawal' (p242). This was also reflected in the newspaper press during the sample period. However, most analysts feel that the realistic arguments now are not focused on whether or not the UK should be a member, but rather on the nature and extent of that membership (for instance, Pilkington, p2). There are, too, those who feel that considerably more could be gleaned from the relationship by a change of attitude. As Franklin writes (p116):

...we could make a policy shift, as the Danes have done, from being dragged along kicking and screaming in the wake of the majority to a recognition that the national interest may best be served by working with the grain and playing the game the Community way.

Although Danish politics and politicians have not traditionally exhibited the same vehemence and overt passion as their British equivalents (discussed on p106), they do, of course, have disagreements and strife. Party views and stances on the EU have also fluctuated (Henning Bregnsbo in Lyck, p56; Steen Sauerberg in Lyck, p66; Worre, 1988, p367, *et al*). The Social Democrats and Radical Liberals, in particular, have suffered internal struggles over the nature of the Danes' relationship with Europe - although both now 'seem to be close to the end of the road as far as directly negative, or at the very least very sceptical, attitudes towards the EC are concerned' (Sauerberg in Lyck, p66). During the sample period at least, internal disagreements were also evident in the left-wing Socialist People's Party. The staunchest anti Europeans are to be found in the right-wing Danish People's Party, as well as in a new party specifically related to the EU - the June Movement (Junibevægelsen) - which was formed after the Danish No vote in the referendum of 2 June 1992 (hence its name).

However, although most of the major parties are currently pro-EU - at least in general - this is at odds with a Danish population of whom at least half are more inclined towards scepticism. Indeed, some analysts (for example, von Dosenrode in Hanf and Soetendorp, p62) maintain that many Danish politicians are obliged to tread more cautiously than they would like in their support for EU measures so as not to alienate those who voted them into

power. Henrik Nielsen, international director of the June Movement (in Hill, p112) agrees. As he puts it, in Denmark in particular, 'the Eurocrats' desire for power conflicts with the ordinary citizen's wish to control his own destiny...there is a broad tendency for our politicians not to be in harmony with their people's wishes'.

Inevitably, there are still disagreements among Danish politicians about the precise elements of the Danes' relationship with the EU. Even so, the nature of the Danish political structure - which differs fundamentally from its UK counterpart - affects the way this disagreement is expressed, handled, and subsequently reported in the press. For instance, proportional representation, introduced in Denmark in 1915 (Fitzmaurice, p162), reflects a Danish view of democracy in which the individual is closely involved in all decision-making. Unlike the British system, where voters choose a representative who subsequently makes most decisions on their behalf, the Danish electorate expects openness and constant accountability, debate and decision-making by committee that spreads power more evenly, and allows more opportunity for the population to direct their governance on a day-to-day basis (Silberbrandt, p102). Thus, the more unilateral decision-making process in the British Parliament is likely to cause more strife - which makes such good newspaper copy - than the committee-based Danish equivalent, which is often slower and blander.

The Danish Folketing (Parliament) is based in Christiansborg Palace in Copenhagen. Compared with the British House of Commons, the Chamber of the Danish Folketing is remarkably restrained. Members do not gesticulate, cheer, boo or heckle, and, according to literature from the Royal Danish Embassy in London (in 'Folketinget' p10)

...absence of manifestations of temperament are a native tradition that is bound up with the popular dislike of exaggeration, together with the simple fact that expressions of approval or disapproval are regarded . as contrary to good order

Consequently, the conflict in the British Parliament, that is such a rich source of news for UK newspapers, is not available to their Danish counterparts in Christiansborg. In Fitzmaurice's view (p25), the characteristics of Danish domestic politics can be summed up as follows:

Pragmatism and tolerance have enabled smooth change without violence. Absolutism was mild, and it was abolished without violent revolution. In the 1900s, the old aristocratic parties ceded to the new mass parties which had waited patiently for the change. The democratic impulse was never far below the surface, even in the periods of strong kingship in the Middle Ages or during the Absolute Monarchy...and was thus able to resurface easily and smoothly when the tide once again ran in its favour. The reverse side of the coin, less satisfactory perhaps, is the fact that radical reform movements tend to be easily controlled, canalised and emasculated, without ever reaching their full flood.

In keeping with their philosophy of consensual decision-making, referendums are a regular feature of the Danes' relationship with the EU; the Danish Constitution demands one whenever Danish sovereignty is affected (Sauerberg, in Lyck, p64). These referendums are listed in Appendix 8. Each has been comprehensively debated, chronicled and analysed by numerous academics and analysts (for instance: Nicolaj Petersen in 1973; Rolf Christensen in 1980, Carsten Sørensen in 1987; Tøger Seidenfaden also in 1987; Torben Worre in 1988; Henning Fonsmark in 1991; and Christen Sørensen in 1992). Overall, these analysts present a picture of a Denmark that has remained largely unenthusiastic about European integration. Indeed, as Carsten Sørensen explains, most Danes 'mistrust any utopian ideal of a United States of Europe, a European political community, a European union, or whatever the catchword has been' (p159). And, in his article 'Denmark: A reluctant corner of Europe', Tøger Seidenfaden (also one of the interviewees in this research project) agrees. As he puts it (p67). 'In practical terms, Denmark has not been a difficult member-state. But when it comes to long range planning, institutional innovation, or formalizing new areas of co-operation, we have been systematic sceptics.'

The consensus is that the Danes have continued generally to vote - by often slender majorities and following the negotiation of some concrete opt-outs - to stay with the Union because debates have continued to concentrate on the economic and security reasons for membership, rather than on the political. The exception to this was the Referendum of June 1992, in respect of the Maastricht Treaty, when the Danes shook themselves - and the whole of Europe - by voting No. This unexpected result is significant as it has affected the Danish approach in general to the Union ever since, and was particularly pertinent during the sample period. Despite the fact that the major Danish political parties and almost all of the country's newspapers were supporting a Yes vote, the Danes voted No by a majority of just 52,000.

This meant that 50.7 per cent of those who voted had ticked the No box (Rødsgaard, p102). Although some analysts maintain that this result was no accident or mistake, and that the Danes were expressing their reservations in particular about political union and the lack of democracy in the way decisions were taken in the then EC (for instance, Lyck, p242), others point to other explanations. They reckon that many Danes voted No because they mistakenly believed that a Yes was assured. Their aim was mainly to assert themselves, as they imagined, harmlessly, and they were consequently uneasy with the result (that view is expressed by, for instance, Silberbrandt, p102). Many were said to have resented the apparent complacency of some Danish politicians who had presumed a Yes would be automatically forthcoming, and who had failed to pursue a sufficiently thorough public debate on the full implications of the Treaty (Rødsgaard, p103). This No vote also stirred up debate in the British press of the time which praised the Danes for making a stand against what was seen as too rapid a move towards closer European integration¹². As is shown in the news stories in Appendix 9, many British newspapers were anxious to support the Danes, and they were consequently most displeased when the then British Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, appeared to be withdrawing British support for the Danish stand. It is significant that, in reporting Hurd's comments and the apparent British 'U-turn', the Danish press was far less outraged than was its British counterpart. Pro-European in their 'line', and thus promoting a Yes vote, the Danish papers supported the Hurd comments as a way of furthering their own cause. However, among the largely Euro-sceptic British press, Hurd was condemned for his 'betrayal' of the Danes. The consensus among the UK newspapers was that the EU leadership was out of touch with the people of Denmark in particular, and Europe in general, and that, thanks to the Danes, they would now have to slow down plans for integration, while making more effort to win people over.

As a result of the No vote, Denmark negotiated four opt-outs to the Maastricht Treaty at Edinburgh in December 1992 (Rødsgaard p104). Significant to this research, one excused Denmark from becoming anything more than an observer of the European defence body, the Western European Union. In contrast, the UK has been a member of this since the outset (Chapter 9, p184). Denmark was also excused from joining the third stage of EMU with its single currency and new rules on economic policy co-ordination. Consequently, although neither Denmark nor the UK joined in the first wave on January 1, 1999, during the sample

period the matter was still technically under debate in the UK, and a formal decision had not yet been made. A third opt-out excused the Danes from co-operating in judicial and police matters, including the treatment of asylum-seekers. Given Danish concern about refugees from Eastern Europe (see p96), this aspect of Denmark's relationship with the EU has been cause for on-going debate in the press to an extent that has not been emulated in the UK, where no such opt-out pertains. Furthermore, during the sample period at least, there was less direct concern among the relatively 'remote' British - with the exception of that expressed by the MP Ann Widdecombe, and reported in the *Sun* (p119) - about the influx of refugees¹³. The revised Treaty, with these opt-outs (and a fourth which addressed Danish concerns about the nature of European 'citizenship' outlined in the Treaty - at odds with the Danish concept - by agreeing that Danish law alone would determine whether other EC nationals could become Danish citizens), was, after considerable debate in the press and elsewhere, put to the vote on 18 May, 1993. This time a majority of Danes (66.8 per cent) voted Yes (INNO/EU-Information, p7.004-6).

During the sample period, the Danish press in particular was discussing the Inter Governmental Conference (IGC) at which progress towards the completion of EMU, as well as a further treaty - known as the Amsterdam Treaty, or Maastricht Two - were being debated. This was in anticipation of a referendum in 1998, in which the new treaty - as eventually agreed by the EU member states - would be put to the Danish vote¹⁴. The Danish papers were also much caught up in the debate about whether or not this 1998 referendum should also include a review of - and the chance for the Danes to vote on - the retention or abandonment of one or all of the opt-outs. In contrast, with no similar referendum taking place in the UK, there was inevitably less interest among the British newspapers in respect of concrete issues brought out at the IGC, or in the precise details of the Amsterdam Treaty.

However, according to a poll carried out by *Børsen* on 7 February, 1997 (p14), despite the Danish newspapers' arguments that some, if not all of the opt-outs should be abolished, the Danes as a whole were still keen to retain all four. Only around a third of interviewees wished to see any of them lifted.

As a further complication - unique to Denmark - during the sample period a group of 11 Danes, with little in common apart from anti EU sentiments, were pursuing a case through the courts in which they were claiming that the Prime Minister had acted unconstitutionally when he signed the Maastricht Treaty. Although nobody seriously thought they would be successful, the fear was that this would slow up the Danish ratification process - and consequently the entire procedure EU-wide¹⁵.

Thus, differences in the UK and Danish political systems have a profound impact on the press. The extremes of the first-past-the-post British system, with just two major parties, and the emphasis on MPs as 'representatives', taking decisions on behalf of the electorate, make for more passionate and dramatic politics in the UK. This is exacerbated by a House of Commons in which jeering, booing and heckling are the norm. The Danish proportional representation, coalition governments and focus on national consensus and decision 'by committee', including regular referendums - along with a tradition in the Folketing of polite debate - present Denmark's journalists with less open hostility to report. Similarly, there is slightly less emphasis on the individual personalities involved. As Thomas Pedersen (in Miles, p95) suggests: 'Leadership is generally of little importance in the Danish political system, in which minority governments are common and broad solutions are sought especially in foreign policy and European policy.' Furthermore, for the British politicians, gearing up in the sample period to the May 1997 General Election, the EU was the most significant issue. It was the cause of a major split in the Conservative Party, and was used as a weapon by both that and its Labour rival. Each party attempted to use the stance of the other on Europe as a means to scare voters. The Tories suggesting that Labour's apparent Euro-friendly stance would enfeeble the UK, the Labour Party claiming that Tory disarray over the EU would consign the country to the sidelines as the rest of Europe forged on without it.

For Danish politicians, there were fears that a further referendum over Maastricht Two would elicit another No vote - with unknown consequences - and debate over the opt-outs was lively. Even so, it was more the current issues and details of EU membership that were occupying Danish minds during the sample period, rather than the fundamental - and highly emotive - philosophies about membership in general that were regularly surfacing in the

British press.

For these reasons, although the press is, of course, used as a means of getting the views of politicians across in both countries, the sample period shows that this is more prevalent, emotional and distorting in the British press than it is in its Danish counterpart.

Thus, although the degree of scepticism each country feels about the EU is similar, and both are often uniquely grouped as reluctant Europeans (Sauerberg in Lyck, p60) - in Baron's opinion 'the two most awkward and inflexible countries in Community negotiations and discussions' (p.xxvi) - the reasons for this, the approach of the countries to their European partners, and perceived solutions to problems and disagreements, often differ.

Governmental and EU openness

Another fundamental difference can be considered under the heading of 'governmental openness'. For, while the Danes enjoy a particularly 'open' government system, the British have one that is particularly 'secretive'. Consequently, although the volume of information emanating from official sources in the UK is substantial, the nature of that information is more controlled than it is in Denmark, and access to it, more restricted.

Legal restrictions on access to official information, as enshrined in the Official Secrets Act among others, have already been discussed (Chapter 3, p43). However, for British reporters, there are other, less formal, procedures and conventions which hamper the process. As Tulloch (in Stephenson and Bromley, p65) comments:

The chief ways in which relations between the State and the British press are problematic lie in their secrecy and in the scope they offer for a mutual game of manipulation, one of whose aims is to keep the public in the dark. Britain, like France, has a set of cultural and legal traditions inherited from its former role as a highly centralized, imperial power which means that the management of the State is regarded by its practitioners as a private affair.

There are, he argues, three mechanisms that have evolved through which the British State seeks to 'handle' the press. The first is the 'threat of legal restriction'. The second - 'a

large State machine for handling press information, government public relations and media relations' - has been, to an extent, covered by the discussion within this thesis on the role of spin doctors. The third, the lobby system, is a means by which a few lobby journalists (picked and policed by the journalists themselves) have access to sources of information that influence their reporting. Indeed, Tunstall (1996, p257) lists five types of access from which lobby correspondents benefit: daily briefings given by members of the Prime Minister's press office (these are non-attributable occasions); the lobby of the Commons debating chamber (from which the name derives) where they can talk to MPs on a formal and informal basis; government publications which they receive in advance of most other recipients; dedicated office space at Westminster; and a dedicated section of the Commons gallery.

The lobby system has always had its critics (Negrine, p157; Bevins, p15, *et al*), and many agree with Hennessy (writing in *The Independent*, 1 April, 1987, p16) that the twice-daily, non-attributable, mass briefings of this 'secret service' enable the Government of the day 'to dominate the agenda of political discussion'. He adds that 'the first draft of British political history flows from the Lobby correspondent. It can take years for a fuller picture to be revealed'.

This lack of openness in the British government system - which contrasts so dramatically with the transparency and accessibility of its Danish counterpart - tends to foment suspicion among UK reporters, almost as a matter of course, that those in power have something to hide, whether or not this suspicion is warranted. This is reflected in their reporting of all 'governmental' matters, national or international. As Priestland expresses it (p65):

When authority operates in secret, it is easy to hide corruption. When it is known to be open, it will be far less harassed by people wondering what it is up to.

The lack of openness in the EU itself exacerbates this tendency and affects reporting in both the British and Danish press. However, for Danish journalists, comparatively used to free access to official documents and an open and transparent government process, the 'closed' nature of EU institutions has been a matter of particular concern¹⁶. Indeed, it cropped up regularly in Danish newspaper texts during the sample period, particularly within *Information*

(Chapter 6, p141).

The Brussels correspondents in Morgan's survey (p326) also reported that the flow of information was patchy, with 'leaks and counter-leaks' often confusing issues, and the Danish Brussels correspondent, Ole Vigant Ryborg, too, has cited difficulties in acquiring clear, accurate and relevant information about what goes on behind 'closed doors', as one of the causes of the 'unhappy marriage' between the press and the EU (in *Pas på Pressen*, p51). The situation is summed up by the *Guardian* writer, John Palmer¹⁷, thus:

...this Community suffers not so much from a lack of information - in some ways it has a surfeit of information - but it has a communication deficit. It is a deficit in the rendering of meaning and perspective and significance and relevance to the public of what happens here and that is a process which is obscured and made more difficult by the needless and frequently quite stupid forms of secrecy that have informed attitudes within the institutions...

These sentiments were echoed by the interviewees in this research, British and Danish, whose problems in obtaining information from official EU sources were broadly similar. Not knowing who to contact, or where to direct queries, was commonplace. Where they could, journalists in both countries took advantage of the knowledge and contacts of their Brussels-based colleagues, but without the benefit of that 'link', getting information could be slow and difficult.

Suggested improvements to the way the EU disseminates news and treats journalists were also broadly similar. Again, journalists in both countries needed information delivered in plain language, better targeted and better timed. Both the British and the Danes would particularly welcome information about, say, draft regulations at an early stage, so that they could more easily convey a truthful appraisal of potential merits and drawbacks without having to rely on that information coming from other - and usually biased - sources.

Significantly, however, the British journalists were more concerned about the need for official EU sources to improve the Union's image - with some commenting that the 'stupidity' of the Union's corporate actions meant that it would inevitably suffer a bad press, come what may. This kind of biased comment - clearly revealing the anti-EU prejudice that

some journalists openly bring to EU reporting - was absent from comments made by the Danes. It suggested that, no matter how much the EU improved its communication channels, its very nature meant that it would inevitably be subjected to negative reporting in some British quarters. A good flow of information from an 'open' EU would not, in itself, be enough to overcome the Euro-sceptic bias of some elements of the UK newspaper press.

The national newspapers and the EU

There is no doubt that the newspapers have a role in informing the citizenry of both the UK and Denmark about EU affairs. In Silberbrandt's opinion, for instance (p124), the debate about the EU in Denmark over the past decades has, above all, been conducted in the press. This was supported by the December 1996 edition of *Europa* (p2) in a leader which lamented previous Danish press coverage for its over-simplification of EU matters - which had hindered debate - but maintained that coverage had since become more all-encompassing and therefore more helpful to meaningful discussion. In this respect, it is significant that the Danish newspapers in this research have far more Brussels-based correspondents than do their UK counterparts. For instance, *Berlingske Tidende*, *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken* each have three. This contrasts with *The Independent* - with two - and the *Daily Telegraph*, *The Times* and the *Guardian*, which each have just one. Similarly, *BT*, with its one Brussels-based journalist, is alone among all the tabloids in this study - the others have none.

However, in his thoughtful essay in *Pas på Pressen!*, Ole Vigant Ryborg gives a different picture of the relationship between the EU and the Danish press - as he describes it, an 'unhappy marriage' (p49). Euromyths of the 'bent cucumber' ilk, often initiated by the British press, have, he reports, also appeared in Denmark. If such stories had blamed the Danish Government, rather than the EU, for ludicrous regulations, he maintains, they would not have lasted long. Journalists would have checked the story, or, even if they had not, the Danish Government would have been quick to put matters straight. In the case of EU inaccuracies, however, Danish journalists either do not bother to check, or do not know where to go to check, Ryborg maintains. And the EU itself - in Denmark at least - does not make as great an effort to issue corrections.

Speaking about the role of press representatives - internationally - in reporting the EU, Ryborg comments that they automatically look solely for the national angle. They are thus not attempting a role as 'fourth estate' of the EU in the kind of overall, engaged way in which they pursue this function on a national scale. Furthermore, the structure of the EU, its lack of openness, the complexity of its processes, the difficulty in getting hold of important documents, and, for speakers of Danish (a minority language within the EU), a language problem, make honest and accurate reporting almost impossible against the tight deadlines that face reporters on daily papers. In his opinion, it can take many years for journalists in Brussels to learn their way around the system - more time than is spent there by the usual 'Brussels correspondent'. This amount of 'learning' time is, he continues, needed not least to ensure that journalists are less susceptible to distorted information from politicians and other sources with vested interests.

However, imperfect though the 'marriage' between the EU and the Danish press might be, it is considerably 'happier' than that between the Union and most of the UK newspapers, in which the nature of the coverage given to the EU has caused comment, most of it critical, and deservedly so. Julian Critchley (writing in *The Independent*, 21 May, 1996, p15) goes so far as to suggest that 'hard-right newspapers', specifically with input from 'the Johnson brothers' of Frank and Boris (writing primarily in the *Daily Telegraph*) and of Paul (in the *Daily Mail*), are to blame for much of the Conservative Party's disorientation over Europe. Critchley writes: 'Nowadays, the Conservative press, largely foreign-owned, trumpets home and foreign policies fully-suited to North American ideas and conditions but discordant to those of Britain and Europe.'

Furthermore, although Ole Vigant Ryborg's comments about the tendency for newspapers to concentrate on the 'national' angle in EU stories were endorsed by many of the other interviewees in this research - British and Danish - this, too, is more extreme in the UK press than it is in its Danish counterpart. This is more fully discussed in Chapter 10. Nevertheless it is inevitable that the national context influences journalists in their handling of EU news, and similarly inevitable that this 'national perspective' will be further narrowed down by the specific area in which the journalist works. For instance, asked what were the current most major EU issues, UK agriculture and environment journalists named the beef

crisis and the plight of the fishing industry. Diplomatic correspondents cited enlargement and the reform of EU institutions, while business and financial specialists plumped for EU influence in respect of business mergers and takeovers. One UK broadsheet journalist specifically cited the proposed alliance between British Airways and American Airlines.

However, for most UK respondents, the single currency had no rivals as the most major issue - although this was not necessarily for what it might mean in itself, but rather on account of its role as cause of trouble within UK domestic politics. As one broadsheet interviewee put it, the situation of John Major in trying to straddle the fence on EMU - trying not to upset either the Euro-sceptics or pro-Europeans - made it 'the big issue that nobody will speak about...the one economic issue which the Government will not address'. This complicated the reporting of EMU, he maintained. It tended, for instance, to focus attention more on identifying politicians' stances towards EMU and on hints of disagreement, than on an analysis of what joining, or not joining, EMU might actually mean for the UK, politically and economically. As another broadsheet political journalist put it, EMU was the most important of current EU issues '...because it is so germane to the future of the Conservative Party'.

For Danish journalists, too, EMU was a major issue. But they were also concerned with a wider sphere of EU activities, and with the concrete implications of current and proposed initiatives. This included enlargement of the EU, agricultural matters, and, specifically, the results of the recent Amsterdam summit and the debate about the Danish opt-outs - whether these should be kept or dropped. Touching on the importance Danes place on their green credentials, a Danish weekly broadsheet journalist also cited the implications of the Amsterdam IGC, specifically in respect of the environment ('cases where Brussels would force Denmark to lower its standards'). Analyses of where the Danish political parties stood on EU issues, and what their recommendations to voters in respect of the forthcoming referendum would be, were also major issues, he said.

Indeed, referendums - their existence in Denmark, but absence in the UK - were deemed by the same Danish journalist to be particularly relevant to the nature and level of EU debate in the newspaper press of each country. As he explained: 'British newspapers and politicians

have never been forced to argue their case. For example, if you look at the British press, there has never been a coherent argument from the Tories or the Euro-sceptic Labour people about why they do not want to join EMU in the first wave - there is no strict economic analysis, and the debate is very nostalgic and not very practical. I think the main reason is that there is no political necessity for discussing it.' It was his contention that if the British had more referendums, both the politicians and the newspapers would have to present more coherent and balanced arguments in order to win voters over to their side.

Similarly significant, he added, was the fact that, with the exception of the Social Democrats and the Socialist People's Party, the Danish political parties had no internal splits in respect of the EU. They were thus able to present a coherent policy on, say, EMU, without the risk that any specific arguments about details would cause internal rifts to become evident. UK politicians, and consequently the UK newspapers, were hampered, he maintained, by a clamming up of politicians who could risk only vagueness on many aspects of the Union.

With such a high level of agreement among the Danish political parties, it is not surprising that, at least in respect of the EU, the Danish newspaper press seems also to suffer less from the 'nobbling', spin doctors, and general manipulation that is such a feature of current newspaper journalism in the UK. News 'management' is, of course, common to journalists of both countries - both come under pressure from lobby groups and other bodies with vested interests, and both at times fall victim to manipulation. This is an inevitable part of the professional life of all journalists. However, the manipulation of the British press - by Euro-sceptics in particular - is, as this research shows, particularly extreme. Even some of the Danish journalists commented on this. To illustrate the point, when asked where their EU story leads come from, UK political correspondents in particular cited 'people in Britain who have run into some difficulty as a result of EU regulations', or, more specifically, 'Euro-sceptics - because they are driving the agenda here'. Furthermore, underlining the relevance of Bell's 'prefabrication' factor of newsworthiness (p26), and the problems journalists encounter when faced with an apparently 'good' story fed to them by a Euro-sceptic, one political journalist from a UK broadsheet explained how he had just received a story from a Euro-sceptic MP, suggesting that new EU regulations would outlaw British lavatories. As he commented: 'I would predict that over the next few days, you will see a

lot of stories about foreign imports of cheap and nasty foreign loos. It's the sort of story that would be dealt with in a light way, and there will be little inclination on the part of journalists to check-out whether or not it is correct, because the story is just too good to be true.'

Asked whether they felt that the EU was justified in complaining about its treatment in the press, most UK journalists in this survey felt that it was, particularly in respect of the British tabloid press. The prominence and space given to Euro-sceptics, the way 'the facts are made to fit the views' of anti-European newspapers, the concentration on 'daft' stories of the 'bent cucumber' variety, the use of the Union 'as a political football...a convenient shorthand to describe divisions in the Conservative Party', 'a Little Englander attitude', 'a tendency to exploit xenophobia', and 'a lot of ignorance in reporting the Union' were all reasons given by British journalists as to why EU officials might have cause for dissatisfaction.

This view was, however, qualified. For instance, some interviewees felt that EU officials could be over-sensitive - newspapers had every right to take a line on the EU and criticise it if they felt it was warranted, and this was normal practice, they said. Others felt that other Europeans do not always understand the nature of newspapers in the UK. As one political journalist on a UK tabloid summed it up: 'The British press is the most robust, awkward and prickly in Europe, and Brussels does not know quite how to cope with the kind of aggressive, hard-hitting coverage it gets in the British media, particularly in the tabloids. Continental newspapers are establishment-minded - supine - and they (EU officials) find it hard to deal with the kind of rumbustious press that flourishes in Britain '

Some British interviewees also commented that although the EU might suffer from a bad press, it only had itself to blame, in that it regularly failed to explain things properly.

However, whereas the European Commission in London has regularly felt the need to respond to unfavourable, or simply inaccurate, coverage in UK newspapers of its activities and aims, its Danish counterpart has not. As one representative of a Danish broadsheet commented, although the Danish European Commission might well have felt frustrated about specific issues 'it is not really the style here to complain and I do not think it would further

their cause...and they do not perhaps get as much provocation here as they do in the UK'. Indeed, the Danish interviewees in general commented that they could understand why the EU had complained about the British newspaper press - particularly in respect of those newspapers that are vehemently anti-European, who tailor stories to fit that stance, and who print 'euromyths' without checking.

One Danish weekly broadsheet journalist, however, made the point that he expected some change in British press coverage if the Labour Government adopted a more 'balanced' approach to the EU than their Tory predecessors. The latter had, he said, 'simply withdrawn from any responsibility in the EU - and if you are at war, you do not have to present facts, just propaganda'.

End Notes

1. The UK and Denmark were among the countries that formed the European Free Trade Area (EFTA) in 1959 (Pilkington, p23). The other founder members were Norway, Sweden, Austria, Portugal and Switzerland.

2. These are among the points discussed in one of the leaflets of the time - 'Hvad er vi uenige om' (what are we in disagreement about)- which gave views of both sides, for and against, on a number of issues. It was one of many publications that aimed to give Danes the information they needed before voting on membership in 1972.

3 For instance, in *Ekstra Bladet* on 18 April, 1993, p17, a feature headed 'Germany is our fate' argued that, although the Danes might fear Germany's size, they could not isolate themselves from it - their heads had to rule their hearts. Again, on 30 April, the newspaper ran a double-page spread entitled 'We are dead scared' in which it claimed that Danish fear of the Germans had had a greater effect on votes in the first Maastricht Treaty referendum than had been officially admitted.

4 The Nordic Passport Union, which also covers the Nordic non-EU members, has presented problems to the EU in its own moves to remove border controls between its members (Miles, p278). This difficulty has not yet been fully resolved, although as Miles reckons: 'Intra Nordic co-operation will continue to be paramount regardless of the division between full and non-member states as the interests of the Nordic region and the European Union are inseparably inter-linked.'

As a further point, the failure of some Germans to show their passports at Danish borders - felt necessary because of the complications caused by the Nordic Passport Union - has

caused Danish resentment. For instance, stories in *BT* (13 April, 1993, p4) - 'Passport chase of the surly Germans' - and *Berlingske Tidende* (13 April, 1993, p3) - 'Germans won't show their passports' - exhibited irritation at German 'arrogance' in refusing to acknowledge the implications of the Danes' 'special' relationship with their Nordic neighbours. This was a clear instance of the tension sometimes felt in Denmark between its neighbours, north and south.

5. Among numerous examples are *Politiken's* leader 'Big words' on 13 April, 1993, and *Berlingske Tidende's* leader 'Help for Eastern Europe' of the same date in which both papers criticised EU countries for doing little to help Eastern Europe. Both papers claimed EU members were dragging their heels because they feared cheap competition from Eastern Europe in agricultural and other products, and outlined the possible consequences of not bringing these countries into the EU fold.

6. As examples, among many newspaper stories and articles supporting this are 'Lonely fight for the environment' in *Politiken*, 27 April, 1993, 3 Sektion, p2, and 'Eastern countries groaning with filth', also in *Polinken*, 20 April, 1993, 3 Sektion, p2.

7. According to figures published by the European Commission, and published in a front-page story in *The Independent* (30 April, 1997), Denmark came second to Luxembourg in the EU members 'Wealth League'. Britain's position - at number 11 - was said to reflect disparities in the distribution of wealth in the country. There is a much bigger gap between rich and poor in the UK than there is in Denmark.

8. This point is underlined in, for example, the *Politiken* feature of 19 April, 1993, 3 Sektion, p4, 'Europe's life depends on stability in the East'.

9. This description appeared in the *Sunday Times* of 5 May, 1996, p4 in a leader headed 'The Great Debate'.

10. On the eve of the 1997 General Election, the newspapers in this study agreed with this analysis of the stances of the political parties towards Europe. Indeed, most were in agreement with the *Daily Mail* that this was 'the defining issue of this election' (30 April, p8).

11. Most Danish daily newspapers have editorial offices at Christiansborg Palace, and there is a press gallery, although many journalists listen to debates on closed-circuit radio in their rooms ('Folketinget' leaflet, p11).

12. The British newspapers and news magazines covered the Danish No vote - and discussed its implications - in depth. There was, for instance, 'Suspended animation' and 'Europe's case of the Danish blues' in the *Financial Times*, 8 October, 1992 (Section III, p1) and 16 January, 1993, p7, respectively; 'When the people say no' in *The Independent*, 4 June, 1992, p2; 'Storm in an EC cup' in the *Guardian*, 12 June, 1992, p25; and 'The Danes say No' in *The Economist*, 6 June, 1992, p10, to name just a selection.

13. The fourth opt-out - which was not relevant to this research - addressed Danish concerns about the nature of European 'citizenship' outlined in the Treaty (at odds with the Danish concept), by agreeing that Danish law alone would determine whether other EC nationals

could become Danish citizens.

14. The referendum did result in a Yes vote (see Appendix 8).

15. The legal challenge was eventually thrown out by the Danish Supreme Court on 6 April, 1998.

16. Linking up with the Swedes and Finns, Danish journalists have been particularly active in initiatives to open decision-making processes in EU institutions to scrutiny, for minutes to be published and even for Commission meetings to be televised (reported in the story, 'Call for EC to be more open' by Anne Silvennoinen, in *Reporting Europe*, published by the Centre for Journalism Studies, Cardiff, Summer, 1995).

17. He was speaking at an EC seminar, organised by Swedes, entitled 'Openness and Transparency in the European Institutions', held in Brussels on 22 November, 1995.

Chapter 6

An analysis of the newspaper texts in the sample period - 14 January, 1997, to 14 February, 1997, inclusive - with reference to political backgrounds and structures, and historical and current relationships with the EU.

UK Tabloids

Relationship with other Europeans¹

The *Sun* has often - and with good cause - been described as xenophobic, and this particularly reveals itself in its EU coverage; not just in the paper's own treatment of Union events, but as much, if not more, in the features it includes that are written by leading anti-European politicians. Examples in this group include Lord Tebbit, whose regular column in the newspaper during the sample period included 'Hans off our election you Brussels spouter' (31 January) - a strident attack on the Dutch Prime Minister for 'instructing' the British political parties 'not to indulge in Euro-bashing'. 'On your bike, off the end of the pier and take a long swim home to Holland,' was Tebbit's message. This followed an earlier column ('Just who are EU to order Britain about', 17 January) in which Lord Tebbit drew on ancient hostilities between the UK, the Spanish, French and Germans to illustrate his point that, having defeated these nations in the past, there was no reason why we should be allowing them to order us around now.

Tebbit was not alone. On 14 January, Teresa Gorman told *Sun* readers that the threat of the British being told what to do by 'foreigners' was the inspiration behind her 'fight for a referendum', while the American political and economic analyst, Irwin Selzer, was asking on 6 February 'Can voters trust Tony to stop the grabby Germans?' This also harked back to WW2 with, again, the suggestion that, having curbed German aspirations then, it made no sense for the British to cave in to them now - and without a fight.

1. A list of the major story themes during the sample period appears in Appendix 11.

In its own in house produced stories and comment the *Sun*, itself, saw the Germans and the French, in particular, in terms of past conflicts, with the implication that they were not to be trusted. The statues 'euromyth', initiated by Dennis Neilsen, has already been discussed in Chapter 4 (eg p57). And the need to defend British borders against foreign 'invaders' also loomed large in connection with immigration. The story on 11 February - 'Euro threat to border curbs' - was followed the next day by quotes from the MP, Ann Widdecombe, promising that she would 'fight euro migrant laws to last breath'. The gist was that, again, the French and Germans were ganging up to 'ensure we sign up' to a relaxation of border controls, which would 'open up the floodgates to illegal immigrants'.

In contrast, the more pro-European *Mirror* contained few references to Britain's European partners. The exception appeared in the John Williams column of 6 February headed 'Why Major's still fighting the prattle of Britain'. In this, Williams lamented Tory Europhobia in general and 'dread of the Germans' in particular. 'To the Conservatives, Europe is a game played by 15 nations, which the Germans are bound to win,' Williams commented.

His view that many of the British still suspected that the Germans were trying 'to take over the whole of Europe' appeared to be borne out by the mid-market tabloids. The *Daily Mail*, for instance, in a feature on the 7 February, discussed 'German jobs and history's grim lesson'. Unemployment, such as the Germans were currently suffering, was what had led to the rise of Hitler, the paper said, with the implication that it could happen again. The Germans were not to be trusted. *The Express* took a similarly anti-German line in its 6 February feature, 'We just want Brussels to get off our backs', when it, too, suggested that the EU in itself would not stop the Germans rising up, just like they did in WW2.

Although the Germans and, to a lesser extent, the French, bore the brunt of the British tabloids' attacks during the sample period, other Europeans did not escape entirely. The Spanish, for instance, received a roasting in the *Daily Mail* ('Why are Spanish trawler crews signing on in Cornwall?', 3 February), not just for allegedly taking jobs from Cornish fishermen, but also for apparently acting in a cavalier fashion about the matter and finding it 'amusing'.

Political structure and domestic political strife

The general unwillingness of the British political establishment to put Britain's relationship with Europe to the British people in a referendum was a source of regret at least to the *Sun*. In its leader of 14 January, for instance, it urged politicians to 'Let people have vote on Europe' and was supportive of Teresa Gorman's Bill to make a referendum obligatory. However, other tabloids did not agree. *The Mirror* called the Bill 'barmy' (22 January) concerned that, should it succeed, this might be the first step towards Britain leaving the EU - which would be 'disastrous'. At the same time, in his *Daily Mail* column, John Edwards was arguing that referendums are fraught with problems ('When the question is the big question', 14 January). It would be difficult to decide just what the question should be, people frequently do not understand what they are voting for, and they often vote more on personalities than issues, he said.

However, with no referendum to concentrate minds, the UK tabloids as a whole tended to focus on the EU as a matter of domestic political strife, particularly in the run-up to the May 1997 General Election. It was a key political issue and one about which the parties were divided - internally and externally. Furthermore, the papers were looking for differences - the emergence of 'blue water' - between the Conservative and Labour views on the nature of the British relationship with the rest of Europe, and thus seized on every hint

In its reports of these differences, the anti-EU *Sun* often concentrated on the views of its enduring heroine, Lady Thatcher, urging her to 'put them all straight' (in a leader of 30 January, 'The threat does not add up'). This related to the House of Lords debate on Lord Pearson's Bill to begin moves for the UK to leave the Union, but in other instances, Lady Thatcher, along with other Euro-sceptics, such as Lord Tebbit, Teresa Gorman and Norman Lamont, was specifically quoted in contexts where her hostility to EMU - shared by the *Sun* - was evident. The paper's particular focus on EMU is discussed in Chapter 8, and for the UK tabloids as a whole, it was a subject that caused passions to run high. For instance, like the *Sun*, the *Daily Mail* made the hostility caused by differing views on EMU a regular subject of news reports, and clearly indicated its disapproval of those politicians - Tory or Labour - who supported that initiative, or any general moves to further the UK's integration

within the EU. For instance, Michael Heseltine was 'sent away with a flea in his ear' for urging his colleagues to unite on Europe ('Right rebuffs Heseltine on unity plea', 21 January), and there was some satisfaction in 'Major routs Clarke on single currency' (24 January) that the pro-European, Kenneth Clarke, was being slapped down. EU issues as a source of disagreement between Conservative and Labour came to the fore in such *Daily Mail* stories as 'Roaring back as a party of patriots' (3 February), in which the Conservatives' refusal to kowtow to 'the EU's bureaucratic employment rules' was contrasted favourably with Labour's more ameliorative approach.

In common with the *Sun* and the *Daily Mail*, the *Express* also indicated its support for the Euro-sceptics in the regular battles the EU was causing within the UK's domestic political scene, with, for instance, a piece with John Major's byline, entitled 'Why I battled to bring my colleagues round'. In this, the then Prime Minister was given the chance to explain the rationale behind his wary attitude to the EU, and to explain why Labour's Euro-friendly stance would be so damaging to Britain. Pro-Europeans were not given a similar opportunity to express their views.

The UK's relationship with the EU

For the UK tabloids in general, the EU was seen as a threat to British sovereignty, and any hint of 'bullying' by Brussels or by any of the member states provoked outrage. *The Express*, for instance, in a leader entitled 'Rebukes only add fuel to the Euro-sceptics fire' (14 January), listed areas in which the UK had been in trouble with the EU in the recent past, commenting that. 'An increasingly Euro-sceptical public might conclude, with great satisfaction, that we are just not good enough to be part of a European superstate.' The notion of the 'superstate' and Brussels 'sticking its oar in' surfaced in another leader the following day ('Fasten your seatbelts for a bumpy flight over EU issue') in which EU objections to the alliance between British Airways and American Airlines were outlined - and ridiculed - in an indignant, front page news story of 14 January ('Hi-Jacqued').

Indeed, the concept of 'federalism' as a whole was anathema to *The Express*, particularly since the paper sensed a Franco-German conspiracy to create a federal Europe regardless of

the wishes of others (eg 'Rifkind throws down the Euro gauntlet to Kohl', 20 January and 'Britain facing Euro gang of two', 21 January). In short, the paper just wanted Brussels 'to get off our back' (6 February).

Similar sentiments were regularly expressed by the *Daily Mail* which saw 'the worst fears of sceptics proving true' in French and German moves to create a European superstate ('A threat to Britain's national identity', 17 January). It also resented 'the Brussels bullies' who were trying to 'ground our jumbo merger' (15 January).

The *Sun*, too, bristled at 'Euro meddlers' threatening to take over the UK's tax, social security, decisions on law and order, immigration and the environment ('Tory fury at Euro plot to grab our tax', 17 January). It also challenged Germany's Chancellor Kohl to 'come clean' about his plans for a European superstate (20 January).

Alone in appealing for a more positive approach to the UK's relationship with the EU, *The Mirror* voiced its support for Douglas Hurd who was claiming that constant sniping at Europe was undermining jobs and prosperity ('Hurd instinct', 6 February). 'If we don't accept a role at the heart of a developing EU, we descend to the status of a Third World country,' the paper argued.

EU regulations

EU directives, rules and regulations have long been a rich source of stories for the newspapers - the 'euromyths' fall into this category.

Again, the tabloid interest in this aspect of the UK relationship with the EU related primarily to perceived threats to British sovereignty, and the notion of foreigners 'telling us what to do'. For instance, in addition to the statues 'euromyth', other stories in which EU regulations were portrayed as being potentially 'daft' or 'outrageous' in some respect included the *Sun* story of 18 January, entitled 'Daffy Euro flower rule goes to pot', in which it was claimed that 'a barmy Brussels plan making it difficult for lovers to send flowers over the phone was nipped in the bud'. However, since the regulation was clearly amended

before anything 'daft' was allowed to happen, this was a weak story. The sole purpose behind its inclusion was, yet again, to present the Union in an unfavourable light. The response of the *Express* and other tabloids to EU proposals for dealing with household waste - similarly hysterical and largely irrational - has also been discussed in Chapter 4 (eg p64).

For its part, the *Daily Mail* includes a regular 'Red Tape Alert' feature - in which examples of what it deems to be 'daft' or 'threatening' EU regulations are identified and ridiculed. And stories in this 'genre' that appeared during the sample period included 'A Brussels brew-ha ha over beer advert joke' (15 January) - a report relating how the brewers, Scottish & Newcastle, were in trouble over their false (and tongue-in-cheek) claim in an advertisement that the EU was planning to standardise the water used in beer-making.

Attitude to EU internal politics and 'openness'

Other opportunities for the UK tabloids to ridicule the Union emerged in the form of apparent EU wastefulness. There were, for instance, the *Sun* stories of 12 and 14 February. The first attacked the profligacy of an "'insane" £11,000 euro trip to sun isle' which reported how an EU group went to Guadeloupe to research 'women in the workplace', and training opportunities for young people. The second, ('Learn to arg-EU'), mocked a course designed to teach Eurocrats to argue as a means of helping them 'to cope in Brussels' maze of committees'.

Taking a more serious approach, *The Express* drew attention to what it saw as wastefulness and greed in 'Tackle Europe's fowl play' (5 February). The cost of running the European Parliament - a 'great travelling circus that divides its time between Brussels, Strasbourg and Luxembourg' - was bad enough, the paper suggested, but even more unjustified were such expense claims as those made by the MEP, Bryan Cassidy. He had requested £315 as compensation for missing a day's shooting on account of EU Parliamentary business.

Danish tabloids

Relationship with other Europeans

Relatively free of anti-foreigner invective, the Danish tabloids contained only minor criticisms of other EU member states during the sample period. What there was, appeared in *BT*, and primarily involved a complaint about French 'protectionism'. The story ('Danish protest does not help one jot', on 30 January) and related leader ('Skiing in French', on the same day), related new French regulations that would make it more difficult for other nationals to become ski instructors in France. The paper was peeved at what it saw as French unreasonableness.

There was some glee in *BT* at Chancellor Kohl's admission that he was 'thick' at school (on 10 February). And the fact that the British were being excused the imposition of Burgundy red EU passports and could keep their own, was highlighted (12 February), although the 'facts' were reported without comment.

As has already been discussed in Chapter 4 (p67), there was positive emotion in *BT* in respect of the anticipated accession to the EU of the Central and Eastern European countries. This was largely prompted by the prospect of financial benefits for the Danes (eg 'We will be richer in an expanded EU' on 22 January), although the report on 21 January ('Fears a new EU No') also featured the comments of leading Danish politicians that expansion of the Union to the East was important in safeguarding peace in the region.

Political structure, domestic political strife and the Danes' relationship with the EU

According to *BT*, the Danes were deeply divided over the EU ('Fears a new EU No', 21 January) - a situation that was not being helped by an apparent refusal by the Government to bring the debate out into the open. In leaders of 23 January ('Woolliness and concealment') and 5 February ('Man in a tight spot'), the paper appealed to the Government

to clarify its views specifically on the Danish opt-outs and the country's general relationship with the EU so that the whole matter could be properly discussed in advance of the 1998 referendum. Nevertheless, although the divided opinions of Danish politicians were given an airing in the news story mentioned above, the matter was given little coverage or comment elsewhere in *BT*, and *Ekstra Bladet* gave it even less.

EU regulations

In the category of EU regulations, too, there was little EU news to be found in the Danish tabloids. The major exception was the *Ekstra Bladet* report, discussed in Chapter 4 (p65), relating to the Danish aristocrats who had found a way under the CAP to extract subsidies in respect of the substantial areas of land they owned. The paper clearly saw faults in both the CAP - in allowing such subsidies in the first place - but most of its disapproval was directed towards the landowners. The paper was clearly sceptical about their claims of poverty without such EU help.

Attitude to EU internal politics and 'openness'

The Danish tabloids showed a similar lack of interest in EU internal politics and openness. The minor exceptions related to the disagreement about the design of the forthcoming euro notes and the ramifications of the BSE affair. Again, both of these have been discussed in Chapter 4.

Comparison of the tabloids

The ferocious anti EU approach of the British tabloids was largely absent from their Danish counterparts. During the sample period, the latter showed relatively little interest in the EU at all. However, the major elements outlined in the first section of this chapter were at least partially reflected in the tabloid press of both countries. For instance, British suspicion of the French and Germans was richly illustrated in the UK tabloids, although in the Danish tabloids it was only the French who, during the sample period, came in for any negative

reporting. Enthusiasm in *BT* for the accession of the Eastern and Central European countries was not matched by the British papers who scarcely mentioned the matter at all.

The influence of the EU - particularly in respect of the forthcoming referendum and the Danish opt-outs - on internal Danish politics received some coverage in *BT* (although very little in *Ekstra Bladet*), and the disagreement over these matters within the Danish political establishment was featured, albeit in a factual and relatively unemotional fashion. In this respect, therefore, the Danish tabloids differed considerably from their British counterparts, for whom the political rows within the Tory party and between Tories and Labour in the run up to the General Election were a prime news focus warranting considerable - and boisterous - coverage.

Similarly, the approach of the two countries' tabloids to the single currency differed. EMU, so much a factor in the UK's internal political debate, was consequently a major news focus for the British tabloids. In contrast, as the cause of relatively little disagreement at the time in Denmark, EMU warranted only the odd passing reference in the Danish tabloids.

Regulations, too, provoked far less passion in the Danish tabloids than they did in their British counterparts. However, for *BT* in particular, the internal workings of the EU Parliament and Commission were of some interest, especially in respect of the way they were affecting the lone Danish Commissioner, Ritt Bjerregaard (see p65). The perks of MEPs were, similarly, a cause of concern. In contrast, the internal structure of the EU, the way it operates, the thoughts, actions - and perks - of MEPS, and the profound changes and challenges the Union was experiencing during this period, left the British tabloids largely unmoved.

UK broadsheets

Relationship with other Europeans

Although using language that was more sedate than that of the tabloids, some of the UK

broadsheets nevertheless exhibited some suspicion about, and even contempt for, the country's EU partners.

The *Daily Telegraph*, for instance, saw the Irish as being 'incurable Euro-enthusiasts' solely on account of their being 'beneficiaries of European largesse on a massive scale' (in a leader of 13 February, 'Double Dutch on EMU'). Then there was a regular stream of negative comment about the French and Germans whom the paper saw as constantly trying to triumph at the UK's expense. For instance, in a feature of 27 January ('Britain is the nation that plays by the rules'), the paper listed a raft of instances where these countries had fallen foul of EU regulations which simply highlighted 'the hypocrisy of Franco-German calls for greater commitment from their partners'. In a similar vein, the paper was constantly on the look-out for instances in which the French and Germans were ganging up against the British, particularly in the pursuit of a 'federal Europe' (eg 'Major's vision of EU rejected' of 21 January). The enthusiasm of these countries for EMU was seen as part of their plan to create a European superstate by stealth (eg 'Brussels confirms study of plans for unified tax', 17 January).

However, while the *Daily Telegraph* regularly featured France and Germany, it showed little interest in Eastern Europe, apparently agreeing with Kenneth Clarke who, in a feature of 3 February ('Clarke says "cool it" on currency'), was quoted as saying that there were other issues to be addressed by the EU before it turned its attention to expansion, and questioning whether it was realistic to try to bring together countries with vastly different economic structures, institutional arrangements and cultures.

The Times, although more inclined to examine the prospect and implications of accession to the EU of the Central and Eastern Europeans, also foresaw problems in the process (eg in the leader 'Germany looks east', 22 January). The paper even included a feature by Anatole Kaletsky ('Europe's Eastern sceptics', 14 January) suggesting that these would-be members might be better off staying outside altogether, especially given the EU's failure to bring peace to Bosnia, and the Germans' blocking of their attempts forge closer agricultural links with Union members.

In common with the *Daily Telegraph*, *The Times* was deeply suspicious of the Germans and the French (eg in 'Brussels lines up against Britain on multi-speed Europe', 17 January, and 'Show of power by Paris-Bonn axis outflanks Britain', 21 January), although it did at least allow Christopher Haskins, Chairman of Northern Foods, a rare chance to argue for more enthusiasm about greater European integration (in a feature of 13 February, 'Europhobia is bad for business').

For its part, (and as discussed in Chapter 4, p76), *The Independent* was revelling in its scoops about apparent behind-the-scenes manoeuvring by the French and Germans to further their vision of a European superstate. The paper claimed to have unearthed plans, first 'to create a single system for tax and social security' (16 January, 'Now Britain faces single European tax system') and second to create a new body to make European economic policy that would exclude Britain if it stayed out of EMU (3 February, 'Euro plan will cut Britain out'). *The Independent* also looked askance at the methods employed by EU countries to meet the EMU convergence criteria - not just hinting that they were engaged in rigging their economic figures, but also giving the full details. And in a story of 22 January ('Italian farmers go sour on Europe') it appeared to delight in the comeuppance of the Italian farmers who, 'after living a fairy-tale life of subsidies and cosy government protection for the past 15 years...have suddenly come face-to-face with the reality of European integration'

In fact the *Guardian* was alone in adopting a diplomatic tone towards Britain's EU partners as any kind of norm. It even ran a leader on 24 January entitled 'Europe an apology' in which it lamented the way the British sometimes talk about other Europeans which 'barely rises above the level of abuse'. The paper also acknowledged the fact that 'momentum towards unification has little to do with economic rationality and everything to do with political passion' (in a leader of 28 January, 'The easy way to be a Europhile') And through features written, respectively, by Andrew Hilton and Francis Wheen, the paper appealed to its readers to 'embrace the German Behemoth' (27 January) - thereby abandoning their suspicions about Germany and its aggressive tendencies - and ridiculed the 'europhobic' members of the House of Lords who spoke in support of the Lord Pearson's Bill (in 'Europhobic Lords a'leaping', 5 February).

Like its UK broadsheet counterparts, however, the *Guardian* made only passing references to the accession to the EU of the Central and Eastern European countries, giving little comment on the topic.

Political structure and domestic political strife

Teresa Gorman's Bill, which would have forced a referendum about the nature of Britain's relationship with the EU, was covered by all the broadsheets. But, although that initiative was treated more with amusement than passion (for instance, 'Swineherd and wench do battle over Europe' Parliamentary sketch by Davis Aaronovitch in *The Independent*, 22 January), Lord Pearson's Bill, did cause a stir, especially since it involved Baroness Thatcher and other 'dry' Tories. For the *Daily Telegraph*, for instance, Lord Pearson was 'God's Euro-sceptic' (in a feature, 1 February), engaged in a 'cosmic battle between good and evil'. And it delighted in the House of Lords' debate on the Bill, which told the EU to 'get stuffed' (1 February, 'Thatcher safety catch on as Europe is shot down').

The two Bills also triggered some broadsheet debate on referendums. On the 6 February, for instance, the *Guardian* included a feature by Bernard Crick, entitled 'A plague on these polls', arguing that referendums 'represent an abject surrender of responsible government'. In contrast, writing in *The Times* on 27 January ('Renegotiation means out'), Peter Riddell backed calls for a referendum, reckoning that the question should be whether or not Britain remained an EU member at all.

Also, not surprisingly, the broadsheets, like the tabloids, made much of the domestic political strife occasioned by the EU. This has been fully discussed in Chapter 4. And the same politicians were quoted in both the broadsheet and tabloid press, indicating just how successful these people had become in using the newspaper press to propound their views. Regularly featured during the sample period, were, for instance, such 'rent-a-quotes'¹ as John Redwood (eg in *The Independent*, 'Jobless in Leipzig: taxed in Liverpool'. 17 January) Lord Tebbit, Teddy Taylor and Bill Cash (eg in the *Daily Telegraph*, 27 January, 'Major states resistance to EU single currency', and in *The Times*, 12 February, 'Britain heads for row over EU fuel tax plan' and 22 January, 'Redwood condemns calls for European

smartcard', to pick just a random sample). The use of these sources will be more fully discussed in Chapter 12. However, significantly, these right-wingers did not appear in the more liberal-leaning *Guardian*.

The UK's relationship with the EU

The *Guardian* was also alone among the UK broadsheets in arguing for a positive approach in general to Europe. For that paper, 'sovereignty is as you make it' (18 January), and it lamented the fact that the election campaign was 'descending into farce' with dire warnings from Euro-sceptics of unfounded threats posed to Britain by, for instance, the harmonisation of tax. The paper was also embarrassed by what it saw as the Government being difficult in not supporting the initiatives sparked off by the EU's Year against Racism (in 'Major vetoes racism fight', 27 January) and by John Major's anti social chapter speech in Brussels (ie 'Major's onslaught on social chapter', 5 February). It was similarly uncomfortable about Malcolm Rifkind's initiative to 'take the debate about the future of the European Union to the people of Europe and over the heads of the politicians' (in 'Europe: an apology', 24 January).

In short, the paper saw little to be gained from the suspicious and constantly carping attitude of the Tory Government towards the UK's EU partners, and wanted instead more efforts to foster a Union 'which works more closely together in as many fields as it practically can'

In the view of *The Times*, however, the Rifkind initiative was well-timed. It was an appropriate juncture, the paper reckoned, 'to refresh the European debate' (in a leader of 24 January, 'Rifkind's soapbox'). As discussed in Chapter 4 (p70), *The Times* saw EMU as a critical issue ('Ruling out', 24 January) and was firmly opposed to it. It also felt that the British did not want a federal Europe, any more loss of sovereignty, or more European integration.

These sentiments were largely echoed in the *Daily Telegraph* which was similarly opposed to any hint of closer ties with Europe, saw no reason to join EMU or to adopt the social chapter, and bristled at every suggestion of Brussels imposing its rules on the UK. That

latter point was particularly clear in its coverage of the proposed alliance between British Airways and American Airlines, which will be discussed in Chapter 8. And although the paper generally felt that there was no chance that the UK would actually leave the EU ('A row made in Japan', 31 January) it, nevertheless, revelled in anti-EU debate, such as that occasioned by Lord Pearson's Bill.

In its more reasonable way, *The Independent* showed more willingness to accept Robin Cook's 'wait and see' approach to EMU, while admitting concern about the 'democratic threat posed by a single currency' ('Cook finds the right recipe for Europe', 4 February). In general, however, the paper took a pragmatic approach to the national relationship to the EU. It feared loss of sovereignty, but reckoned that 'the challenge is to come up with a credible vision of Europe's future and work for it from within the core' ('Taming the Franco-German Behemoth', 17 January). The paper also admitted that the word 'federalism' meant different things to different nations, although it was constantly vigilant, particularly about Franco-German plans for a European superstate. It was also peeved about EU intervention in respect of the BA/AA alliance, and the way it had revealed 'the long arm and big nose of Mr van Miert' (14 January).

EU regulations

Indeed, EU rules and regulations, in so far as they supported the notion that Brussels was imposing its will on the UK, were as much a news focus in some of the broadsheets as they were in the tabloids. The *Daily Telegraph*, for instance, was fiercely opposed to the proposal from the European Safety Commission that would have compelled British motorists to drive with their 'running' lights on during the day (in a leader of 13 February, entitled 'A dark day for drivers'). It sounded a note of exasperation in the feature 'Rules spout out of Brussels' (10 February) at the amount of EU legislation in the pipeline, and expressed relief in its leader of 15 January ('A second CAP?') that there was not yet an airline policy to match that afflicting agriculture and fisheries.

In news stories, too, the *Daily Telegraph* continued to indicate its disapproval of EU-imposed regulations. Examples included 'Euro code is unobtainable' (14 January), and 'European

rules "stifle biotech" (20 January), discussed in Chapter 4 (p69).

The Times, too, was constantly on the look-out for EU 'interference'. In a news story of 12 February ('Britain heads for row over EU fuel tax plan') it concentrated on 'appalled' Conservative Euro-sceptic MPs who were warning against what they saw as the start of the imposition of a Europe-wide taxation system. Condemnation of the 'illogical' proposal on ferry safety, in which all passengers would be obliged to give their personal details to ferry crews, featured in a news story on 5 February, and an 'arrangement' in which the EU would favour former European colonies in respect of banana exports, elicited a prediction that there would be 'huge job losses and an upsurge in drug trafficking' in the Caribbean countries which would be losing an important market.

There was, however, much less concentration on regulations in both the *Guardian* and *The Independent*. The former tended to make these the topic of only relatively minor stories (eg 'Millionaire wheat and barley barons cash in on huge EU subsidies while small hill farmers are left in the cold' on 6 February, and 'Ministers fight to save fishery talks', 13 February) both of which were as critical of the then Tory Government as they were of the EU. For its part, *The Independent* drew attention to such matters as a proposed 'information tax' (in 'Cyberspace - final frontier for EU taxmen', 20 January) and the implications for Italian farmers who were now being obliged to pay attention to milk quotas (p128). But, again, in both cases the EU generally escaped criticism.

Attitude to EU internal politics and 'openness'

Even so, *The Independent* was regularly up in arms about what it saw as the EU's failure to communicate with clarity its rules and regulations. In a leader of 10 February ('The vital message beneath the Euro waffle') the newspaper heralded the fact that it had set a 'team of code-crackers' to work out what the social chapter - 'vague, with dodgy translations' - was really all about. On 22 January, it featured Sir Michael Butler, Labour's EU envoy, trying to make sense of the 'incomprehensible' Maastricht Treaty (in 'Twenty-five years of the European dream that have changed the face of Britain') and on 4 February, it was maintaining that the 'Euro-babble can't obscure the budget crunch'. In this it was trying to

identify what was and what was not allowed for countries attempting to meet the criteria for joining EMU.

The implications of the BSE débâcle for the internal operation of the European Commission and Parliament were generally down-played by the British broadsheets, which were more interested in the effect the affair was having on the British beef trade, and, again, the attempted 'interference' of Brussels in British attempts to eradicate the disease². The repercussions of the EU ban on British beef were also blamed in some stories (eg *The Times* on 23 January) for putting a damper on Burns night in that haggis was also implicated. Although some attention was drawn to the internal wrangling the BSE affair had caused within the Union, and the subsequent investing of new authority in Emma Bonino at the expense of Franz Fischler (eg in *The Times* story 'Bonino chosen as new BSE chief', and the *Daily Telegraph* story 'Fischler is stripped of major food safety role', both on 13 February), this aspect of the affair was clearly considered of less importance than the damage being caused by the ban. Unlike their Danish counterparts, none of the UK papers considered that the British should feel any great sense of guilt over the affair.

Similarly, the promotion to the post of President of the European Parliament of the Spaniard, José Maria Gil Robles, after what appeared to have been some behind the scenes wheeler-dealing between Germans and Spaniards, failed to excite the more detached British newspapers in the way it did the Danish press.

Danish broadsheets

Relationship with other Europeans

Wariness about the Germans, a keen interest in - but some irritation about - other Nordic countries, and support for Central and Eastern European countries in their bid for EU membership, were all evident in the EU reporting of the Danish broadsheets.

Touching first on the Germans, *Jyllands-Posten* in particular revealed mixed feelings, which was perhaps not surprising given Jutland's land border with Germany. While the leader of

23 January ('Guests in Uniform') expressed dismay that German policemen, in uniform, had been allowed to attend the funeral in Aalborg of a rocker gang member, in other reports an acknowledgement was made that Danish attitudes to Germany should change. For instance, a news story of 7 February ('Young Social Democrats want done with the opt-outs'), reported the opinion of a young Social Democrat that Germany should not have to keep on paying for the last war. The view was that, for instance, Germany should not have to cope alone with mass immigration from the East, and that asylum seekers should be more evenly shared among EU members.

Similarly, the link between Germany's well-being and Denmark's fortunes - whether the Danes liked it or not - was illustrated in, for instance, *Berlingske Tidende*, in which a news story of 29 January about the Germans' economic woes ('Germany's EMU aspirations put under pressure by unemployment') admitted that the 'sorry German figures can threaten Denmark'.

The relationship with the other Nordic countries was also a focus. There were reports of some minor tiffs with the Norwegians in, for instance, the *Jyllands-Posten* story of 12 February - 'EU agrees with Danish fishermen' - in which the Union was reported as siding with the Danes in respect of 'over-stringent' Norwegian fish inspectors. Disagreements with the Swedes were also featured in, for instance, the *Information* story of 5 February, ('Swedish reports: Danish opt-outs hamper Nordic co-operation'). This included quotes from Ole Stavard of the Social Democrats, defending the Danes against Swedish allegations that the opt-outs were hindering co-operation between Denmark, Finland and Sweden. Given that Sweden is now a fellow EU member, and looked upon as a close ally within the EU, there was understandably close Danish interest in the Swedish stance - or what that might eventually be - on EMU (eg in *Berlingske Tidende*, 12 February 'Swedish Minister attacks EMU in spite of gag', and in an *Information* leader of 31 January, 'Wait and see, perhaps'). Although there was an acceptance that the Swedish and Danish positions on the single currency differed, there was, nevertheless, the anticipation that whatever the Swedes decided to do might also affect Denmark, or at least provide a few lessons.

As far as the Central and Eastern European countries were concerned, an unalloyed

enthusiasm to see them joining the EU fold was common to all the Danish broadsheets. There were, for instance, *Information* features championing an early amendment of the CAP for the benefit of the Eastern Europeans ('EU's agricultural subsidies: Eastern Europe must join in', 20 January) and maintaining that nobody should oppose their speedy entry to the Union ('The Eastern European card', 14 February). *Berlingske Tidende* gave space on 7 February to Vaclav Havel who argued that the accession of Eastern European countries to the EU was 'Europe's one chance in the 21st century'. And in a leader of 24 January - 'EU's expansion' - *Politiken* summed up the national mood by criticising other EU members for their 'lame excuses' for putting the brakes on the expansion process and for overstating the technical difficulties involved. The accession of these countries would be, among other things, 'a godgiven opportunity to speed up the (EU) reforms there has long been a need for', the paper argued.

The Baltic States, too, came under the spotlight in, for example, *Jyllands-Posten's* feature of 24 January ('Estonia - the rehearsal for the EU's expansion'). In this, Hendrik Ilves, Estonia's Foreign Affairs Minister, argued that his country's traditions were European 'and Estonia's entry into the EU will symbolise the country's home-coming after many years of unwilling exile'.

On a slightly more negative note, and in common with the Danish tabloids, the Danish broadsheets were peeved with the French over 'protectionism' in respect of skiing instructors (eg in the *Berlingske Tidende* story of 27 January, 'French own goal'). Furthermore, much wary coverage was given to the alliance of France and Germany - who were apparently trying to form an internal EU fast-track towards closer integration - and the disarray of these two countries over the running of the European Central Bank. There were, for example, the *Politiken* feature of 1 February, 'Insecure French-German alliance', the *Information* stories of 17 and 21 January - 'Bonn and Paris deny secret plan' and 'France and Germany want to stop (those hesitating in the EU)' - and its feature of 29 January, 'They were such good friends...'.

There was even some mild exasperation about the British. This was evident particularly in what the Danish papers saw as a failure by the EU to act in the interests of consumers in the

BSE affair. In stories such as 'BSE report censured by the Commission' (in *Information*, 22 January), the view was expressed that the Commission had bowed to British pressure to do nothing over BSE in the early stages of the affair, and that the British had since been unhelpful in providing information to bring the matter under control. The UK also earned mild rebukes for some heel-dragging over the absorption of refugees (eg in the *Jyllands-Posten* story of 7 February, 'Young social Democrats want done with the opt-outs') and for a lack of enthusiasm for measures to combat racism in the EU (eg in *Jyllands Posten*, 31 January, 'Wry start to the year against racism').

Comment was, however, mild in comparison with that expressed in the British press. The Danish broadsheets also showed a much greater interest in how their own countrymen were being seen by other EU members. There was even some pride expressed when praise was given (eg 'EU praises Danish environmental handbook', in *Jyllands Posten*, 3 February). There was, too, far less prickliness about perceived 'interference' by other EU countries, although a sense of some superiority was evident in some stories. The failure of other countries to match Denmark in environmental legislation was, for instance, highlighted in such stories as 'Danish tin ban could end in court' (*Jyllands-Posten*, 17 January), which reported how the Danes were being criticised by other EU members for banning the use of tin cans for drinks.

Political structure and domestic political strife

Not surprisingly, the forthcoming referendum in Denmark about the Amsterdam Treaty, the relevance of the opt-outs, and whether or not a vote on those should be included in the referendum, were the focus of much attention in the Danish broadsheets during the sample period. Clearly, dispute over Europe did afflict Danish politicians, and there were splits over the matter within Danish political parties. For instance, the Social Democrats - the country's leading political party, and that of the Prime Minister - were divided over what the nature of Denmark's relationship with the EU should be. Such disagreement was, however, expressed less vehemently in Denmark than it was in the UK.

Typically, *Jyllands-Posten* ran such features as 'If it is a No', (29 January), 'Confusion about

opt-out' (12 February); and 'Opt-outs don't harm us' (14 February), in which politicians and other specialist commentators were given the opportunity to propound their differing views. As discussed in Chapter 4 (p79), these were not necessarily in agreement with the paper's own opinions which were laid out in such leaders as 'Taboo-laden EU debate' (5 February), 'Honest EU strategy' (11 February) and 'Debate without reservations' (13 February). In these, *Jyllands-Posten* directed much of its criticism towards the Government for failing to give a firm outline of its views on the matter, thereby missing an opportunity to fire a meaningful debate among the Danish population. And the Social Democrats - wary about discussing just what kind of relationship Denmark should have with the EU on account of their internal differences of opinion - were contrasted negatively with the Danish equivalent of the TUC who were 'daring to discuss the EU without opt-outs'.

Information, meantime, had features like 'EU debate forces Nyrup to a showdown over the opt-outs' (8 February), and 'Refugees - the question is too explosive' (11 February) in which, again, a variety of views was expressed. The disarray among Danish politicians was covered in such news stories as 'Social Democrat Party tussle over boundaries for EU debate' (31 January) and 'Social Democrat chiefs fall out over opt-outs' (3 February).

For *Berlingske Tidende*, the performance of the Danish negotiator, Niels Ersbøll, at the IGC, in which he had strayed from the line mandated by the Folketing's European Affairs Committee, caused some debate. For example, the leader of 23 January, 'Reprimand in gift paper', took him to task, although the Government's 'unclear and woolly' stance was not reckoned to have helped matters. The uneasy stance over Europe of the Social Democrats was specifically covered in a story on 7 February ('Social Democrat balancing act') in which the party's efforts to crystallise a policy, specifically in respect of the opt-outs, that would keep all its members happy, was discussed. Views among other groups differed, too, as the paper's news stories showed: 'Political duel about EU fear' (21 January), 'EU decision gets a lukewarm reception' (11 February) 'EU policy splits trade union' (13 February) and 'EU politician goes against her party' (13 February) were among those that focused on opposing opinions in a variety of locations. Again, much of the disagreement centred on whether or not a vote about the opt-outs should be included in the forthcoming referendum and, if they should, how many, and which ones. The use of transport metaphors (discussed in Chapter

4, p81) clearly suggested that *Berlingske Tidendes* perceived the EU as a developing entity, which required the Danes also to keep their relationship with it constantly under review. As part of this, the opt-out in respect of asylum in particular should, the paper argued, be debated forthwith.

Politiken included features such as: 'On the way to a new No?' (14 January); 'Europhile Danes stamp like mice' (21 January); and 'The Danes cannot be frightened' (6 February), again, written by a variety of politicians and others with vested interests and, again, expressing a spectrum of views. Some of *Politiken's* own opinions were revealed in the leader of 22 January ('EU vote - what will a new No mean?'), in which the paper commented that 'despite the fact that we have now been members for a quarter of a century, and despite the fact that co-operation with the EU affects our daily lives in all possible respects, political uncertainty still dogs our participation'. Such uncertainty was again illustrated in coverage of the threatened court case in which, it was claimed, Danish powers had been signed over to the EU in a way that contravened the Constitution (eg 'EU sceptics change tactics', 24 January, 'The Government refuses to deliver EU documents', 25 January and 'High Court refuses to deliver documents', 12 February). The case was even the subject of a leader on 25 January ('The dilemma of opposition - the Constitution case about everything or nothing') in which it was dismissed by the paper as 'unrealistic'.

The Danes' relationship with the EU

Clearly much of the disagreement discussed above related to the exact nature of Denmark's relationship with the EU. Whether or not some or all of the opt-outs were still relevant, whether or not Denmark should aim for closer co-operation and just what would happen if the Danes voted No again in the forthcoming referendum, were topics of much debate. In common with the British broadsheets, the subject of flexibility in the EU also drew much coverage although there was more of an air of resignation in the Danish approach to the subject.

For instance, in a leader of 22 January - 'The EU's two-stroke engine' - *Jyllands-Posten* reckoned that readers could not be surprised that the French and Germans wanted to storm

ahead with closer integration. Who could blame them when they were being held back by the 'slow ships in the convoy' - namely the UK and Denmark - the paper asked. Even so, the concern of Danish politicians that less enthusiastic countries would be penalised for holding back was also covered (in 'Massive support for Danish EU wishes', 21 January and 'Nyrup concentrates his efforts on flexible EU co-operation', 7 February).

The 'dangers' behind the French and German drive for closer unity for those countries who did not share the same enthusiasm were also discussed in *Information*. The initiative - although acceptable in principle - could splinter the Union, the paper suggested, unless appropriate measures were taken to safeguard the 'qualified veto' ('EU veto under new pressure', 17 January, and 'Nyrup: Yes to EU in two speeds', 7 February).

Berlingske Tidende, too, was concerned about the effects of flexibility (eg in: 'EU countries in group work or on the way to a split', 20 January; 'Ritt B. hopes for more flexible EU', 21 January; and 'Nyrup: No way round flexible EU', 7 February). In common with the other Danish broadsheets, it, too, felt that the opt-outs were unhelpful in the Danes' efforts to make the most of EU membership (this view was expressed in a leader of 11 February, entitled 'EU towards harmonisation') and that, much as the Danes might regret loss of sovereignty, there was little to be gained from a continued half-hearted approach to the Union

Politiken was equally realistic about the Danish position. Fears that another referendum No vote would necessitate Danish withdrawal from the EU were aired (eg in the news story 'No to the EU treaty will be the same as withdrawal', 22 January) as were concerns that, for example, retaining the opt-out on co-operation in respect of refugees and immigrants would isolate the country (eg in 'Denmark threatened with isolation', 7 February). On the other hand, the small - and diminishing - degree of power Denmark had in the EU was also a matter of some regret for the paper. For instance, the effect a 'flexible' Europe might have on this was covered in 'Denmark on the way to EU defeat' (22 January), but there was some relief in a news story of 15 January, that a threat that small EU countries - including Denmark - would lose some of their voting powers, had receded (in 'Denmark holds on to its power in the EU'). The notion of the no-win situation in that, outside the Union, the

Danes would have no influence or power at all, but that, within it, they were still constantly at risk of being marginalised, was also evident in stories such as 'The big take the initiative in the EU (31 January). Concern about a loss of sovereignty emerged in stories such as 'The EU wants to question Danish ministers' (15 January).

EU regulations

The Danes consider themselves to be leading the field in terms of environmental legislation, for which they generally wish to see more stringent EU regulations. And, overall, the Danish papers were more willing than their UK counterparts to accept EU controls, as shown by their response to the EU intervention in respect of the overpayment of subsidies to Danish shipyards. This was much reported in the broadsheets (eg in *Jyllands-Posten* on 14 January, 'EU demands that shipyard subsidy is repaid'; in *Berlingske Tidende* on 23 January, 'The EU demands state subsidy paid back'; and in *Polinken* on 6 February, 'Shipyards cleared by the EU'). As discussed in Chapter 4 (eg p79 and p82), there was no suggestion that the EU had no right to interfere in this and, in fact, there was even a hint of pride when Denmark received a pat on the back for its efforts to put things straight (eg in *Berlingske Tidende* of 6 February, 'EU fulsome praise for Denmark in shipyard affair').

There was, too, gratitude for EU help over, for instance, Japanese restrictions on the import of Danish pork (in *Jyllands-Posten*, 12 February 'Danish pigs on the WTO's table' and in *Berlingske Tidende*, of the same date, 'Danish pigs in WTO case') And there was support for such initiatives as the move to give battery hens a better life (in *Polinken*, 22 January)

However, EU failure to agree on a strategy for the clear and comprehensive labelling of genetically modified food was highlighted (eg in *Information*, 16 January, 'Genetically modified food divides the EU Parliament'; in *Berlingske Tidende*, 17 January, 'Auken wants to change EU practice for genetically modified food'; and *Polinken*, 28 January, 'Strife in the EU about genetically modified maize'). Again, the Danish wish was for more EU intervention and control, rather than less.

Attitude to EU internal politics and 'openness'

Even so, the Danish papers were critical of what they saw as waste and inefficiency in the running of the EU. As one example, the *Berlingske Tidende* leader of the 25 January ('Ridiculous EU measurement'), in which it berated the European Commission office in Copenhagen for trying to convince the Danish population that it is not a 'money guzzling bureaucracy', has already been discussed (Chapter 4, p80). This was followed on 11 February by a feature headed: 'Too expensive to seek EU funding', in which the application process for companies seeking subsidies in the field of information technology was criticised for being too complicated and costly. And on 12 February - 'Dane must trim EU bureaucracy' - Steffen Smidt, newly appointed General Director for Personnel in the EU Commission, was featured. His job, the paper explained, was to rationalise and reduce privileges in this overpaid bureaucracy.

For *Information*, too, accountability of the EU's internal bodies was a cause of particular concern. In the leader 'Madness and eurocrats' (27 January), for instance, the repercussions of the BSE affair were covered, with the paper hoping that the EU Parliament was not using the affair just to wrest more power from the Commission. In extensive coverage of what it saw as the failure of the Commission to act immediately when a possible link between BSE and its human equivalent, CJD, emerged, its kowtowing to the British and its apparent determination to put economic factors before the interests of consumers were sources of much concern to the paper. The critical findings of the committee of enquiry, and the threatened vote of no confidence in the Commission, were used by the paper to suggest that a good deal more openness was needed all round. Indeed, the story headings alone give a flavour of *Information's* perception of the affair - 'Mad cow sinners go free' (15 January); 'Santer comes under fire in BSE affair' (16 January); 'BSE report censured by the Commission' (22 January); 'EU Commission threatened with the sack in the BSE affair' (23 January); 'Demand for power can save Santer in BSE affair' (25 January); and 'EU chaos over BSE' (7 February). Four of these stories appeared on the front page of the paper, and that of 22 January was the paper's lead of that day.

Jyllands-Posten, too, rued the EU's complicated bureaucracy. In a story of 17 January - 'EU

subsidy can be achieved without shuffling paper' - it related how Danish firms were giving up in advance of applying for subsidies because they saw it as 'a hopeless fight against bureaucracy and acres of paper'. While *Politiken* was wary of EU moves to extend its powers, and also of abuses in the system. For instance, in 'Parliament wants more influence' (15 January) the notion that the EU Parliament should be able to nominate for itself the people it wanted to question if, say, another BSE affair emerged, sounded alarm bells. In the words of one source, 'the proposal will give the EU Parliament more powers than..the Danish Folketing has...'.

The election to the leadership of the EU Parliament of José Marie Gil Robles was also a matter of concern to *Polinken* (discussed in Chapter 4, p82). Similarly, in 'The ways of power are secret' (17 January), *Politiken* drew attention to the fact that much law-making in the EU was conducted in secret - more openness and democracy were called for, it maintained.

Clearly, for the Danes, the workings of the EU - the cost, bureaucracy, secrecy, and lack of both accountability and democracy - were bugbears, and contrasted dramatically with the way in which Danish power bases function. The implication was that these flaws made the Union vulnerable to abuse on many fronts.

Comparison of the broadsheets

As this analysis shows, the differences outlined in the first section of this chapter were reflected in broadsheet newspaper coverage of the EU during the sample period.

Looking first at relationships with other countries, Danish enthusiasm for the accession of the Eastern and Central European countries to the EU contrasted with a lack of British interest in the subject; to the UK newspapers, these countries were too remote to warrant much attention. And the Danes' interest in their Nordic, and, to a lesser extent, their Baltic, neighbours was similarly not shared by the British. However, both countries saw Germany, and, to a lesser extent, France, as a focus, although for different reasons, and in different ways. The Danish papers were particularly wary of the Germans, fearing the dominance of

that country, while acknowledging that they were dependent on it. The British papers tended to expect the worst - from both Germany and France - and were frequently niggled by their leading roles within the Union that rarely took British sensitivities into account.

The EU as a cause of internal political strife was evident in the press of both countries, although the circumstances, tone and topics differed. For the British broadsheets, for instance, the first-past-the-post, two-party system and imminence of the General Election, contributed to robust reporting of EU matters, in which the parties' internal wrangling over Europe was given wide coverage. Both sides were using Europe as a weapon in their election battles, and Euro-sceptic MPs in particular were using the Euro-sceptic press to press home their negative vision of the direction in which the Union was heading.

In contrast, the Danish coalition system, in which there is more general political consensus - in respect of Europe, as in other matters - provoked few heated exchanges for the papers to report. Although disagreements about the EU were a news focus, these were expressed and reported in considerably milder terms than was the case in Britain. The imminence of a referendum was clearly having a major impact in that it was necessitating widespread debate in the press on the nature of Denmark's relationship with the EU with reference to concrete issues.

Other differences could be seen in greater Danish concern about 'openness' in the EU - largely absent from most British newspapers that, opposed to the whole idea of European Union, consequently took little interest at all in the mechanics of its operation. Furthermore, the open nature of Danish political and other institutions means that Danes have come to expect this of all public bodies. The British, in contrast, are more used to secrecy in these spheres.

Furthermore, while the British papers were quick to oppose and ridicule the imposition of EU regulations - real or imagined - their Danish counterparts were far more accepting of these and sometimes felt even more EU controls were needed. This, again, suggested that Danish papers were more willing than their British counterparts to judge EU initiatives without prejudice.

End Notes

1. This description is coined by Nicholas Jones in his book 'Soundbites and Spin Doctors'.
2. There were many stories reporting the BSE affair. For instance: *The Independent* on 15 January ('Ministers angry after being accused of fuelling beef crisis' and 7 February ('EU to seek £1bn refund from Britain over BSE'); the *Guardian* on 15 January ('Hogg derides threats by MEPs to take him to court') and February 14 'BSE report is absurd, says Britain'); *The Times* on 15 January ('Hogg sparks fresh row by dismissing EU legal threat'); and the *Daily Telegraph* on 6 February ('Farmers accuse ministers over EU ban on beef').

Chapter 7

Business, finance and economics in the international context

Among the dominant story themes during the sample period, business, finance and economics in the international context figured strongly. This particularly reflected the 'internationalisation' of what were generally 'national' issues just a few decades ago and is significant in this thesis for two reasons.

First, reporting in this sphere sheds light on - and illustrates differences between - the approach of the British and Danes to international integration. Both are wary about loss of independence, as Pilkington puts it (p101):

...at the end of the twentieth century, the nation-state is under threat from two directions: overshadowed by supranational organisations and multinational organisations, yet undermined by the minor nationalisms of regions, religious groups or ethnic minorities...The appeal of Euro-scepticism to the adherence of the nation-state, as a defence of national sovereignty against the encroachment of an alien Europe, is...essentially flawed because the nation-state, instead of reaching its apotheosis in the post-war world, is in decline in the face of international reality.

However, there are substantial differences in the way interaction between EU member states, and between the Union and non-members worldwide, is reported in the British and Danish press which make for meaningful analysis.

Second, particularly in the UK, the difference in approach between journalists who specialise in reporting business and finance and their counterparts in other reporting spheres also highlights a number of elements that are significant to this research.

The nature of financial journalism

Business and financial journalism is generally governed by factors that differ from those affecting reporting in other fields - at least when it appears in specified business sections of

the newspapers, or in dedicated financial publications. Many press commentators have addressed this, putting forward a series of suggested explanations. MacDougall, for instance (quoted in Tumber, p353), explains that business and finance stories appearing on the front, or within the early pages of a newspaper, will, in accordance with normal factors of newsworthiness (Chapter 2, p26), concentrate on the 'bad news' of scandal, dirty-dealings, job losses and other disasters, whereas those in the business sections will have the opposite emphasis. There, corporate profits, executive promotions, product developments and the like will generally triumph over the more negative elements of business life. In short, the focus for each section is different. For this reason, as will be seen in the newspaper analyses (p172), the same story can be treated quite differently within the same newspaper.

All national newspapers these days have financial sections. In the broadsheets, these appear almost as a 'newspaper within a newspaper', but even the tabloids now dedicate sections to matters financial (Virginia Matthews in the *Guardian*, 24 August, 1987, p13; Tumber, p350, Fleet, p8; Newman, p196; Tunstall, 1996, p354). The information purveyed here is particularly useful - if not vital - to any business that needs to understand the economic climate in which it must plan for future prosperity (Fleet, p6). As a result, journalists reporting on business or financial matters are required to provide the business community with information that is accurate and comprehensive enough to enable it to function effectively. Nevertheless, the relationship between business and the media does have its snags, and in reporting the topic as a whole journalists face particular problems. Although the British and Danish newspaper press do not appear to have suffered from the kind of intense antagonism that existed for some time between American corporations and the US press (widely reported and analysed by, for instance, Hynds, p297; Peterson, Kozmetsky and Cunningham, p461; and Dreier, p121), they are obliged to be wary of each other. As Fleet (p4) and Rubin (in *Big Business and the Media*, p77) argue, the influence of the financial writer 'whose words can mean money' is significant, and companies dread the kind of negative reporting of company doom that can destroy business confidence and become a self fulfilling prophesy.

For their part, financial reporters, who often have no formal training in their field of activity (Barber, writing in the *New Statesman*, 1 May, 1987, p18), can find that the complexity of

business news is both difficult for them to grasp, personally, and even more difficult to express in the simple, unambiguous terms demanded by their newspapers (Rubin, as above, p7 and p22). Furthermore, the torrent of facts and figures that daily descends on financial journalists means that a particular reliance on company press releases and PR hand-outs has become an inevitability in some quarters (Parsons p216; Newman, p231; Rubin, as above, p79; Tunstall, 1996, p368). Consequently, the business press has sometimes been accused of having too cosy a relationship with business and financial leaders and to have virtually abandoned investigative or critical journalism (Parsons, p216; Tumber, p347; and Barber).

For all of these reasons, financial and business journalism often has a style and approach that differs from that appearing in other sections of the newspaper; tendencies that were evident in EU related reports during the sample period, especially in UK newspapers. This research found that information in specific business sections was, for instance, generally conveyed in a less passionate style - factual rather than emotional - with more concentration on the role of the newspaper as purveyor of reliable data. This sometimes meant that stories lacked critical appraisal - and were less 'entertaining' - but the lack of sensationalism in the reporting of business and financial matters, along with the absence of 'rent-a-quotes', provided comparisons from which conclusions, significant to this research, could be drawn.

Also influential to reporting in this sphere is the fact that economic trends are gradual. According to Bill Emmott, editor of *The Economist* (in *Reporting Europe*, Winter 1995, p8): 'Business is not driven by events. It is not a "war" as most think, but a process, on-going and unending.' This gradual unfurling of a process is, nevertheless, punctuated along the way by dramatic but unrepresentative 'blips'. Given that newspapers are better at representing the brief distortions - the immediately newsworthy events or blips - rather than the longer-term developments (Chapter 1, p8), they have sometimes been accused of distorting the economic picture (Hynds, p297). The concentration on the dramatic event at the expense of the long term development is evident in this study, particularly in respect of EMU.

However, although the influence of advertisers on the business and financial press is reckoned by some to be particularly significant (Fleet, p7, and Newman, p182, for instance, maintain that journalists involved in this sector are under particular pressure not to offend

advertisers, who may well be figuring widely in their reports), little evidence emerged in this study that the feelings of advertisers had been taken into account in any substantial way in the reporting of business and financial news - at least in as far as it related to the EU. And there was nothing to support the theories of, for instance, Herman and Chomsky (p14), that the interests of advertisers had acted as one of the 'filters' for news, or of Dreier (p129), that the news media had in any way acted as a 'tool' of the business community as capitalist class. Even so, Parson's notion of its agenda-setting role is persuasive. As he puts it (p7): 'The power of the financial press may...be characterized in terms of its capacity to establish a community of economic discourse as opposed to an ability to change the attitudes and opinions of its readers.' Thus, as with the newspaper press in general, what business and financial journalists choose to report, and in what detail, is as important as the opinions they put into it.

Economic and Monetary Union (EMU)

The sample period was a time when EU member countries were anticipating the completion of EMU on January 1, 1999. Many would-be members were, however, struggling to meet the requirements and the issue was the cause of national and international tensions. Although both the UK and Denmark have traditionally voiced strong reservations about the concept of EMU, and had no plans to join EMU in the 'first wave', the way this topic was being handled in the newspapers of each country during the sample period differed. Although the reasons for this difference were, as this thesis shows, varied, historical contexts were significant.

According to Pilkington (p170), Britain had originally intended to join EMU, but had been deterred by memories of the turmoil which hit the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) - an earlier, but much looser attempt at EMU - in 1992-93, which caused the lira and sterling to withdraw. Even so, there was never wholehearted enthusiasm for it. As Michael Franklin puts it (p56): 'Britain has a long history of distaste for the management of economic and monetary policy becoming a Community responsibility,' preferring instead to keep it a matter for national regulation. Thus, at least for the political establishment, the question of control has inevitably overridden consideration of the economic benefits membership of EMU might

bring. For the business world, however, the benefits of membership are recognised, and there is genuine concern about the consequences of the UK staying out. As Michael Franklin adds (p67), this lack of enthusiasm for EMU particularly within the country's political establishment - and solely in respect of its threat to British sovereignty - means that legitimate concerns over the practicalities of, for instance, the speed of integration and the genuine readiness of some countries to take part, have been obscured. Furthermore, he adds, many observers have voiced the fear that other countries will be less inclined to take into account the views of a UK that is detached from EMU, as such an important element of the EU's developing integration process. This is the nub of the UK's dilemma over EMU. To enter EMU would result in a loss of sovereignty but, as Franklin says (p68):

To stay out of EMU would be to face accusations that once again Britain had missed the tide of European events. A treaty of which it is not a signatory is not what the rest of the Community wants. It could have serious consequences for Britain's role as the leading financial centre of Europe. The result might be not just a two-speed Europe but a two-class Europe.

Given that the right to remain outside EMU was one of the opt-outs negotiated by the Danes following the No vote in the 1992 referendum about the Maastricht Treaty, it is ironic that, during the sample period, Denmark, like the UK, was one of the few countries that looked likely to meet the convergence criteria by 1 January, 1999. This was without any need for 'creative accounting' (*Denmark and the Euro*, p13).

In common with its UK counterpart, the Danish business community can see economic benefits from joining EMU (as the *Børsen* reports show, p167), although the population as a whole is generally opposed (*Børsen* opinion poll, 7 February, 1997, p14; and Barnes, 1996, p2). The fears of those opposing the initiative - in Denmark as in the UK - centre on the loss of sovereignty and economic freedom membership of EMU might entail and also on the belief that a 'Yes to economic and monetary union is tantamount to a Yes to a united states of Europe' (Christen Sørensen, p194).

The Danish political establishment also emulates its British counterpart in that there is internal disagreement over the pros and cons of EMU membership for the Danes. According

to reports (Barnes, as above; and *The Economist* Intelligence Unit Country Report, 1995, p8), significant Danish Government ministers such as Marianne Jelved (in charge of Economic Affairs) and Mogens Lykketoft (Minister for Finance) have long been encouraging positive debate about EMU, fearing that, outside it, Denmark could be sidelined. However, other commentators, as texts in the sample period show, remain opposed.

Even so, in contrast to the situation in the UK, during the sample period at least, political debate in Denmark about EMU was relatively restrained. Since the opt-out meant that Danes had already ruled themselves out of early entry, it was, at the time, a relatively 'remote' prospect. There was an acknowledgement that the effects impending EMU membership was having on other countries would also, to an extent, impinge on the Danes, but this was generally reckoned to relate primarily to members of the business community whose activities brought them into contact with other Europeans. It was not considered to be of immediate relevance to other sections of the Danish newspapers' readership, although Denmark's particularly close economic links with Germany - which was taking a leading role among those countries expecting to join EMU in the first wave - were influential in some news reports.

Furthermore, in this sphere, the difference in size between the two countries was, again, significant. Copenhagen does not rival London as a leading financial centre and the Danes do not expect to take a primary role in guiding the EU in the economic and monetary sphere. In the sample texts, therefore, the Danes were showing less inclination than were the British to resent the leading role France and Germany looked likely to forge by joining EMU from the start and thus having the key say in the initial nature and running of the initiative. By the same token, Denmark's smallness as a nation was making some Danish commentators particularly fearful of what damage isolation from EMU might inflict on the Danes. There was, thus, an ambiguity in Danish press coverage of EMU that did not exist in the British newspapers.

As a further significant point of difference, Denmark has also, traditionally, had a less turbulent history than has the UK in previous, more limited, forms of 'integration'. For instance, in contrast to the UK, Denmark has maintained a fixed exchange rate policy in

respect of the German mark and other core currencies within the EMS since 1982 (*Denmark and the Euro*, p22).

The EU and international business and trade

The creation of a 'single market' in which member states can trade, free of barriers - concrete or legislative - was, and remains, one of the prime objectives of the EU. In furtherance of this, it has created systems and regulations designed to deter unfair competition, including, as will be seen in this research, state aid to individual firms or sectors of industry, and large-scale mergers that have monopolistic aspects. Both activities require the prior approval of the Commission. The imposition of unfair prices, and the limiting of production, markets, or technical development, are similarly banned (Borchardt, p44, Humphreys, p40)). These EU regulations are rigorously applied, and, as the sample period shows, can be the source of national resentment, particularly within member states like the UK who see such curbs as outside interference in their internal affairs. As Morton argues (p41), in fostering a genuinely 'single market', the EU must emulate the US and 'walk the same tightrope' between 'protecting the market from distortion and protecting companies from the ravages of foreign competition'. Perhaps not surprisingly, the Commission and individual member states do not always agree on how this can best be achieved. Although the majority would agree that, in principle, 'protectionism' is undesirable, many companies and countries are able to cite mitigating factors when accused of practising it themselves. Both the UK and Denmark showed evidence of this during the sample period.

However, although both countries support the notion of a single market - and the EU's role in achieving and maintaining this - the response of the British and Danish newspapers to Union activity on this front shows significant differences. For instance, for the UK press, the imposition of regulations to safeguard competition has often caused consternation. In that, as in other instances, any suggestion of Brussels 'interference' has caused hackles to rise - in the newspaper press as elsewhere. In contrast, the Danes are far less resentful than are the British about EU intervention in terms of competition regulations (see Chapter 6, p140). This is not least because, for example, with more stringent environmental legislation than

most other EU members, Denmark is anxious to avoid its producers being at a competitive disadvantage when pitched against countries whose industries are less burdened by 'green' taxes and other legislation (Nielsen in Hill, p113). At the same time - as this research shows - Danish environmental regulations sometimes draw protests from other countries which interpret them as a subtle form of protectionism. For these reasons, the Danes, particularly supported by the EU Commissioner for the Environment - Ritt Bjerregaard - who is herself a Dane, are constantly seeking to impose stricter 'green' regulations in other EU countries so that a common standard is reached.

Other contrasts emerge in the handling of stories that relate to EU regulations and other activity designed to enable the Union to trade competitively as a 'bloc' worldwide (Borchardt, p75; Michael Franklin, p48; Greenaway, p1535). For, in addition to maintaining a vigil to identify and eliminate unfair competition internally, the EU also acts as a corporate body in the international arena, representing its members' interests in, for instance, the World Trade Organisation (WTO). That body, which succeeded the former GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), acts as a forum at which international agreements on free trade can be reached, and to which countries can bring grievances if they feel trading partners are not adhering to these rules (Buckley, p12). As such, it featured several times during the sample period. This was, however, largely confined to the Danish press (p178). For, while the British rarely acknowledge that the EU has any meaningful role in the international arena, in any sphere, the Danes often recognise Union activity on this front as beneficial. This is particularly in its function as a means of combating protectionism and of representing Denmark's interests in the international arena - with an effectiveness that, as a small country, it could not hope to match alone. Such 'positive' EU activity has been favourably reported in the Danish press.

The EU as a whole is the world's biggest trader. It is followed by the US and then Japan - partners with which it attempts to foster good relationships but of which it sometimes falls foul. There were disagreements with both during the sample period. For instance, although the US 'unequivocally supports European economic integration' (McAllister, p17), and interaction between Europe and America is generally harmonious, there has been intermittent turbulence in the relationship between the two (Scott in Bulmer, p167; Budd and Jones,

p144). So, although the US has welcomed the formation of a strong European entity with which it can develop a thriving market, it has nevertheless remained fearful of the development of a 'Fortress Europe' which would stifle external competition (Michael Franklin, p3). But there are complaints on both sides. The EU, for instance, has in many instances reacted against what it sees as American protectionism¹ and an example of this emerged during the sample period.

However, although the UK still reckons to enjoy a 'special' relationship with the US, this is less evident in economic matters than it is in defence (Chapter 9, p184). Consequently, during the sample period at least, the EU's interaction with the US in respect of trade was provoking relatively little passion - or interest - in the UK's newspapers. In contrast, the Danes showed more concern about US activity in this sphere in particular, and less enthusiasm for the Americans in general. Again because of its small size, Denmark sometimes fears being overwhelmed not so much by the sheer physical might of America, but more by its culture and national characteristics, of which the Danes are often critical (Schou in Skovmand and Schröder, p142; Lerche-Nielsen and Wechselmann in de la Garde, p103; Silberbrandt, p111). Danish membership of the EEC in the early days - and subsequently of the EU - has thus sometimes been viewed as a means of distancing the US, while being part of a Union that is big enough to match it in certain respects. Consequently, on this front, too, many Danes feel that the EU has a positive role to play. Yet, wary though they are, the Danes still accept that the US - through NATO - is crucial in terms of international defence (Silberbrandt, p111; Pedersen, p189). This is discussed more fully in Chapter 9, p186.

As for Japan, the EU's links with that country have developed only recently - in the past two decades - as it has made a late emergence as one of the world's economic superpowers. Yet, despite policies to deepen the understanding between the two blocs, problems are still encountered (Scott in Bulmer, George and Scott, p168), and as Budd and Jones explain (p144):

The closed nature of the Japanese market caused by numerous administrative and technical barriers, the Japanese distribution system, and the widespread belief among the Japanese that it is unpatriotic to purchase foreign goods in preference to home manufacturers, have all had a major effect.

Evidence of this also emerged during the sample period.

Even so, substantial Japanese investment within Europe - as a means for Japan to capitalise on the EU market from within - is, as this study shows, a valued element of some major industries, and trade with Japan is important to both the UK and the Danes. Thus, although interest in the trading relationship between Japan and the EU as a whole was muted in the UK newspapers, the furore caused by the comments of Hiroshi Okuda in respect of British membership of EMU (highlighted on, for example, p158, p163, *et al*) indicated that although Japanese investment in the UK was much welcomed, Japanese nationals were not expected to interfere in the UK's relationship with the EU.

In common with the British, the Danes have no 'special' relationship with Japan. However, during the sample period they were in a dispute with the Japanese over exports of Danish pigmeat - a matter the EU had taken up on the Danes' behalf, much to the approval of the Danish newspapers.

EU reporting: the comparative views of business and financial journalists in the UK and Denmark

Of the interviewees in this project, four - three British and one Danish - were specifically concerned with business and finance. Given the international perspective of business and economics these days, and the relatively unemotional nature of reporting in this field, it is not surprising that all four were in general agreement in respect of the survey questions. This in itself contrasted with responses given by reporters in other fields - particularly the political correspondents - whose answers revealed substantial diversity. Indeed, the three British interviewees themselves acknowledged that there were differences between them and their political journalist colleagues in both the nature of the stories they handled, and in the influences to which they were subjected. For instance, emotional stories of passionate confrontation - the realm of the political journalist - contrasted with the more

'straightforward' reporting of stories in the business field; one British journalist felt that EU reporting as a whole would generally benefit from being 'depoliticised'. Furthermore, asked if they often experienced attempts by external agencies to manipulate them and to 'manage' the news, one commented that: 'We don't get spun so much as some people do.' Another reported that this happened 'not at all'. Although the Danish interviewee did report 'pressure from lobby groups,' she added that this was the experience of all journalists these days and was, therefore, unremarkable.

For all four business and finance journalists, the single currency was easily the most important EU topic of the moment. In the words of a British broadsheet journalist, it was 'the absolute big one', and, for the Danish participant: 'It's monetary union, it's the completion of the single market - I think for any business newspaper in Europe those would be the two issues.'

However, for the British journalists at least, the topic of mergers and takeovers - and the EU influence and constraints on those - also came to mind. Another also mentioned EU expansion and reform of the CAP; and competition regulations, too, were significant for the British interviewees. There was general agreement that the EU was an increasing feature their area of activity, and that it had an expanding role in the international business arena.

There were also vigorous denials from all four interviewees that advertisers had any effect on journalists' activities, British or Danish, although one UK interviewee said he felt that proprietors might exert an influence; he suspected that 'Murdoch's toings and froings with the EC' might well 'impinge' on *The Times*, although he was not one of that newspaper's staff.

In short, the different criteria against which the business community adjudges EU matters were best summed up by the Danish journalist. As she commented: 'We are a newspaper for business and most businesses want the euro because they see the merit of it. We (at *Børsen*) are for the full development of the free single market, the expansion of the EU, and also the single currency and more economic co-operation.'

End Note

1. The nature of these are detailed in, for instance, 'Report on United States Trade and Investment Barriers 1992: Problems of doing business with the US', published by Services of the Commission of the European Communities (RF:EU4 4752).

Chapter 8

An analysis of the newspaper texts in the sample period - 14 January, 1997, to 14 February, 1997, inclusive - with reference to business, finance and economics in the international context.

Economic and Monetary Union (EMU)

The UK tabloid press

For the UK newspapers, the subject of EMU was primarily linked to the upheaval it was causing within domestic politics. In the newspapers' news sections at least, little attention was given to the practicalities of the single currency or what material effects it might have on the UK's inhabitants.

The *Sun*, for instance, placed much emphasis on EMU, using it as the major theme of 12 leader columns, all of them expressing vehement opposition. In the paper's opinion, EMU was simply another example of how Brussels was trying to destroy the country's 'Britishness' to facilitate the creation of a European superstate. In its own words, 'the euro is the first step on the road to oblivion for Britain' ('Single threat to our nation', 17 January), and 'it would make Britain an off-shore territory of the United States of Europe' ('Rumbling on', 8 February).

In features, too, the paper gave full rein to those opposed to EMU with no voice to contrary opinion. These included the former Chancellor, Norman Lamont, with 'They want your taxes to build EU super state' (17 January) and the economist, Lord Desai, with 'Why Britain will never join in the Euro fiasco' (18 January). In many cases, EMU was represented solely as a process through which the EU would do away with the pound - a symbol of 'Britishness' - ('PM's new euro snub to Clarke', 27 January; 'Tory's threat over £', 7 February; and 'Tory civil war on £', 10 February), to replace it with the 'foreign' euro, symbol of an overweening Brussels. No attempt was made to explain its deeper

function or philosophy.

Similarly, *The Mirror* did not feature EMU for itself, but rather for the opportunities it offered to attack John Major in particular, and the Tories in general. However, unlike the *Sun*, which was incensed by the comments of Hiroshi Okuda that Toyota would be less inclined to invest in a UK that remained outside EMU, *The Mirror* could see his point. This was particularly expressed in the leader of 30 January ('EU know it makes sense') when the paper opined that: 'A small number of anti-Europe Tories and their friends in the media are running a scandalous campaign. The people of Britain must not listen to them. They must be told the truth. And it comes from the boss of Toyota and *The Mirror*.'

Even so, there was no attempt to look at the single currency in detail and, with the exception of a further small story on 3 February ('Labour euro hint') which featured Robin Cook's indications that Labour would favour a 'wait and see' approach to EMU, *The Mirror* gave little space to the subject at all.

In contrast, the *Daily Mail*, like the *Sun*, saw EMU as a major issue - and was fiercely opposed to the initiative. Although disagreeing with Hiroshi Okuda's sentiments which favoured UK entry into EMU, the paper nevertheless welcomed them as a means of stirring up the single currency debate in the UK. It was a matter that should be put to a referendum, the paper reckoned (in a leader of 30 January 'Japanese car giant in political pile-up'). The paper missed few chances to whip up indignation about the subject, with the story of 27 January - 'Tails we lose on new Euro coins' - as a prime example. Here, the *Daily Mail* reported that, although the Queen would appear on one side of the euro coins, 'founding fathers of the European Union' would feature on the other. The story was accompanied by pictures of three EU 'worthies' - unknown to the average reader, and looking suitably dour and unappealing - and also included the admission of 'a spokesman for the EU Commission' that he could not think of enough outstanding Union figures to adorn all eight coins.

Continuing its anti-EMU reporting stance, the *Daily Mail* treated Hiroshi Okuda as a one-off with bizarre views not shared by others (in 'Toyota boss's threat over Europe', 30 January), and reports of Labour's 'wait and see' approach to EMU were linked with assumptions that

this would lead the country to ruin (eg in 'Blair's Toyota talks "gambling with jobs"', 31 January, and 'We'll have to join the Euro', 3 February). In that latter account, Robin Cook's remarks were used as the paper's front page lead of the day, complete with emotive quotes from Euro-sceptic MPs such as that of 'one Cabinet minister' who commented: 'This is the present Mr Blair is planning for the Queen - to destroy our national currency and place her head on new Euro notes.'

Continuing the negative theme, EMU as a showcase for the dishonesty of Britain's EU partners was evident in, for instance, 'Major to hobble "Trojan Horse" of EU policy' (4 February). This front page story, continued on page 2 with a 'currency cheats' heading, discussed, among other matters, how Malcolm Rifkind was accusing France and Germany of 'cooking the books' in their quest to meet the EMU convergence criteria.

The solitary exception to this one-sided reporting was the story of 13 February ('Bosses attack "wait and see" on Euro'). Initiated by the remarks of Niall Fitzgerald (Chairman of Unilever) that Britain would be sidelined in the debate over monetary union because of its opposition to the project, the paper gave a 'straight' report of his remarks without comment. However, the story was relegated to a relatively small eight-column-inch slot at the bottom of page 13.

Perhaps not surprisingly, given the anti-EU stance that has been much discussed in previous Chapters, *The Express* was similarly one-sided in its disapproval of EMU, going so far as to state that comments about the undesirability of EMU were not opinion, but fact. This was clear from the leader of 24 January ('The PM's subtle but wise move on single currency') in which the paper lamented the slowness of the Government in 'edging towards the correct policy on the single currency'. Similarly, the paper had little time for Hiroshi Okuda (eg in the story of 30 January 'Back Euro or else, warns Toyota chief'), again suggesting that opposition to the single currency was the obvious stance of anyone who made the effort to 'look at the facts about the Euro rather than listening to the well-funded Brussels misinformation'. Thus the paper closed its doors to any debate on the subject, refusing to accept that any opposing view might have any validity.

The nub of the paper's distaste for EMU rested in its conviction that the single currency would inevitably lead to political union. This was most clearly expressed by the Euro-sceptic author, John Laughland, in a feature of 17 January ('We can no longer gloss over the great Euro gulf') which was personally insulting to Jacques Santer for his support for monetary union, and which maintained that 'few British politicians will face up to the fact that EC monetary union will inevitably mean political union'.

To pursue its anti-EMU campaign still further, *The Express* even printed suggestions on 31 January that Mr Okuda had been put up to making his controversial comments in a conspiracy led by pro-European MPs including Edwina Currie, Michael Heseltine and Kenneth Clarke (although, as discussed in Chapter 4, p64, no indication was given about where the allegation had come from). And in a further example of emotive and unsupported comment, the paper's report of 8 February ('Labour's Left in huge protest at Euro job threat') heralded a demonstration planned to co-incide with the Amsterdam IGC at which, the paper maintained, workers would protest at EMU which would destroy jobs and 'throw millions of families into poverty'.

The UK broadsheets

The approach to EMU of the British broadsheets also tended to mirror their attitude to the EU in general. The *Guardian*, for instance, generally more pro-European than its British counterparts, favoured greater integration - albeit approached with caution. It was, thus, not opposed to EMU *per se*, but reckoned that there were pros and cons to be weighed up before the UK joined (eg the leaders of 24 January, 'Europe: an apology', and 4 February, 'Edging towards the Euro'). It also had reservations about Mr Okuda's comments, maintaining that EU membership was just one of many aspects that made Britain attractive to Japanese investors and that suggestions that this was the sole inducement were misguided (eg in the leader of 30 January, 'When Toyota thinks again').

The *Guardian* was alone among UK newspapers in confessing that its doubts about EMU stemmed at least in part from the fact that it did not know what the single currency really entailed. Peter Preston's feature of 31 January ('Should we join EMU? I don't know. Do

you?') has already been discussed (Chapter 4, p74), as has the double-page feature of 10 February ('Single currency: The Guardian debate'), which both attempted to 'rescue the issue from hysteria, obfuscation and half-truth and open an intelligent debate on the choice facing Britain'.

Without the 'facts', and given the prevailing political mood about the single currency, the *Guardian*, like its counterparts, gave much coverage to EMU as a source of domestic political strife. It also featured the single currency as a cause of unrest among other EU member states (specifically the Italians, the Spanish and the Germans) - as they struggled to meet the convergence criteria - as well as the dispute between France and Germany about the proposed role and powers of the European Central Bank (ECB). These stories were common to all the UK broadsheets in this study.

However, the *Guardian* differed from most of its rivals in giving at least some space to EMU enthusiasts to explain their understanding of the rationale behind the introduction of the euro, and in being more inclined to include positive quotes from foreign politicians without trying to ridicule them. An example of this was the comment by the Belgian Prime Minister, Jean-Luc Dehaene, that the single currency would improve competitiveness because it would help to cement the single market (in 'Hurdle for euro is raised by faulty figures', 3 February).

Similarly, the *Guardian* was unusual in publishing a glowing profile of Niall Fitzgerald (in 'New euro warning for Britain', 12 February) giving a fair report of his view that the UK could become sidelined in the EMU debate if it continued its relentlessly negative approach to the subject. The story of Fitzgerald's remarks was apparently a *Guardian* scoop (although not flagged as such) subsequently taken up by other papers. These were far less kindly disposed towards the Unilever boss, and his remarks also drew the ire of the anti-EMU protagonists. Indeed, the vitriolic response of these Euro-sceptics was covered in the following day's *Guardian* ('Ministers attack Unilever chief over EMU warning') in a story which reported Fitzgerald as having 'stuck to his guns' against personal attacks by, among others, the Euro-sceptic MP, John Redwood.

In contrast, *The Times* saw no need to hesitate in coming to a decision about EMU. It was

firmly opposed. It wanted a more sceptical Kenneth Clarke ('Clarke versus Cabinet', 30 January) and was uneasy about Cook's indications that early entry into EMU would be a possibility under a Labour Government ('The Cook currency', 4 February).

Those negative views were supported by the inclusion of such unequivocal features as 'Clarke could lose it' (21 January), by Woodrow Wyatt, suggesting that such backing for the single currency would jeopardise the Conservatives' general election chances, and a 'letter' from Tim Congdon (a member of the Treasury panel of independent forecasters) headed 'A word in your ear Mr Clarke' (24 January) and asking the Chancellor to drop his support for EMU. For *The Times*, as for other UK papers, the main problem with the project was the threat it posed to British sovereignty and this was, again, highlighted, largely to the exclusion of practical details and rational analysis. Just one contributor - Christopher Haskins, Chairman of Northern Foods - was allowed to argue that 'Europhobia is bad for business' (13 February) and that 'to rule ourselves out of monetary union now would be stupid and self-destructive'.

Although, as will be seen later in this Chapter, the nature of the coverage given to events that fell into the category of 'business, finance and economics' sometimes depended on whether it appeared in the news or business section of a newspaper, this was not generally the case with EMU. In their stance towards the single currency, the individual business sections usually toed their paper's general EMU line. There was, for instance, no outright support for the single currency in the business sections of newspapers that had openly declared an anti-EMU stance in leader columns and elsewhere.

Thus, although *The Times* did acknowledge that businessmen were largely in support of the single currency (evident in, for instance, 'Labour denies policy switch on single currency', 4 February, which followed Robin Cook's comments on entry to EMU), it was clearly unimpressed by their arguments.

Even more staunchly opposed to EMU, the *Daily Telegraph* ran such hard hitting leaders as the already-mentioned (Chapter 4, p68) 'Single currency, single taxation' (17 January), and 'Now rule out entry' (24 January). In an approach that was more strident than that of *The*

Times, the paper was ruthless in denigrating both Hiroshi Okuda and Niall Fitzgerald for daring to voice warnings about what might happen if Britain stayed outside of EMU (eg in leaders of 31 January, 'A row made in Japan', and 13 February, 'Double Dutch on EMU'). Even in the 30 January comment section of the *Daily Telegraph's* business section, the strident, personal attacks were maintained, with the piece 'Toyota on dead-end street over single European currency', suggesting that Okuda's remark 'smacks of ingratitude and is also illogical'. In neither its news stories, nor its business section did the paper consider that EMU should be given even the most modest rational analysis, or its supporters the chance to argue their case.

The international shenanigans over 'fudging of accounts', too, were well documented (for instance in 'EU talks to draw line on EMU entry rules', 31 January; and 'EU "preparing to stop the clock" on money union', 14 February). There was also some indignation about EU money being spent to promote the euro in a campaign, that, as the *Daily Telegraph* saw it, smacked of desperation (in 'Brussels to promote the euro on TV', 28 January). And to complete a picture of almost entirely negative reporting, the comments of Robin Cook on joining EMU were used as an excuse to attack the single currency and the Labour Party in one fell swoop. In the story of 3 February ('Labour "will join single currency within five years"'), 'one Tory source' was quoted as saying: 'Just when we need to be more competitive, Labour wants to embrace the failed economic policies of the European social model '

In common with the *Guardian*, but in contrast to *The Times* and the *Daily Telegraph*, *The Independent* was inclined to 'wait and see' about EMU, welcoming the comments of Robin Cook as 'the most sensible available stance' ('Cook finds the right recipe for Europe', 4 February). True to its name, the paper gave a platform to a wide variety of conflicting views on the subject. For example, a feature headed 'The single currency debate' (4 February), in which largely negative views of EMU were expressed, contrasted with a feature in the 'Commentators' section of the same edition ('Europe is Britain's business'), in which Christopher Mackenzie, President of GE Capital Europe Ltd, argued that 'Europe is Britain's business' and that 'the Government's chilly attitude to the EU is making companies such as Toyota think twice about investing in Britain'. In the same edition again,

the American financier, George Soros, (in 'Soros speculates on European politics') took the middle line, suggesting that it might be damaging for Britain to stay out for ever, but possibly dangerous to go in straight away. In giving voice to a variety of leading figures with widely differing views, *The Independent* was thus adopting a policy more closely aligned to that of the Danish newspapers than to that of its British counterparts.

Further evidence that the paper was determined that it - and its readers - should keep an open mind about EMU appeared in its coverage of the Hiroshi Okuda comments. For example, the news story of 30 January ('Toyota job cut threat for Britain') included quotes from a number of interviewees with a variety of views on the subject. And the feature by Richard Lloyd Parry in Tokyo, of 31 January, ('Stronger ties than EMU bind Japan and UK'), again quoted a number of Japanese people giving a spectrum of opinion on the pros and cons of UK membership of EMU.

But whatever the merits of EMU, the uncertainties and rows over the ECB, the economic problems of, particularly, Germany and Italy, as well as other troubles, clearly led *The Independent* to see this as a turbulent patch for the project. On 8 February, the paper even included a 'That was the week that was for EMU' in which the welter of events was catalogued. At the end, although *The Independent* again kept away from direct comment on the single currency itself, it nevertheless suggested that the matter was becoming a shambles over which the EU was losing control.

The Danish newspapers

During the sample period, EMU held little interest for either *Ekstra Bladet* or *BT*. There are relatively few businessmen among their readers, and, given that EMU was not, at the time, a direct cause of national strife in Denmark, it warranted only brief mentions in general coverage about the Danish opt-outs.

Indeed, with Danish membership of EMU firmly ruled out - at least during the first wave - even the Danish broadsheets viewed the subject with comparative detachment. For *Jyllands-Posten*, for instance, all EMU-specific stories appeared in the business section apparently on

the assumption that interest in it was confined to that sector of its readership. Coverage included reports such as 'Confidential plan for harmonisation', 17 January, which picked up on *The Independent's* story about alleged plans of the French and German to harmonise taxation among EU member states, and also included speculation about how Denmark would fare outside EMU. It went on to discuss the report of Mario Monti, Commissioner for the Internal Market, suggesting that countries choosing to stay out of EMU in the first wave would feel compelled to join in the long run. This, the paper reported, bore out the comments of the Danish Minister for Economic Affairs, Marianne Jelved, that Denmark would come to rue its EMU opt-out. The paper was thus clearly concerned about the Danes becoming isolated outside the single currency, especially since the Danish economy was comparatively healthy and would meet the convergence criteria ('EU report with optimism', 10 February).

The paper's interest in the international implications of EMU emerged on 30 January with a story ('EMU splits Sweden') examining the position of the Swedes, who were unhampered by an opt-out, but fiercely divided on the question. In common with the UK newspapers, *Jyllands Posten* also reported the disagreements between the French and Germans over the ECB, the use by some countries of 'creative accounting' to meet convergence criteria, and the awkward situation between Germany and Italy over the participation of the latter (eg 'Show-down over the EU bank', 23 January, 'Accounts with EMU finery', 4 February, and 'Italy's participation increases euro-scepticism', 7 February). These events were, however, reported with little comment and there was no mention of any direct or immediate relevance they might have to Denmark.

Information, too, watched the Swedish EMU debate with interest. For instance, the leader of 31 January ('Wait and see, perhaps'), welcomed the fact that the comments of the Swedish Education and Research Minister, Carl Tham, had brought the debate out into the open, and other stories and features - such as 'Sweden will wait to go to the EMU-bowl' (16 January), and 'A recipe for disaster' (31 January) - generally supported a wary approach to the subject. The overall impression was that EMU was an unknown quantity warranting caution, with the implication that this was one opt-out that *Information's* contributors did not necessarily wish to see lifted for the time being.

One of the reasons for this approach was Germany's troubled economy. In an *Information* feature of 13 February, for instance - 'German unemployment as a bogey' - the influence European national economies have on each other was discussed with the acknowledgement that, just as they could pull each other up, they could also drag each other down. Thus, a struggling Germany could mean trouble for Denmark, the feature suggested, particularly given the economic dependence of Danes on Germans.

As a small country, Denmark stands little chance of operating successfully in isolation, and the acknowledgement of that fact in international economic terms was clearly affecting the coverage *Information* gave to the single currency. Another instance appeared on 17 January ('Bonn and Paris deny secret plan') in which *The Independent's* story about secret plans for tax harmonisation was followed up, and Marianne Jelved's analysis of what this might mean for Denmark, should it happen, was featured.

In keeping with the paper's policy of giving its readers full background details to news events, the EMU trials of Italy, and that country's hiccup with Germany over the matter, were covered in depth, but without comment (ie 'Italy on the way with new EMU-reductions', 21 January; 'Rumours about EMU conspiracy shake Italy', 6 February; and 'Kohl comforts Italy's Prodi', 8 February).

In common with *Jyllands-Posten*, *Berlingske Tidende* confined most of its major EMU stories to its business section, and, again, there was concern about isolation for the Danes if they remained outside. For instance, in the news story 'EU countries in group work or on the way to a split' (20 January), EMU was cited as one area in which 'flexibility' could operate, with some member states going further along the route to full integration than others. In its coverage of *The Independent's* communal taxation story ('EMU can lead to a common EU tax', 17 January), the paper suggested that this was the first instance of EMU going beyond its original brief, and, quoting Jan Geers, a Dutch financial expert, *Berlingske Tidende* indicated what a loss of sovereignty EMU could entail. Thus, again, a conflict between Danish fear of isolation on the sidelines of the EU, and disquiet about loss of sovereignty if it embraced the Union with too much enthusiasm, became evident. At the same time there was acknowledgement, again, of Danish dependence on Germany, particularly in the story

of 29 January ('Sorry German figures can threaten Denmark'), in which the paper recognised that Denmark would be affected by Germany's economic performance, EMU or no EMU.

In short, in *Berlingske Tidende*, as elsewhere, there was an understanding that Denmark had only limited power over its own position - its economic performance was inextricably linked to that of other countries. Indeed, as well as the German position in respect of EMU, that of Italy, Sweden and the UK also received coverage.

With fewer business people among its readers, *Politiken* gave less coverage to EMU during the sample period than did its Danish broadsheet counterparts. Even so, it did carry a feature on 29 January ('EMU is necessary') in which three representatives from the business community expressed their support for the project. That said, the trials of those countries who wished to join in the first wave were given 'straight' coverage, and the paper clearly believed the *Financial Times*' claims (made in the *FT* story of 5 February, 'Italy will be offered delayed entry to Emu', p1) that a 'waiting room' had been arranged for countries like Italy, to persuade them to delay joining ('Southern Europe rages against new EU plan', 6 February). This was despite denials by the European Commission.

However, the paper did make much of comments made by the French Foreign Minister, Hervé de Charette, during a visit to Copenhagen. In the story headed 'VAT a means to control EU currency' (28 January), de Charette's views about the operation of 'flexibility' in the Union in respect of, for instance, harmonisation of VAT and how this might benefit the single market, were expressed. This had clearly provoked unease in the Danish camp.

Again, the conundrum was clear; the choice facing the Danes was quite possibly between isolation or loss of sovereignty.

International and financial press

In providing additional insight into the stances towards EMU taken by the newspapers in this study, neither the *Financial Times*, nor *Børsen*, had any doubt that, respectively, the UK and Denmark should join EMU, if not immediately, then as soon as possible. Both saw delay

as potentially damaging to their countries' economies. The *FT*'s views, for instance, were summed up in a leader of 31 January ('Whispered warning') which was linked to the comments of Hiroshi Okuda and which acknowledged the internationalisation of business and finance in today's world. After examining the pros and cons, the paper concluded that: 'This does not mean that the UK must join Emu as soon as possible...It does mean that UK politicians must cease their abuse of the project.'

The *FT* also recognised the detrimental affects of negative reporting by the British press. For instance, in the story 'Cook sets a course of "wait and see"' (3 February) the paper commented that:

Tory Euro-sceptics will be counting on the press to wage the battle against Labour on their behalf. "To be frank we don't really need to adopt a new official slogan on a single currency," said one. "The *Daily Mail*, the *Sun* and the *Daily Telegraph* will all be doing the job for us, by taking Labour apart for selling out the pound.

Thus, for the *FT*, EMU was a matter warranting more serious consideration, analysis and realism, and less emotional hysteria than it was receiving in both the UK's political establishment and in the rest of the country's newspaper press.

Børsen, meanwhile, was voicing its concern about the Danes' reluctance to join in the project in a more vigorous fashion than was to be found in the other Danish newspapers. Clearly convinced that Danish business had much to gain from membership of EMU - and a lot to lose from being consigned to the sidelines - the paper was keen to see an end to the opt-out forbidding Danish membership (eg in the leader of 3 February, 'The shift in stance towards the EU'). For *Børsen*, however, the frustration was that, while Danish politicians were increasingly joining the country's business community in advocating membership of EMU, they were failing to win support among the population at large. This was evident in coverage of the results of an opinion poll, published on 7 February ('Voters stand firm on EU opt-outs') and also in the paper's report of comments made by Alexandre Lamfalussy, President of the European Monetary Institute (EMI). He had expressed surprise that Denmark wanted to stay outside EMU ('Monetary union will grow rapidly', 29 January) and in a linked leader, ('Denmark in the second EMU wave'), the paper agreed, arguing that

there was no logical reason for not joining.

Both the *FT* and *Børsen* gave much coverage to the technicalities of EMU and clearly understood their readers' need for information and guidance that would help them to operate in the international context. Both were unmoved by arguments about loss of sovereignty, and were primarily concerned about what would be best for business, and ultimately the British and Danish national economies.

Relatively detached from the issues surrounding EMU, the US-focused *International Herald Tribune* (*IHT*) and *Wall Street Journal Europe* (*WSJE*) were shedding more light on the subject from their perspectives.

The former, for instance, frequently portrayed EU members as a bunch of squabbling nations, rarely able to act in unison to any great effect (eg 'EU tensions show over call to make taxes more uniform', 28 January, and 'Officials deny deal on European bank', 16 January). In this, the paper compared them unfavourably with the US, where a 'united states' had clearly worked in a way the paper felt was unlikely in any European equivalent, particularly in respect of matters economic (eg 'At Europe's bank, independence will be the word', 21 January, and 'Europe's future central bank: more than an inflation-fighter', 3 February).

The *IHT* also gave no indication that it saw any 'special relationship' between the US and UK, and was often unflattering about the British and their newspapers. This contrasted with the generally favourable reports the US enjoyed in the British papers which still seemed to imagine that special links existed between the two countries. For instance, the *IHT* attributed *The Independent* story about secret proposals for common tax as an inevitable development of EMU simply to 'pre-election jitters in Britain over European policy' (in 'Bonn and EU deny report on common income tax', 17 January). The implication was that this was a fabrication born of 'nationalist sentiment ahead of the general election'. Similarly, the British newspapers would not have been thrilled by a feature of 16 January by Sir Roy Denman, a former representative of the European Commission in Washington ('Yes, America, a Single Currency for the Coming Superpower'). In this, Denman reported that

doubts about EMU were strongest in Britain, and that 'this reflects the Europhobia of the largely foreign-owned British press, which has long since convinced the public that further European integration is a plot for the takeover of Britain by heel-clicking Gauleiters...These fantasies have condemned Britain to a fringe role in Europe'. Attacking the Danes, too, Denman described them as 'a political basket case'.

The *WSJ*, too, was brutally frank in its reporting of EU affairs. This started on 15 January with a comment piece, 'Belgian Bookkeeping', which discussed the 'accounting gimmicks' of the pre-EMU era and scornfully dismissed the Belgians' 'everybody does it' excuse. The paper was similarly disdainful in the Global View column by George Melloan of 28 January ('How do you qualify for the Euro Club? By cheating') which described the introduction of the 'Fudgie' award 'for the finance minister finding the most imaginative ways to make budget deficits look smaller than serious accounting would require'.

The *WSJ* also asked 'Can 15 tax systems coexist with EMU?' (3 February) and feared that 'flexibility' applied to the integration of taxation could lead to 'explosive disagreements between member states or, officials fear, to distortions in the single market'.

From reports in these two newspapers, with their primarily American focus, it was clear that there were doubts about the effectiveness of the EU as a whole and that, as a 'united states' it was often found wanting. Both the *IHT* and *WSJ* had misgivings about EMU, which appeared to be based primarily on a belief that EU member states were too disparate and nationalistic to be able to join forces in this respect, particularly since it was reckoned by these papers that political union would inevitably follow economic and monetary union. In this respect, they were acknowledging that, in the final analysis, all or many of the relevant countries would have difficulties in surrendering sovereignty to the degree necessary to make EMU work and that this was not, therefore, solely confined to the UK and Denmark.

The tendency of the British newspapers to favour the US sometimes to the detriment of the EU was not reciprocated - at least by the papers in this study, which were often critical of the UK, and showed no indication of a 'special relationship' whatsoever. Furthermore, the *IHT*, at least, was unimpressed by the nationalistic and emotional reporting of British

newspapers which, it suggested, were giving an inaccurate picture of the EU and thereby hampering the UK's relationship with the rest of Europe.

Comparison

As a long-term, on going process EMU is not easily covered by newspapers, which prefer to concentrate on specific 'events' (Chapter 7, p147). Thus, although the subject is of great international significance, it is perhaps not surprising that, for instance, it appeared so little in the Danish tabloids, or that, in the British press as a whole, it was covered primarily in its role as the cause of strife on the domestic political scene.

In general, the comparative approach of the British and Danish newspapers to EMU mirrored that outlined in respect of their general response to the EU (described in Chapter 6). Some British newspapers also used EMU to make a nationalistic point, underlining how would-be members were either dishonestly cooking the books to meet the convergence criteria, or making devious plans on the quiet to use EMU as one more means to create a European superstate in which British powers would be much diminished.

Although the Danish papers, too, were concerned about the loss of national power, there was some detachment in that the opt-out had ruled out Danish entry in the first wave at least. Even so, much more attention was given to the penalties of being sidelined - economically and politically - with much concern that non-membership could adversely affect Danish business. There was, too, an acknowledgement of the reality of the situation for a small country like Denmark. Inextricable links with, for instance, Germany mean that the country's control over its own economic performance is considerably curtailed. There was recognition of this, too, in EMU coverage during the period.

These elements are further highlighted by comparisons with the international and business newspapers in this studies. Writing specifically for the business community, both the *FT* and *Børsen*, for instance, gave a clearer and richer picture of the actual economic and practical pros and cons of EMU. From their US focus, however, the *IHT* and *WSJE* gave an often brutal analysis of the EU as a collection of inept and quarrelsome member countries that

were unlikely to be able to make EMU work. Their concern was that this could have dire consequences for international trade in general. In this critical appraisal, they were adding credence to the stance taken by the more Euro-sceptic newspapers in this study, although for different reasons.

The EU, the UK, and Denmark: international trading

The UK newspapers

The proposed alliance between British Airways and American Airlines

In reports relating to the EU's role in supporting fair competition in both internal and external trading, the newspapers again revealed significant contrasts. There were even differences in the way the same story was handled on the same day within an individual newspaper's own pages, particularly in the UK; in the news sections of the UK titles, for instance, stories tended to reflect a newspaper's usual approach to the EU, but this sometimes differed from the manner in which its business sections covered the same story.

During the sample period, the general approach of the UK newspapers to the EU in relation to competition was best illustrated by the way they reacted to the response of the European Commission to the planned alliance between British Airways and American Airlines. This link-up had the support of British authorities, but EU approval had not been sought, and, during the sample period, the EU Commissioner for Competition, Karel van Miert, was engaging in heated correspondence with, among others, Ian Lang, the Trade and Industry Secretary, over the matter. Van Miert was objecting on the grounds that the alliance would restrict competition on trans-Atlantic routes.

True to form, the *Sun* saw this as yet another instance of Brussels interfering in British affairs, with Norman Tebbit's column posing the question 'Just who are EU to order Britain around?' (17 January). It was, too, a chance to suggest that, again, other EU member states were being favoured at the expense of the British. The *Sun*'s news story on the subject, for instance, ended with the observation: 'Brussels officials say the merger would "stifle

competition" - but ignore massive state aid for inefficient French and Spanish airlines'. There were no quotes, no facts or explanations to support this statement.

The Mirror, too, was angry, but took an opposing view. In 'Fury at air merger bid' (15 January) it reported that 'Virgin boss Richard Branson and consumer champions yesterday backed European Union moves to block a huge airlines merger'. It is, however, worth noting that Branson had a vested interest in any company posing competition to his Virgin airline and was thus unlikely to give an unbiased response to the matter. Furthermore, the paper used the story more as a means to attack the Tory Government than to support the EU action.

Still more vehemence was shown in the *Daily Mail's* handling of the affair. The paper was angry at 'these insufferable lame duck keepers' (in a leader of 15 January) who had picked on BA while taking no action against other European airlines. The alliance was solely the business of Britain and the US who could teach the Europeans a thing or two, the paper maintained, the inference being that the UK in its 'special relationship' with the US was vastly superior to other EU member states.

In further *Daily Mail* coverage of the affair, the former MEP, Lord Bethell, described the EU intervention as 'an exercise in hypocritical one-sidedness and anti-British paranoia' (in 'Why Britain threatens the cosy cartels of Europe', 15 January) and the paper itself, in a news story, cited it as 'the latest swipe against UK sovereignty' ('Brussels bid to ground BA deal', the front page lead of 14 January). Indeed, the paper's rallying call on the subject was summed up in the heading given to the follow-up story the next day - 'The Brussels bullies won't ground our jumbo merger'.

In its news section, *The Express* was in full agreement with its tabloid rival. In 'Hi-Jacqued' - the front page lead of 14 January - it used emotive language to report Britain 'on a collision course with Brussels' over being 'kicked around', adding that 'incensed' Tory MPs were urging John Major to 'declare war on Brussels'. And in a leader of 15 January ('Fasten your seatbelts for a bumpy flight over EU issue') the paper made its view quite plain - the EU had no right to interfere in this matter.

However, in the first example of a difference between a newspaper's news and business sections, John Murray in the paper's City Comment of the same day (15 January) was allowed to argue 'Europe right to give BA a bumpy ride'. In fact he even maintained that it was 'a bit rum for supposedly pro-competition forces...to complain about the intervention of the European Commissioner...their attitude is, of course, based on their visceral hatred of anything from Brussels'. This was the most extreme example of differing stances on the same subject in the same edition of a newspaper during the sample period. But it was not the only one, as will be discussed later in this section.

Indeed, there were several instances in the UK broadsheets which, as could be expected, gave a fuller account in general of the affair - although here, too, the nature of the coverage it received made for interesting analysis. For instance, the *Guardian's* story - 'Outcry as EC opposes deal by BA' (14 January) - did give an explanation as to why the other carriers were complaining about the proposed alliance, although the quotes in the story went primarily to those who were indignant about the EC's action. These were specifically Teresa Gorman and a 'spokeswoman' from the DTI saying that the Commission had no powers to 'override' Mr Lang's policy judgement.

From then on, however, the paper's reporting of the affair tended to concentrate on the personal and political rows it was causing (eg: 'Brussels attacks BA chief's "lie" as row escalates', 15 January; and 'Euro-sceptics cheer BA row', 17 January). It was thus portrayed as another item that was fanning the flames of Euro-scepticism, particularly within the Tory Party, and causing further problems for John Major as he sought to play down Tory rifts over Europe. There was consequently less emphasis on the matter in terms of its actual implications for competition on transatlantic airline routes.

In common with *The Express*, *The Times* varied in its treatment of the story, depending on where it appeared. For instance, it made its first appearance on 14 January in the paper's business section where, under the heading 'European opposition to BA link intensifies', the situation was explained, fully and without comment. The following day, the story appeared again in the business section with the heading 'BA confident of American link-up', handled in an equally even-handed fashion. In contrast, however, the paper's front-page story of the

same day (15 January) - 'Brussels threat to BA rejected' - presented a far more emotional picture, in which Euro-sceptic MP, Sir Teddy Taylor (the solitary person quoted), said of the affair that it was 'just one of an increasing number of examples where the EU stretches the powers in the treaties to interfere with almost every aspect of our way of life and our business activities'. Gone was the balanced, rational approach that was evident in the paper's business section, to be replaced by an emotional and less-balanced account, focusing on the affair as another perceived instance of Brussels clawing away at the UK's right to self-determination.

The *Daily Telegraph* veered similarly in its approach. For instance, the front page story of 14 January ('EC legal threat over BA merger') was full of the indignation of the two people quoted - Euro-sceptic MPs, John Redwood and Bill Cash - about the interference of the EC in a matter that, they thought, did not concern it. The paper itself agreed that Brussels should keep out (in the leader 'A second CAP?', 15 January). However, in the paper's business section of 14 January ('Brussels threatens to fight BA alliance') there was balance to a story which aimed to explain just why Karel van Miert was objecting.

On the following day (15 January), the *Daily Telegraph's* business section even carried a story headed 'KLM faces Euro fine over pact' which detailed the trouble that airline was facing over an alliance with North-west Airlines. It also listed other airlines that were being investigated by the European Commission. Clearly, then, the direct suggestions and indirect inferences of the UK papers that BA was being unfairly singled out were inaccurate - and by the *Daily Telegraph's* own admission (albeit in the business section).

It was evident that for both *The Times* and the *Daily Telegraph*, EU competition regulations caused a problem. Politically they were opposed to such Union intervention in UK affairs. However, in a business context - and in deference to their large proportion of readers who work in this sector - the papers were inclined to give these matters a more rational examination. Fair competition is, after all, a generally favoured concept among business people, and moves to promote it are supported.

In contrast, *The Independent* did not consider that this story warranted much coverage as a

general news topic at all and thus consigned it chiefly to its business section. Here, however, it did loom large, and was covered in a relatively emotional way. For instance, in the paper's Business Comment section of 14 January, the paper highlighted what it saw as 'The long arm and big nose of Mr Van Miert', suggesting that he had not been even-handed in his treatment of national airlines. This was, however, followed by a news story (also in the business section) on 15 January - 'DTI challenges Brussels on BA' - which gave a balanced account of the disagreement over who had jurisdiction in this matter and which also added an account of KLM's difficulties in its proposed alliance. Again the notion was that BA was not alone.

Thus, in their approach to the story about the BA/AA alliance, the UK newspapers could not, in some instances, keep to a consistent approach even within the same editions. In the general news pages, the emotional and political aspect of the affair was highlighted, whereas in the business section, the economic implications of the affair - and whether or not it could be justified when adjudged against competition legislation - were generally the most important aspects.

The Danish newspapers

As a further element in the UK's traumatic relationship with the EU in the run up to the General Election, the BA/AA alliance story also received coverage in Denmark's two 'heaviest' broadsheets - *Jyllands-Posten* and *Berlingske Tidende* - both of which were in support of the EU over the matter.

In *Jyllands-Posten*, for instance, the affair was covered on 15 January ('Air traffic alliance under the magnifying glass') in a story which started, tellingly: 'The EU Commission is preparing for a battle with the British Government to safeguard free competition on the profitable cross-Atlantic routes.' Thus, the paper clearly saw the EU as the champion of free competition campaigning against a British Government that was threatening it.

Although less anti-UK in its report, *Berlingske Tidende* (in 'Alliance in the sky is threatened by an EU No', 15 January) nevertheless portrayed EU officials as peacemakers in the matter,

who were trying to pour oil on troubled waters in the new confrontation between the EC and Great Britain. As the paper made clear by quoting other examples of EU intervention in similar airline matters, BA really had no cause for complaint and was certainly not being unfairly singled out.

International and business newspapers

Much more background to the BA/AA affair - and airline activity in general - appeared in the international and business newspapers and this made for enlightening comparisons. *Børsen*, for instance, detailed how the alliance would eliminate competition on 13 routes entirely ('EU threatens legal action against air alliance', 15 January), thereby providing hard facts to support the notion that the EU response was legitimate.

The European, too, added further background information to the matter. For instance, in 'Airline merger row reaches higher plane' (16 January), Karel van Miert was quoted as saying that Bob Ayling, BA's chief executive, 'was happy to take advantage of EU rules when lobbying for the go-ahead for British Airways' successful takeover of failed French airline Air Liberté but was now ignoring the Commission'. This previously successful project, in which BA had taken full advantage of EU facilities, was not reported in the UK press

In a second story in that edition - 'US wins out in battle for open skies' - the suggestion was made that the Americans were using the British, and other Europeans, for their own ends. Here, the paper suggested that, while applauding European unity, the Clinton administration was 'playing a masterly game of divide-and-rule where its interests on transatlantic routes are concerned'.

The *FT*, too, added material facts. For instance, on the one hand it presented the Commission's fears that 'quasi-monopolies' would be created on several important routes, should the alliance go ahead ('EU threatens BA alliance plan', 14 January), on the other, it outlined the background to the affair from BA's point of view ('Alliances are in the air', 25 January). This wealth of background and explanatory information was missing from the rest

of the UK newspaper press.

As for US-focused reporting, the *WSJ/E* was also able to reveal that there were objections to the alliance from involved parties in the US, too ('Van Miert warns Britain on BA-American link-up', 23 January) - a fact that was not mentioned in the UK newspapers, who gave the impression that the EU was the solitary fly in the ointment.

International trade and competition in general

The UK newspapers

Perhaps it is indicative of a British sense of detachment from the EU that, with the exception of the BA/AA affair,⁷ there was relatively little reporting during the sample period of other international trading matters in which the EU figured.

For instance, the EU's trading relationship with Japan was rarely referred to, and its dealings with the US over trade received even less attention. Although in 'Caribbean bananas face EU export blow' (28 January) *The Times* outlined complaints the US was making against the Union for favouring former European colonies at the expense of Caribbean countries, the only major story relevant to this section appeared in *The Independent*. On 12 February ('Boston takes on EU over Burma trade'), the paper told how the State of Massachusetts was pitting itself against both Japan and the EU by boycotting firms doing business with Burma because of that country's human rights abuses. The EU and Japan were considering an official complaint to the WTO on the grounds that the State had no right to make such a move, *The Independent* reported.

The Danish newspapers

For the Danish newspapers, the most major domestic competition issue involving the EU during this period concerned state subsidies to Danish shipyards in which, as has already been mentioned (eg Chapter 4, p79, and Chapter 6, p140), the Danes accepted that the EU

had every right to intervene. Similarly, the acknowledgement that some existing Danish environmental legislation, and the country's wish for more 'green taxes', might contravene EU competition law was also reported. But although this was done without the kind of passionate indignation that would have been found in the British press had UK laws, current and proposed, been subjected to similar EU scrutiny, there was some exasperation. For instance, British and French objections to the Danish ban on the use of tin cans for soft drinks (the former on the grounds that it was breaching packaging regulations, the latter because it constituted a form of protectionism) were covered from every viewpoint (eg: in *Politiken*, 16 January, 'Pressure on Auken over (EU legal case concerning tin cans)'; and in *Jyllands-Posten*, 17 January, 'Danish tin ban could end in court'). And, as discussed in Chapter 4, p78, the irritation of Environment Minister, Svend Auken, was evident in quotes in the *Jyllands Posten* story suggesting that the EU's efforts would be better spent in going after countries with poor performance records in respect of the environment, rather than those who were progressive. There was, too, some frustration in reports of the only partial success of Ritt Bjerregaard's attempts to introduce stricter 'green taxes'. For instance, on 30 January, *Jyllands-Posten* reported (in 'No rules for duties') that her proposals could be guidelines only - rather than requirements - because of the effect they might have on competition.

However, in general, EU intervention in other matters - national and international - was often welcomed by the Danish press. Again, the Danes were grateful for EU intervention against Japanese attempts to 'hinder' trade in pigmeat (expressed in, for instance, *Jyllands-Posten* on 18 January - 'Denmark seeks compensation for Japan's ban on pigmeat' - and in *Berlingske Tidende* on 12 February - 'Danish pigs in WTO case'), and the Danish newspapers also reported the Union's positive efforts in persuading the Japanese to adopt better copyright agreements for European songs and music from the 1950s and 1960s (eg in *Jyllands Posten*'s story 'Japan gives in in year-long dispute with the EU', 17 January).

The Danish newspapers also tended to support EU action against the US in trading matters. This was evident in coverage of the ban imposed by the State of Massachusetts on doing business with companies that traded with Burma (eg in *Berlingske Tidende*'s story of 5 February, 'EU angry about Burma sanctions'). It also emerged in the *Politiken* feature of

10 February ('Obvious Cuba-nonsense'), about the so-called Helms Burton law punishing European companies who were dealing, quite legitimately, with Cuba - a matter that the EU was considering taking up with the WTO. This piece argued that the US had no right to set itself up as an international legal power in this instance.

International and financial press

Both the *FT* and *Børsen* shared this interest in competition regulations and rulings. However, by a raft of stories relating the problems a number of EU member states were experiencing in their failures to comply, the *FT* suggested that, again, the impression given by the British newspapers that the UK was regularly - and unfairly - singled out by the EU for reprimands, was misleading. Examples included: France in 'French clash with Brittan on dumping' (30 January); Germany in 'EU raps "predatory" German Post Office' (3 February); and Italy in 'Brussels likely to disappoint Alitalia' (14 February).

Also presenting a different perspective of international trading - specifically in respect of the EU relationship with the US - were the US-focused papers. For instance, in 'EU ends "time-out" on Cuba' (6 February), the *IHT* clearly could not understand why the EU wanted an international panel to be appointed to rule on its complaint that 'a US law tightening an embargo on Cuba violates global trade agreements'. The EU was 'almost certain to lose' the paper maintained and 'would raise the question anew in the American public debate of whether other countries can use the WTO to rein in US sovereignty'. The inference was that the EU should keep its nose out of such international trade matters.

The *WSJE* took further digs at the EU in general, and its member states in particular, in such stories as 'French anxiety is clouding WTO telecom negotiations' (17 January) - in which France was accused of 'injecting its fears about US cultural dominance in the audiovisual sector into trade talks on liberalizing telecommunications' - and 'Why Europe's silicon valley is in a rut' (31 January). That latter feature announced, patronisingly, that 'Obviously, EU leaders still don't understand that tariffs hurt their own member nations...worse than they hurt outside companies or nations'.

Comparison

For the British newspapers - hypersensitive to any EU move that smacked of Union interference in UK affairs - competition regulations were generally treated with scorn and irritation. As was evident from comparative coverage of the BA/AA affair, in trying to fit relevant stories into the mind-set of a Brussels intent on wresting every possible ounce of sovereignty from the UK, the British newspapers tended to ignore the reasoning behind EU interventions - at least in their news pages. These, however, contrasted with coverage of the same stories in business pages of the same papers in which justification of the EU stance on competition grounds was at least aired, and often supported. The distorted nature of UK news coverage of this affair was also evident from comparison with the Danish and international newspapers, which added material facts to their stories which were omitted from the UK versions.

The Danish attitude to competition regulations was quite different in that, as a means of promoting the single market of which the Danes are much in favour, such rules were frequently welcomed. Furthermore, the EU's positive role in helping Danish commercial interests in the international arena received favourable coverage.

The Danish papers were also generally willing to accept EU rebukes when the Danes had broken the rules. There was little - if any - resentment about this. The only exception involved regulations relating to the environment, in respect of which Denmark is in the vanguard. The Danes' frustration was, however, in the slowness of other countries to adopt 'greener' policies and taxes that would bring them into line with Scandinavia and create a 'level playing field' for industrial exporters.

Not surprisingly, the financial newspapers gave more detailed accounts of competition rulings and regulations - as matters of fact their readers needed to know to conduct their business activities. Neither they, nor the international titles, agreed with the notion of the British press that the UK had been unfairly singled out for criticism in the BA/AA affair or anywhere else. However, again, the American-focused newspapers adopted a superior

attitude to the EU, reckoning that here, as in many instances elsewhere, it was inept and ineffective. And here, again, they were in tune with the views of the UK's Euro-sceptic press.

Chapter 9

The EU and foreign policy, including expansion, defence and human rights

The development of a common foreign and security policy was one of the major aspects of the Maastricht Treaty - the second of the three pillars of the Union. It was specifically designed to provide the machinery for EU member states to make a co-ordinated and effective response to crises such as the Gulf War and the civil war in the former Yugoslavia; conflicts in which the EU was generally deemed to have been powerless and ineffective. In short, the aim was 'to allow the European Union to assert its identity on the international scene...to play a part which is proportional to its size and economic strength' (Luff, p35). It would do this through, for instance, the Council of Ministers taking common positions in response to events in the international arena, and, for those decisions that had defence implications, asking for help from the Western European Union (WEU)¹. The Treaty also made it clear that these new developments would not impinge on the specific defence and security policies of individual member states in NATO (Luff, p37). The idea was that the EU and NATO would continue to strengthen their links with each other in a mutually beneficial way², and that the WEU, acting as a bridge between NATO's defence structures and the developing common political and security policies of the EU member states, 'should develop operational capabilities which would complement and be fully compatible with NATO common defence'³.

However, as Borchardt points out (p60), foreign and security policy is a sphere in which countries feel especially sensitive and in which sovereignty is guarded with particular keenness. The situation within the EU is further complicated by the fact that not all EU countries belong to the defence alliances of NATO (for instance, Sweden, Finland, Austria and Ireland) or the WEU (for instance, Denmark, Austria and Ireland).

Furthermore, other recent developments - most notably the end of the Cold War which eliminated a common and tangible enemy, and the reunification of Germany - have

necessitated a readjustment of the relationships between NATO, the WEU, the US and EU member states (Carr and Ifantis, p37 and p43; Cornish, p751; Michael Clarke in Tsakaloyannis, 1988, p91; *et al*). This has caused tensions on many levels. Among them are those that were evident during the sample period of this study, namely: what the role of the US should be in European defence; whether the EU should develop its own security policy within or complementary to NATO (and just how the WEU should fit into this arrangement); the continuing problems between the French and NATO⁴; and just how a reunited Germany should be rehabilitated in defence terms, but still sufficiently 'contained' to curb any further aggressive tendencies that might be reawakened by its renewed size and strength. As many commentators have pointed out, the Europeans might want to take charge of their own defence, but the cost of so doing is prohibitive. For their part, the Americans might wish to shed some of the economic burden of European defence that their leading position in NATO imposes, but they do not wish to relinquish any of their supremacy (Menon, p265). Thus, both EU and US exhibit an attitude to their responsibilities in respect of European defence that is often ambiguous (Simon Serfaty in Clemens, p24). The challenge for all in recent years has been to find structures and divisions of responsibility in the defence of Europe that satisfy all sides. This has inevitably been fraught with problems and has demanded compromise (*The Economist*, 8 June, 1996, p51; Roger Boyes in *The Times*, 6 June, 1996, p11; *et al*). The ongoing defence structure of Europe is one of constant realignment and readjustment. It is also an area in which there are significant differences of opinion and historical background between the British and the Danes which affect the way relevant stories are handled in the newspapers of these countries.

For instance, according to Bulmer and Edwards (in Bulmer, p148 and p151), a general objective of British foreign policy has been to 'maintain a position of prominence on the global stage'. Furthermore, 'the British relationship with the United States remains central to the question of security policy'. For both of these reasons there has tended to be a particular lack of enthusiasm for a corporate EU foreign policy in general among the UK's politicians⁵. In this field, as in others, initiatives from Brussels are often resented, and any action that might weaken links with the US is resisted. This is despite the fact that the 'special relationship' is less potent these days, and Britain's power too much diminished to mean that the country can play as meaningful an international role as might once have been

the case (Michael Franklin, p37). Furthermore, as mentioned above, there is evidence that the US would like a corporate Europe to play a greater role in its own security and foreign policy to relieve the burden on its own resources (Michael Franklin, p32), and that 'it prefers to see Britain's efforts as part of an integrated Europe than in terms of a special UK/US relationship'. Consequently, the UK has been obliged to recognise the need for 'a stronger WEU so that European countries can take on their proper share of the burden and act effectively in situations in which the US may not wish to be involved'⁶. Nevertheless, the British are generally opposed to closer links between the WEU and EU, and, according to Menon (p274), they have shown, until recently at least, the strongest support among EU members for the 'minimalist position' in respect of the relationship between the two. As G. Wyn Rees sums it up (p132):

At Maastricht, through its power of veto, the British were able to insist upon the WEU remaining equi-distant from the European Union and NATO; whilst at Amsterdam, the UK blocked the process of integrating the WEU into the EU, in spite of pressure from the nine other members. The British rejected the broader political agenda for the WEU that governed the approach of its allies towards the organisation. It was prepared to see the WEU rendered more operationally capable but only in ways that avoided duplication with NATO.

Thus, again, the general reluctance of the British political establishment - as reflected in the UK newspapers - to accept an EU role in anything other than a 'common market' tends to be as prevalent here as anywhere. Again, the notion is frequently that foreign affairs are matters in which the EU is irrelevant, or indeed, has no right to dabble.

In contrast, as a small country, Denmark does not aspire to international prominence - in this as in other spheres. It is consequently less likely than the UK to be drawn into taking stances or pursuing action in respect of global conflicts. Indeed, up until WW2 when German occupation forced it to declare a position, the country was neutral (Nikolaj Petersen, 1988, p146). This historical tradition of neutrality has affected the way the Danes have since viewed defence, not least in their often unenthusiastic approach to NATO membership and defence in general (Petersen, as above, p148; Christian Thune in Tsakaloyannis, 1985, p87; Barnes in the *Financial Times* special report, 21 November, 1996, p3). As Fitzmaurice (p166) points out, 'Denmarkisation' was a term coined by the other alliance members to

describe the uncooperative attitude of a state that was, nevertheless, valuable to NATO because of its strategic position 'as a cork at the neck of the Baltic' (Barnes, as above)'.

This sometimes awkward attitude to NATO has at least in part been the result of internal, political disagreements over what Denmark's defence policy should be, and in the early 1980s, the then Government suffered a number of defeats on foreign policy, 'including several attempts by the Folketing to disassociate itself from particular aspects of NATO defence strategy' (Europa World Yearbook, p923). In 1988, a general election was called on the issue of Denmark's membership of NATO and defence policy which, although it still did not produce a clear mandate (Schou in Lyck, p33), nevertheless enabled the newly-formed Government to mend some fences with Denmark's NATO allies.

Since then, there has been growing acceptance of the benefits of NATO membership among the Danish population as a whole and among its leading politicians (Nikolaj Petersen, 1988, p161; Clemens, p184) - or at least a recognition that neutrality is not a realistic option and that Denmark could not possibly go it alone. As Barnes reports (in the *Financial Times* as above), the end of the Soviet Union and especially the liberation of the Baltic States has persuaded the Danes to take a more positive approach to defence in general and to NATO in particular, encouraging moves to bring the Baltic states into the NATO fold as a means of promoting peace in the region. That said, and as has already been discussed, the Danes' ambivalent attitude towards the US - NATO's leading member - leads to ambiguities in the Danish response to defence matters. They both need and resent the American involvement

It could be argued that the solution to this ambivalence would be for the Danes to support the notion of greater EU involvement in European defence. Yet the majority of Danes remain in favour of retaining the opt-out to the Maastricht Treaty in respect of defence and are happy to have observer status only in respect of the WEU⁶. So, although many Danish politicians would like to see the opt-out abandoned, and Denmark becoming a full WEU member (for example, MP and MEP Bertel Haarder in *Europa*, June, 1996, p15; *The Economist Intelligence Unit Country Report*, 1995, p8), the Danes are wary about joining 'a European army' that, they fear, might be dominated by Germans (Miles, p272).

Furthermore, as the analyst, Christen Sørensen, argues, the Danes do not want to promote any organisation or association that might lessen the power of NATO and, through it, American involvement in Europe, 'not least because of our German neighbour' (p181). Christian Thune (in Tsakaloyannis, 1985, p89) and Thomas Pedersen (p194) agree that the Danes do not want to support anything that 'might give the US the impression that Western Europe wants to go it alone'.

For the Danish newspapers, however, although defence and security policies remained sensitive issues during the sample period, there was distinctly more enthusiasm for a common EU foreign policy that would, for instance, promote the Union's role in combating human rights abuses. The Danes have a strong sense of national obligation towards the world's poorest and most down-trodden people and this was reflected in the Danish papers which, on the whole, favoured corporate EU action to right international wrongs - and saw this as a positive benefit of the Union - in a manner that was not generally shared by their UK counterparts. This is in keeping with the importance the Danes place on development aid for poor countries and on international humanitarian initiatives (DTI Country Profile - Denmark - p2). Indeed, these were important elements of the manifesto published by the Danish Government under the leadership of Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, that was formed in 1993⁹, and which was still in force during the sample period.

The EU and enlargement

The Maastricht Treaty provides that 'any European State whose system of government is founded on the principle of democracy may apply to become a member of the Union'¹⁰. Thus, no limit has been put on the potential number of member states.

As has already been discussed (Chapter 5, p95), a number of Eastern and Central European countries were working towards accession during the sample period. The Danish newspapers were far more interested in - and enthusiastic about - this than were their British counterparts. However, there were other applications in the pipeline, too. For instance, also of relevance to this thesis, the Turks and Cypriots were hoping to join. The former, who first applied in 1987, were failing to meet the EU's criterion for 'respect for human rights',

although the Turks themselves suspected that the rejection had more to do with Greek hostility, and, during the sample period, were using NATO as a means of retaliation (eg p192).

Cyprus, meantime, although beset by internal strife, had been given the go-ahead by the European Council in June 1995¹¹, and negotiations on accession were pending during the sample period. Newspapers in both the UK and Denmark included 'straight' reports on the situations of both the Turks and the Cypriots. Although by no means opposed to EU enlargement - indeed, the British accept that this could have benefits particularly in economic and security matters - the UK is nevertheless concerned that a substantial increase in the number of members will make the Union more unwieldy. Thus, an ambivalent attitude to this subject tends to be the norm (Michael Franklin, p25), which is reflected in the press.

End Notes

1. The Western European Union was formed in 1954 by a group of Western European countries, including the UK, but not Denmark. Its initial aims were: 'to provide the member state which is the object of an armed attack in Europe with military and other aid; to strengthen peace and security; to promote unity and encourage the progressive integration of Europe; and to co-operate more closely with member states and with other European organisations.' (Tsakaloyannis, 1988, p10).

2. This aim is supported in the booklet 'A new chapter in the history of the North Atlantic Alliance', published by the NATO Office of Information and Press, Brussels. The booklet is undated, but was certainly published post 1993.

3. This is quoted from p22 of the 'Britain in NATO' booklet, published by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, July 1992.

4. Under Charles de Gaulle, the French left NATO in 1966 largely because of its domination by the US. There have since been various, unsuccessful, attempts at a reunion.

5. On December 4, 1998, the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, signed a defence pact with France, committing the two countries to forging an integrated European defence identity. This signalled a significant change of approach on behalf of the UK. This occurred, however, after the sample period of this research.

6. Quoted in Carr and Ifantis, p40, from a speech made by John Major to the House of Commons, 1 March, 1995.

7. Indeed, both Denmark and Norway have refused to permit nuclear weapons to be placed on their soil in peace-time and no allied forces are stationed in Denmark (DTI Country Profile - Denmark - p2).
8. The *Børsen* poll, published in 7 February, 1997, showed that 53 per cent of interviewees wanted this opt-out retained, and only 33.1 per cent wanted it abolished.
9. This was published in, for instance, *Politiken*, 23 January, 1993, Sektion 2, p3.
10. This statement appears in 'Europe and the challenge of enlargement', Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement 3/92, p23.
11. This information appears in The European Commission's Background Report B/3/97, February 1997, entitled 'The Enlargement of the European Union'.

Chapter 10

An analysis of the newspaper texts in the sample period - 14 January, 1997, to 14 February, 1997, inclusive - with reference to the EU and foreign policy, including expansion, defence and human rights.

UK newspapers

Making news of foreign affairs interesting to a newspaper's readers is not always easy. As the American foreign correspondent, Mort Rosenblum puts it (p10):

Where space is tight, news from far away loses on points. South Chicago conjures an image in American minds, and if a riot erupts, people know some of the reasons. Bosnia-Herzegovina is a lot of new syllables at the end of a hard day, and you could fill a fat book explaining why conflict there is so important...This is a basic flaw in the system. If a story is important, it is complex. But if it gets too complicated, it invites the spike.

Indeed, as Stephenson (Stephenson and Bromley, p20), Baistow (p47), Tunstall (1996, p339), *et al*, point out, coverage of foreign news, particularly among the British tabloids, has been much curtailed in recent years as a cost-cutting measure. Those papers have largely ceased to employ staff correspondents permanently stationed in foreign places.

Furthermore, as Tunstall comments, although some foreign news finds a ready market - the US in particular enjoys much focus - journalists struggle to make locations such as Brussels interesting to their readers. It is not sufficiently 'colourful' or likeable. As he explains (p341-2):

A nation's foreign news - like its definition of history - reflects its prejudices and sentiments; it ignores the events and places we want to forget and it emphasizes the events, places, and faces we prefer and admire.

It could thus be argued that when 'boring Brussels' becomes involved in matters concerning places that are still further afield, those become even less interesting to the British press -

which is perhaps why the British tabloids in this study, *en masse*, had nothing relevant to include in this section at all. Even the broadsheets contained relatively little: the *Daily Telegraph* also had nothing significant to discuss and the *Guardian*'s coverage was minimal. There was support in the leader of 24 January ('Europe: an apology') for the notion of an expanded EU and of its role in safeguarding peace in Europe, and the Union's relationship with Turkey was the focus of a 'straight' news story on 29 January ('Britain will urge Turkey to keep cool on Cyprus'). This dealt with the threat of the Turks to block eastward expansion of NATO if their application to join the EU were not progressed. There was, however, little else.

Although *The Independent*, too, had no features or leaders on subjects of relevance to this section, it did have the already-mentioned 'scoop' news story in respect of the EU's suggestions for the reform of the UN (Chapter 4, p75). Like the *Guardian*, it also featured the story about Turkey (in 'Europe set for clash over Turkish question', 7 February), and included more information. For instance, it added to the *Guardian*'s report with details of EU misgivings about Turkey's human rights record, and of ages-old hostilities with the Greeks with whom there were problems over Cyprus.

The Independent was, however, alone in covering the EU's attempts to punish Burma for human rights abuses (in the story of 14 February, 'EU fails to block Burma's entry to Asean')

The Times also covered the Turkey story, not just in the account of 7 February ('Turkey insists on EU entry as price for bigger NATO'), but also in a supplement about the country, published on 31 January. Among many features included in this was one in which Turkey's 'vital role in Europe' was sympathetically discussed. Turkish grievances over the fact that Eastern European countries were apparently being considered for EU membership ahead of Turkey were aired through quotes from the country's President, Suleman Demirel, and the German Foreign Minister, Klaus Kinkel.

A week later (in 'Albright mission to back Nato and EU expansion', 14 February), *The Times* was reporting US support for an enlargement of NATO to be accompanied by a rapid

widening and deepening of the European Union as a means of nurturing stability in Europe. The notion was that the US was keen to foster a situation that would relieve it of at least some of its responsibilities in the region. In other words, the US wanted a more proactive EU in defence matters than perhaps the British wished it to have.

The relationship between NATO, the WEU and the EU was the focus of *The Times*' story of 30 January ('Secret defence plan pits Paris against Bonn') which was a later version of the account that had appeared in the French *Le Monde* newspaper, and which had earlier been aired in the Danish press (see below). For *The Times*, however, the emphasis was on the effect the issue was having on Franco-German relations with little analysis of its potential effects elsewhere, beyond the prediction that it would 'cause suspicion in Britain'. The reason for this, the paper said, was the suggestion within this defence plan that the WEU should be fully integrated into the EU structure. 'Britain opposes such a move,' the paper said. However, given the 'deliberate vagueness' of the Franco-German plan, and the disputes it had been causing, *The Times* clearly felt that it would spark little action in the foreseeable future and thus required no passionate reaction.

Danish newspapers

In contrast, the Danish newspapers carried far more news relevant to this section. Even the tabloid *BT* - if not *Ekstra Bladet* - included not just an account about the 'Turkish No to Eastern countries in NATO' (30 January), but also made much more of the story mentioned above about the EU's defence role as seen by the French and Germans ('Germany and France in agreement about atomic weapons', 27 January). Indeed, the account - picked up from the French *Le Monde* newspaper - started with criticism of the US, quoting French sources saying that if the President, Bill Clinton, had not been so much in the pocket of the American military leaders, 'we would not have had to go so far'. Thus, reflecting a blend of French antagonism towards NATO, the Danes' mistrust of the Americans and their fear of the Germans, the story suggested that the US should have agreed to a European dimension to NATO. Without that, France and Germany had been encouraged to link up - and the end result was that the EU would have atomic weapons, and that they would be under Franco-German control, the report suggested.

The nature of the relationship between the EU and NATO (and by extension the US) was also much discussed in the Danish broadsheets. *Jyllands-Posten*, for instance, carried a feature on 15 January ('NATO and the EU - each its own timetable') in which the MEP, Karin Riis-Jørgensen, suggested that the Union was paying the price for dragging its heels over the accession of the Eastern European countries in that NATO was now taking the initiative in the region. The EU did not want to be dancing to NATO's tune, the writer argued.

Similarly, in the news story of 24 January ('The EU does not want to be the consolation prize'), the comments of the EU Commissioner for External Relations, Hans van den Broek, that the Eastern European countries were unlikely to join the Union until 2002, were portrayed as a reaction against a rather bullying US that was exerting pressure in the matter. Again in its handling of the Turkish story ('No understanding for Turkey', 8 February), the determination that EU and NATO membership could not be linked - and that the Union would not bow to NATO/US pressure - was focal.

Perhaps not surprisingly, *Berlingske Tidende* took a line similar to that of *Jyllands-Posten*, particularly in respect of wariness towards what was perceived as US heavy-handedness. For example, in a leader of 8 February ('Desperation in Ankara'), the paper outlined the dilemmas of Turkey - torn between its eastern soul and western political orientation. With typical Danish 'reasonableness', it acknowledged US fears that, excluded from the EU, the country was at risk of 'islamisation'. Nevertheless, it concluded, there were problems over human rights abuses, and the impression given was that, despite US pressure, it was necessary for the EU to take a measured decision over whether or not to accept Turkey into membership. As the paper had already made clear in a detailed story of 29 January ('Greek-Turkish strife threatens expansion'), the complicated interlinking of these countries, along with the intractable problem of Cyprus, meant that there were no easy solutions to the difficulties that these countries were posing in respect of the expansion of both the EU and NATO.

Berlingske Tidende also picked up on *The Independent*'s 21 January scoop about the EU's suggestions for the reform of the UN. Although, unlike *The Independent* (which used as its

heading 'Europe urges Annan to reform the UN'), the paper took the opportunity to attack the Americans with its version, even in its headline ('The EU wants to reform the UN, the USA wants to save (money)', 22 January). The story went on to relate that, although the EU had put forward plans to make the UN more relevant and effective, these had not involved a budget cut, and were thus not in keeping with US demands.

The EU's relationship with NATO also cropped up in stories on 25, 27 and 30 January ('The EU will have common defence', 'Plans for a common EU nuclear defence', and 'A European NATO in deadlock').

In the first, a new initiative in which 'France and Holland have put themselves at the helm of the development of a common defence policy in the EU', was discussed, along with French wishes that the WEU should be integrated within the EU as its defence arm.

In the second, the *Le Monde* story was covered, but in this version the French Defence Minister, Charles Millon, was quoted as saying that the French would not be giving up control of their nuclear weapons. Here at least, then, no threat was foreseen that the Germans would have power over nuclear weapons. The notion that the WEU could become the EU's defence arm, subsequently becoming NATO's European column, was repeated

In the third, the antagonism between the French and NATO was evident in a story that related the US block on French plans to take over more of the defence role in Europe. This was specifically in respect of French proposals that a European should take over control of NATO's southern command in Napoli - or at least share it with the US. The Americans were, however, refusing to relinquish any of their control. Thus, the unease of France over the extent of US influence in the defence of Europe was highlighted in *Berlingske Tidende*, which clearly had some sympathy with the French position.

For *Politiken*, too, European defence was a topic of interest. That paper's extensive coverage included news stories on 21, 23, 24 and 25 January with headings, respectively: 'EU sharpens its approach to Serbia'; 'The USA turns down EU defence'; 'EU and NATO sit on the fence'; and 'French-German offensive about EU defence'.

In the first, the paper underlined the role of the EU as diplomatic force in the international arena by relating the tough stance it was threatening to take with Serbia unless that country adopted democracy.

In the second, the USA's ambassador to NATO, Robert Hunter, was quoted as saying that the WEU and the EU would not be taking over from the US and NATO in the military aspect of the defence of Europe - the Americans were not intending to relinquish control.

In the third, the delicate diplomacy between the EU and NATO was outlined, with each making it clear that membership of the one could not be seen as a consolation prize for not being accepted into the other.

In the fourth - *Politiken's* version of the *Le Monde* story - the actions of the French and Germans to move co-operation on defence up the EU agenda were outlined. Both countries, *Politiken* reported, had agreed that developments should take place within the context of NATO. But, by strengthening European defence capability, dependence on the US would thereby be weakened.

Politiken features covering defence included that of 1 February ('Insecure Franco-German alliance'), in which 'a Paris correspondent' aired the view that the aim of the Franco-German military policy initiative was to bind the two countries even more tightly together as one more element in Germany's rehabilitation process. However, in discussing the integration of European defence in general, the feature made the point that the participation of the UK would be a necessary element of this. And in making the assumption of a Labour victory in the UK's then forthcoming General Election, the writer reckoned that this would depend on Tony Blair.

Thus, in common with the other Danish broadsheets, *Politiken* was clearly in support of NATO, but was also willing to report other European defence arrangements - actual or proposed - and to consider alternatives to the existing order.

In its coverage of the Turkish story ('Cyprus conflict threatens EU expansion', 22 January),

Politiken blamed the delay in Turkey being admitted to EU membership on the Greeks, who were blocking it because of tensions over Cyprus. The paper clearly had sympathy with the Turks, although it could be argued that poor relations between Greece and Denmark in the past had an influence here¹.

Politiken clearly saw an expanding role for the EU both in defence and in international diplomacy. In a similar vein - and in common with the other Danish broadsheets - it also felt that the EU should make a corporate stand against human rights abuses, worldwide. This particularly emerged in 'EU turns a blind eye to injustice' (4 February), in which 'a committee in the British Parliament' was castigated for taking only seven minutes to approve an agreement for co-operation between the EU and Tunisia - a country with a poor track record in respect of human rights. The paper clearly felt that the Union should pay more heed to such matters - a sentiment that also permeated its coverage of the ASEAN story (eg 'EU and ASEAN cross swords', 13 February) and its feature and leader about the fatwa against Salman Rushdie ('Blood money', 13 February, and 'The priests' true face', 14 February).

The EU's response to human rights abuses was also a focal issue for *Information*, not just in its coverage of the ASEAN affair ('Disagreement between ASEAN and the EU', 13 February), but more specifically in its front page lead story of 4 February ('EU criticism UN is letting Zaïre down'). In this passionate story, the criticisms levelled - indirectly - at the US and UN by the EU Commissioner, Emma Bonino, were featured. In it, she lambasted 'desk strategists and salon diplomats' for claiming that there were no refugees trapped in Zaïre, when, she maintained, there were literally hundreds of thousands, including children who were no more than walking skeletons. However, balancing this story in which the EU had played a positive role in bringing human rights abuses to the attention of the world at large, was the feature of 17 January ('Denmark is part of the EU hypocrisy') which related the hard time poor African countries were having in their attempts to export rice and sugar to the EU. Fort Europe was better guarded than Fort Knox, the writer maintained.

In its approach to the EU response to human rights abuses, *Berlingske Tidende*, too, clearly supported the Union's 'completely united and critical front' in its negotiations with ASEAN

over Burma ('No agreement about Burma', 14 February) and its attitude towards Iran ('EU complains about Rushdie reward', 14 February).

Jyllands-Posten was similarly moved. In common with *Information*, that paper gave an emotional report of Emma Bonino's rebuke to international forces (led by the US) for abandoning the refugees in Zaïre's rain forest ('Harsh telling-off from EU Commissioner', 4 February). And it carried stories about the ASEAN meeting ('Portugal blocks expanded agreement', 14 February) and the Salman Rushdie affair ('EU close to giving up dialogue', 14 February). In a further story ('EU putting religious leadership in Iran under pressure', 5 February), Danish pressure was flagged as the reason why the EU was pursuing the matter of the disappearance of the author, Faraj Sarkooris.

From these reports, it was clear that human rights abuses were considered a matter of particular concern by Danish newspapers. They felt that the EU not only had the right, but also the duty to fight against such abuses. It was perceived as a positive role in which EU intervention received warm support from the Danes.

The international and business papers

The three newspapers that shed the most additional light on the issues raised in this Chapter were the *FT*, the *IHT* and *The European*. For instance, the *FT*'s version of the *Le Monde* story ('Franco-German pact stresses reform of Nato', 27 January) differed from that of the Danish press in that it focused on the subject of US and NATO reforms, which, it said, were seen in the Franco-German document as 'the key to European defence'. The report added that the Franco-German plans would be a complement to the existing security arrangements and not an alternative. Thus, there was yet another interpretation of this story - this one suggesting that there was little in this Franco-German plan to get excited about.

However, the *IHT*, like the Danish newspapers, did feel that the *Le Monde* revelations were worth not just a story ('Bonn and Paris weigh atomic force', 25 January) but also a leader ('Let's hope France and Germany get it right', 30 January). For that newspaper, the focus was the agreement between the French and Germans to add a nuclear dimension to European

defence policy - albeit to be kept within NATO. Given the *IHT*'s US focus, it is perhaps not surprising that it put a focus on the importance of NATO's role in Europe, clearly believing in the interdependence of alliance and Union in fostering peace in the region (eg 'NATO expansion as a crafty consolation prize', 23 January, and the leader 'NATO helps Europe', 27 January). However, in the view of the *IHT*, NATO was vital primarily because the EU was too feeble and ineffective to achieve much in defence and foreign affairs on its own. For instance, the paper pointed to the fact that it had made no impact on ASEAN over human rights abuses in Burma and East Timor ('ASEAN to keep East Timor off agenda of EU talks', 4 February, and 'Two issues block EU-ASEAN pact', 13 February) and had backed off from making a stand against Chinese threats to curtail the freedom of the inhabitants of Hong Kong following British withdrawal from the colony ('Let Britain worry about liberties, EU says', 27 January). The paper also doubted that the EU would be able to control the conflict in Bosnia after the US left the region in June 1998 ('Europe has 17 months to get serious on Bosnia', 25 January). The *IHT*'s general opinion was that: 'The European Union has for several years been talking about its goal of a common European foreign and security policy, with nothing much tangible coming from that talk. There has been highly intelligent debate without practical conclusions.'

Even the EU-supportive *European* was at times critical of the Union's response to external problems. For instance, in a feature of 6 February ('Europe's Jekyll and Hyde diplomats') it highlighted differences in the way the conflicts in Serbia and Algeria were regarded by the EU. There were vigorous attempts to help in the first case, the paper said (although the *IHT* might not have agreed with this), and apparent apathy in the second. The paper clearly felt that the EU was generally ineffective in the international arena - in both a peace-keeping role and in solving disputes.

Comparison

The Danes' lukewarm attitude to both NATO and the US about which the UK, in contrast, is considerably more enthusiastic, sheds much light on differences in the way this topic was handled in their respective newspapers. Anxious not to be entirely dominated by the US, the Danes were much more keen to see the EU developing a meaningful role in the international

arena - particularly in a humanitarian role - in which they were more likely to have a say. Although this role was accepted as embryonic, instances where the Union had had an impact were given positive coverage. And although the Danish papers also highlighted areas in which they felt that the EU could have been more effective, this was more to encourage greater and more meaningful Union activity than to suggest that it should withdraw from such intervention completely.

There could be a number of reasons why there was such a comparatively small amount of news in the UK papers about EU involvement with countries and issues outside of its member states. For a start, EMU and domestic political strife over Europe were taking up so much column space that perhaps editors were anxious to vary news coverage elsewhere. Even so, the fact that the EU is not generally considered by the British to have an important international diplomatic or security and defence role, could be another explanation. Furthermore, it could be argued that the interactions between 'foreigners' in the Union and other 'foreigners' even further afield, was deemed to be of little interest to insular - or 'nationalistic' - British newspaper readers.

The UK's particular enthusiasm for the US was also significant in that British newspapers were consequently inclined to see the EU as an irrelevance in combating human rights abuses, as well as in defending Europe and keeping the peace: the notion was that these tasks were best done by existing agencies, such as NATO and the UN, as well as by the Americans working with their existing close allies, of whom the British number themselves.

The UK newspapers' stance was largely supported by the US-focused titles. Although they certainly did not single the British out for special support, they, too, clearly felt that the EU - at least as it stood - was worthy of only a limited role in international affairs. Again, one of the major problems perceived by the US-focused press - and, to an extent, also by *The European* - was that EU member states were rarely able to co-operate to any great effect and were thus currently unfit to take on a meaningful role in the world at large.

End Note

1. As an example of this, the story in *BT* on 2 April, 1993 (p25) - 'Greeks thrown in prison for thinking like Uffe' - criticises the Greeks for, among other matters, punishing their fellow countrymen who wanted to recognise an independent Macedonia. It was 'unbelievable' that an EU country should seek to crush freedom of speech in this way, the paper maintained.

Chapter 11

Journalists and the practice of journalism

In his study of public perceptions of journalists' ethical motivations, Paul Voakes (p24) identifies seven areas that influence the way journalists approach their work. This list includes: individual; small group; organisation; competition; occupation; the law; and extra media.

Most of these categories have been explored in earlier Chapters. For instance, the influence of an 'organisation' - ie the newspapers' and industries' structure, British and Danish - as well as 'competition' have been covered in Chapter 3. The influence of 'the law' and relevant 'extra media' effects on British and Danish journalists have also been discussed. Those - which include contrasts in legal restraints and requirements, political structures, historical and current relationships with the EU and its member states, and in perceptions in the way it should interact with non-member countries - have been covered in Chapters 5, 7 and 9. Some of the effects of 'small groups' have also been discussed. For instance, in addition to the influence on a journalist of the 'small group' with whom he or she works - eg in respect of established working styles and patterns - this category might also encompass the tendency of reporters to 'hunt in packs' (Chapter 1, p11), covering the same stories, or feeding off each other for story leads. This, too, has revealed itself in the sample period texts.

However, the other categories of, 'individual' and 'occupation' warrant investigation here for contrasts that might shed light on differences in the way EU news is handled in the British and Danish newspapers.

Individual

As Voakes argues, each journalist is influenced by his or her background - personal beliefs, personal upbringing and personal moral reasoning - although, as Hetherington points out

(p21), they might not be aware of this or the effect it is having on 'their judgement or their phrasing'.

However, this research found little difference in the nature of journalists, British or Danish. In both countries, they are expected to exhibit the same practical, intellectual and emotional qualities. The ability to observe and report accurately and concisely, to be able to coax information from people, to have the judgement to prioritise 'facts' - these are all cited as desirable traits in literature, British and Danish, aimed at would-be journalists, or in books and features describing the kind of people they are¹.

Furthermore, they are generally assumed to be overwhelmingly 'middle-class' or 'bourgeois' (Kruuse, p160; Guild of Editors' *Survey of Editorial Training Needs*, Summary, p2), and as a breed are frequently 'liberal' in their political views². This is despite the fact that they may write for right-wing newspapers. Consequently, journalists can commonly find themselves expressing 'views' that are not their own (Schneider, p6), not least because their career progression may depend on this (Chapter 1, p20). In some cases, job insecurity heightens still further the compulsion journalists feel to conform to their newspaper's particular style and stance³.

Thus, differences in the way EU news is covered in the UK and Denmark are not the result of contrasts in the type of person producing the reports. The influences are clearly external to the individuals involved.

Occupation

According to Voakes, 'occupation' describes:

a common system of norms and values in the practice of journalism, and is closely related to what many practitioners and scholars call "professional ethics". It is a function not only of training in journalism and ongoing socialization through professional organisations, but also of formal codes of conduct

In respect of this area of influence, there are significant differences between the UK and

Denmark. For instance, the nature of journalistic training differs. In the UK, trainees come into the industry through a variety of routes. Some are 'direct entry', recruited directly by regional or local newspapers to undergo basic training under the terms of a training contract. Others take the 'pre-entry' route, attending a vocational education and training course at a college or university before entering the industry⁴. However, within those basic specifications, there is an array of training options. As Bernie Corbett, a former Training Officer of the NUJ, put it (p14), there is:

...a jungle of competing and contradictory accreditations, learning systems and qualifications...depending on where they study, and what media sector they pick, a student or trainee can study for the NCTJ National Certificate; National Vocational Qualification; university BA or MA in journalism, sometimes in a specific sector; college qualification such as HND or BTEC; postgraduate certificate or diploma; or an employer's own certificate in a company training centre.

The Guild of Editors (in its 'White Paper' on editorial training, *Tomorrow's Journalist*) has made similar observations, and there have been features, leaders and news stories in the *Press Gazette*⁵. Thus, there is currently no standard training process for UK journalists. Furthermore, what training there is has tended to concentrate on practical skills at the expense of the academic side, specifically in a consideration of the moral dimension of journalism. As Gopsill puts it (p6): 'The most important element missing in training is what journalists call "ethics" - professional standards that respect the truth, the reader and the subjects of coverage'¹. In his book, Raymond Snoddy also highlights this. He says (p153):

In marked contrast to the British, Americans take their journalism seriously. Debates are held about the power of newspapers, the role of the journalist in society and the difference between best practice and sharp practice. In the USA, there are even journalists who are prepared to utter the word 'ethics' in public without blushing.

The reason for this, he reckons, is that journalism in the US - as in Denmark - has a more 'academic tradition' than it does in the UK. This view is supported by Walter Jaehnig (in Stephenson and Bromley, p104), and by Barbara Thomaß (also in Stephenson and Bromley, p137), who points out that the relative brevity of training courses in the UK gives little time

1. A comparative discussion of ethics and Codes of Practice appears later in this Chapter.

for more than the basics, and certainly not enough to develop the 'competence of reflection'. Furthermore, the students themselves are often keen not to 'waste time' with matters that will not obviously improve their job prospects.

In contrast to the fragmented nature of training in the UK, until the start of the 1998 academic year virtually all Danish journalists received their training at one institution - Danmarks Journalisthøjskole (DJH) - in Århus. As Stephenson reports (Stephenson and Mory, p98), this was established in 1970 as part of the Danish system of higher education, and, since 1971, it has been awarding a diploma equivalent to a Bachelor's Degree after a course lasting four years. Its philosophy has been 'to produce a rounded journalist able to operate in all media'. In average years, it reckoned to provide 80 per cent of all those becoming journalists in Denmark, giving it 'a quasi-monopolistic position in Danish journalism education which has no parallel in any other European country'.

Although from the start of the 1998 academic year additional training courses were begun at the universities of Odense and Roskilde, Århus still reigned supreme during the sample period as the major element in determining the nature and the moulding of journalists in Denmark as a whole. According to Professor Erik Farmann⁶ from DJH, the four-year training programme includes ethics as a substantial element. Indeed, the course booklist includes *Erik i Journalistik* by DJH staff member, Helle Nissen Kruuse, which is a comprehensive discussion of ethics in journalism, much referred to in this thesis, and elements of ethical practice - in which, Professor Farmann reports, students are very interested - appear throughout the course syllabus.

The pursuit of 'fairness' in reporting is an activity that, at least in part, requires adherence to practical rules. Sometimes, the success or failure of reporters to adhere to these 'rules' is not easily discernable. As Baistow explains (p60):

The selection of certain facts, the omission of others that would modify them, the treatment of a story to impart an implicit rather than explicit emphasis, the prominence or otherwise of its position and presentation - all can contribute to produce an effect which the non-specialist reader is in no position to recognise let alone question.

Much of this thesis has aimed to pinpoint examples of such 'flagrant partiality' where professional 'ideals' have been disregarded. According to Tunstall (1977, p214), the Anglo-American notion of 'professionalism' among journalists:

...typically stresses presentation techniques, the ability to select to balance, to give "both sides" of the story; it implies autonomy - independence from either political or commercial direction - with the communicator depending on his "professional" judgement to make decisions.

Wheeler agrees (p7), adding that journalists 'have to verify information by drawing on alternative sources and presenting rival interpretations' and that this means that they will 'necessarily provide a plurality of opinions'. In his analysis, McNair (p47) says that, in addition to the elements mentioned above, to be 'objective', the journalist needs to provide supporting evidence for any assertions made in the story:

...authoritative sources, such as politicians must be quoted (in this way the journalist is seen to distance him- or herself from the views reported, by establishing that they are someone else's opinions); "fact" must be separated from "opinion", and "hard news" from "editorial comment"; and the presentation of information must be structured pyramidically, with the most important bits coming first, at the "top" of the story.

Thus, according to the former *Information* editor, Lasse Ellegaard (p156), is the 'classic model for reporting'. And, although, as has already been discussed (Chapter 1, p15), objectivity is impossible to achieve, the (hopeless) pursuit of it is, nevertheless, seen as generally desirable. In both the UK and Denmark, training manuals and 'how to' books for would-be journalists also underline this, while describing how it should be aimed at in practice (for instance, Sellars, p32, and Meilby, p40).

However, while it is true that UK trainees are generally guided in at least the mechanics of 'balance', the fragmented nature of journalism training in the UK means that, in contrast to the situation in Denmark, the nature - and standard - of tuition inevitably varies. Certainly, as the analyses later in this thesis reveal, Danish newspapers in general achieve a far higher standard in adherence to the 'rules' than do their British counterparts, among whom, partiality - 'a legitimate exercise of editorial choice' (Baistow, p57) - has now 'degenerated into naked prejudice without principle'. Even so, as Erik Farmann points out, the Danes'

'superior' performance on this front does not please everyone. As he reports, the conformity of style among DJH-trained journalists, who tend, much more than their British counterparts, to play stories 'straight', giving all views in as objective a fashion as is humanly possible, has been criticised. 'Many editors...think that the journalists we produce are too neat,' he says, 'that what they produce is too much alike. They like originality.' At least that is one criticism that is unlikely to be levelled at the British press.

Another area relevant to this thesis in which Danish journalists receive more guidance than do their British counterparts relates specifically to the EU. A *Press Gazette* survey, published on 5 December, 1997 (p11), revealed 'widespread Euro-ignorance' among British journalists, suggesting that this would have to change. The situation was summed up by the BBC's Europe correspondent, David Eades, who commented: 'Suddenly Europe is a very big challenge for the British media...The endless rows were easy. Now journalists will no longer be able to get away with knowing nothing of the detail. The stories are in the detail.' In his study, David Morgan (p332) reported that, even among dedicated Brussels correspondents in his survey, 'lack of training and orientation' was visible, hampering their credibility among Europeans and their effectiveness as reporters for UK consumers.

Thus, formal training programmes in the UK include little, if any, focus on enabling journalists to understand EU issues or institutions - for background knowledge or practical use. In contrast, DJH has for some time included elements in its curriculum - as both a core subject and a specialised option - designed to give students an in-depth understanding of how the EU functions, and there have also been short courses for local journalists. These have aimed to encourage such reporters to see local angles in EU news - and then to know from whom further information can be obtained, or a quote elicited. These short courses were originated by John Frølich (one of the interviewees in this project) in accordance with his view that all Danish reporters - including those on local papers - have now to look at EU affairs as domestic rather than foreign policy. 'These days, everybody has to know about decision-making in Brussels, and everybody has to know about sources and where to find them,' he said.

Thus, although Ole Vigant Ryborg argues (in *Pas på Pressen*, p55) that Danish journalists

need even more training to enable them to report EU matters with more accuracy and insight, they are still far better equipped to do this than the overwhelming majority of British journalists who receive no formal guidance at all.

Overall, therefore, there are significant differences in the training of journalists in the UK and Denmark that might affect the way they handle EU news. For instance, Danish journalists, who receive a more uniform training programme, of much longer duration, receive more in-depth tuition, across the board. The fact that they are also given more formal guidance to enable them to understand the workings of the EU, and where to find information, sources for quotes, and so on, could at least partially explain why Danish reports are more often put in context, contain more background or explanatory information, and are handled with less unfounded prejudice than is the case in the UK.

But it is not just in their failure to adhere to the practical mechanics of 'fair' reporting that journalists can fall short of professional ideals. As Belsey and Chadwick point out (p8) in a long, but by no means complete, list of 'ethical sins', there are many ways the media can offend, including: inaccuracy; lies; distortions; bias; propaganda; favouritism; sensationalism; trivialisation; lapses of taste; vulgarity; sleaze; sexism; racism; homophobia; personal attacks; smears; character assassination; cheque-book journalism; deception; betrayal of confidences; and invasions of privacy. Many of these - as they relate to the way the EU has been portrayed, particularly in the UK press - have been unveiled in this research. The evidence shows that the Danish press in general is far more 'ethically aware' than is its British counterpart. This is revealed not just in the greater importance put on the development of 'ethical awareness' in the journalists' training programme in Denmark, but also in national attitudes towards the need for 'ethical practices' in the media which have led to a Code of Practice which is legally enforceable. This differs substantially to the situation within the UK, where such matters are addressed less formally. Even so, just what measures should be taken to ensure that journalists behave in a manner that is 'morally' unimpeachable, are matters of debate in both the UK and Denmark. For instance, Belsey and Chadwick (p13) are among those who argue that, even for the most ethically-aware journalist, there are no absolute guidelines to assist in avoiding breaches of 'ethical practice'.

The choices that journalists must constantly make are inevitably guided by a sense of right and wrong within individuals themselves. Furthermore, the nebulous nature of 'the truth' can turn attempts to make rules or to appoint censors to curb the press, into a minefield. The opportunities for abuse are legion (Greer, July/August 1986).

Even so, attempts have been made to present workable philosophies to guide journalists towards ethical practice. For instance, Fuller (p30) has suggested that journalists should follow the example of judges in being 'neutral in their inquiry but not in the expression of their findings'. As he says:

The judicial analogy suggests a whole set of virtues - open-mindedness, impartiality, the duty to be candid about one's reasoning and about what one knows and does not know, the responsibility to put as forcefully as possible the positions of those with whom one disagrees. These virtues all come together in the concept of intellectual honesty, which links the truth discipline in journalism with the highest standards in scientific and academic debate. It is as good a statement of aspiration as any I can think of for journalists.

Or, as Cameron puts it (p72):

...the journalists is obliged to present his attitude as vigorously and persuasively as he can, insisting that it *is* his attitude, to be examined and criticized in the light of every contrary argument, which he need not accept but must reveal.

The evidence in this research suggests that such ethical approaches to journalism are more likely to be found in the Danish than in the British newspaper press. It can be argued that this is at least in part a result of the emphasis the DJH training course puts on setting the practice of journalism into an ethical framework, encompassing a journalist's behaviour across the board. For instance, Helle Nissen Kruuse's book (p37) contains sections advising against accepting 'freebies' which might impose 'obligations', suggesting that journalists remain detached from all overt political allegiances, and even advocating that they avoid taking supplementary paid jobs that might compromise their 'impartiality'. British journalists receive little - if any - guidance on this front, and, by tradition, take conflicts of interest between their working and private lives less into account. However, there are signs that awareness is growing. For instance, the need for journalists, personally, to behave with more openness and honour has been put forward by the *Guardian* editor, Alan Rusbridger⁷.

In maintaining that it is necessary for journalists to put their own house in order before they can start criticising others, he has suggested that, among other things, they should declare any outside interests that might impinge on the way they perform their job in the same way as is required of politicians. He has also asked why British newspapers do not emulate those in the US by carrying a regular column for corrections and clarifications (indeed, the *Guardian* now has such a column), and has suggested that British journalism should be subjected to greater academic scrutiny in terms of ethical issues. Such an attitude is, however, not as yet embedded within the British press as a whole.

Up until now, what attempts there have been in the UK to encourage 'ethical' journalism have appeared generally in the form of legal restraints (discussed in Chapter 3, p43) and in various forms of self-regulation, which have been regularly refashioned particularly - but not exclusively - in response to outrage provoked by tabloid press excesses. Currently, self-regulation of the UK press - under the auspices of the Press Complaints Commission (PCC) - is working just about adequately enough to convince the government that substantial, additional, legislation is not warranted. Even so, the issue regularly bubbles to the surface. As Stephenson points out (Stephenson and Bromley, p19):

...the argument seems to be strong that the journalistic values of today's popular press - and the reaction of politicians and the "chattering classes" to them - are part of an historical continuum. Sex, lies and the invasion of the privacy of individuals have certainly been an important part of the staple diet of popular British newspapers since popular British newspapers have existed.

That said, however, he adds that there are new factors at work which make today's situation different. Among them are an abandonment of the 'public service' aspect of newspaper publishing, and, under the influence of Thatcherism, an emphasis on newspapers as 'just a business like any other'. As a consequence, he concludes 'it is not too much to say that national newspapers have themselves been caught up in a spirit of the times which says that profit making is the only real measure of socially worthwhile performance'.

With such a philosophy now entrenched within large sections of the British newspaper press, it is little wonder that high-minded principles of fair and accurate reporting - of ensuring that the press properly fulfils its essential role in the democratic process - have been quashed by

a commercial sense that wishes only to satisfy mass consumer demand for gossip, trivia and scandal in order to sell more papers and attract more advertisers.

However, in an attempt to curb excesses, the Press Complaints Commission (PCC) Editors' Code Committee has moulded a series of guidelines for good journalistic practice, and sits in judgement when those guidelines have allegedly been breached. Established in 1991, the PCC replaced the discredited Press Council, and followed the first report of an inquiry led by David Calcutt which was charged with investigating press intrusions into privacy (Tulloch in Stephenson and Bromley, p74). According to McNair (p152), while the main thrust of the Calcutt report was for the desirability of continuing self regulation by the press, it accepted that the framework of self-regulation needed substantial strengthening. To that end, Calcutt proposed that the press as a whole should adopt a formal Code of Practice laying down what was, and was not, permissible in matters such as privacy. The press was to be given one final chance to prove that voluntary self regulation could be made to work, and the Press Council should be disbanded and replaced by a new body which had to be seen as 'authoritative, independent and impartial'.

The press was given an 18-month 'probationary period' to prove that it could abide by the PCC's recommendations. However, when Calcutt reported again (Calcutt II), although there had been a number of controversial press activities and Calcutt himself consequently recommended a statutory press tribunal to replace the PCC, his proposal was rejected by Ministers (McNair, p159). As reports from a relieved press at the time show, politicians in general and the National Heritage Secretary, Peter Brooke⁸, in particular, were said to favour a 'softly, softly' approach to curbs on the press. In the words of veteran Tory backbencher, Sir Anthony Grant⁹, the general feeling among politicians was that. 'No matter how odious or detestable a free Press seems, every other system is infinitely worse.' As the *Daily Telegraph* argued in its leader column of 13 January, 1993 (p16).

...every newspaper would oppose the creation of a judicial tribunal to police the press. Such a tribunal could and almost certainly would be abused by the government of the day. A balance needs to be maintained between the right to privacy and the public interest.

Thus, the PCC currently prevails. Although it is frequently criticised for having no real powers¹⁰, it remains the main body through which complaints against the UK press are channelled. As its Chairman, Lord Wakeham, has himself admitted¹¹, possibly its most major sanction lies in the fact that a system infinitely more Draconian might be imposed, should newspapers not heed its recommendations and rulings.

The National Union of Journalists, the Chartered Institute of Journalists and the International Federation of Journalists, as well as bodies dealing specifically with broadcast journalism², also have codes of practice. However, these are not widely publicised, or referred to, and it is unlikely that they have any great regulatory effect on British journalists' daily activities.

In contrast, journalists in Denmark have just one code to guide their professional practice, and are legally obliged to adhere to it: since 1992, self-regulation has been replaced by statutory control in the form of the Media Liability Act which, in its article 34, includes a Code of Conduct covering Danish journalists in all the media. And although the consensus is that Danish journalists do not take the Code into account as a matter of course in their working lives, the fact that it is their statutory duty to behave in a manner that accords with its 'sound press ethics' inevitably highlights the Code in a way that is not emulated in the UK.

In order to determine whether or not the Code has been breached in any given situation, the Minister of Justice created Pressenævnet (the Press Council). In common with its UK equivalent, this Council is not universally respected, and is sometimes openly mocked by the Danish newspapers, especially the tabloids. Also in common with its UK counterpart, the only punishment the Council can impose is to demand that its decision (should a complaint be upheld) be published as it stands, and 'in any such conspicuous manner as may reasonably be demanded'. Indeed, there have been instances where newspapers have been made to repeat a Press Council ruling which was initially 'hidden away'.

2. The various Codes of Practice relevant to the sample period of this thesis appear in Appendix 10.

The Code of Conduct is based on that formulated in 1960 by newspaper publishers, and adopted then only by the Danske Dagblades Forening (the Danish Newspaper Society) because Dansk Journalistforbund (the Danish journalists' union) would not accept it (Kruuse, p25). Their protest was linked primarily to the refusal of the employers to include a conscience clause. Furthermore, some major publishers - Politikens Hus, Jyllands Posten and Information - also rejected the original Code, on the basis that a paper's ethics should be decided by the paper itself and not by an external agent.

Given this background, it is perhaps not surprising that many Danes have voiced concern about the fact that complying with the Code is now a legal obligation for all Danish journalists. Some regret the fact that the state has assumed control over the behaviour of the press in this way - it is seen as a legalised curb on press activity that sets Denmark apart from other democracies where such matters are the subject of self regulation only. Others criticise the move on more philosophical grounds. As Kruuse comments (p26):

Ethical rules are a bit like political manifestos. When ethics have to be fashioned into universally valid regulations, the whole exercise becomes so woolly and theoretical that there is hardly any instructional, good sense left in the nice words.

Furthermore, she argues (p28, her italics), the blend of *legal* regulations and *moral* norms is a dangerous cocktail. Outlining the argument, Kruuse says (p231):

Those who are against rules take this stance most often because reality is too disparate for written rules to be a help and a guide. Journalism is not characterised by absolutes, and the morals of journalists cannot be governed by rules, but based on the individual's own conscience and humanity. (Those who are against rules) put more weight on the journalist's own reflection and opinions; on the fact that rules cannot do away with bad journalism, but that self-critical debate and a thorough training, with on-going further training, can improve it.

It is this facility of 'self-criticism' and 'sense of right and wrong' that elements of the journalists' training courses at DJH try to develop.

Thus, in a further aspect, the approach to ethical practice differs between the UK and Denmark. Although many might agree that it is unrealistic to attempt to make a code of

practice legally enforceable, it does at least mean that Danish journalists are likely to be more aware of it, as a legal obligation. Even so, the prejudicial and skewed reporting revealed in this research is not generally of a nature that could realistically be dealt with by bodies such as the PCC or Pressenævnet. Improvements in this sphere are more likely to be wrought by changes in attitude and approach by the newspaper press and its members, as a whole, to the extent that adherence to the principles of 'fairness' and 'balance' is considered the norm. As is shown in the following Chapter's analysis, the Danish system is far closer to this 'ideal' than is its British counterpart.

End Notes

1. In, for instance: the NUI *Careers in Journalism* booklet; the *Journalism and Writing* booklet, published by the Association of Graduate Careers Advisory Services (AGCAS); the publicity sent out by Danmarks Journalisthøjskole; and in articles written by, for instance, Tove Hygum Jakobsen in *Pas på Pressen* (pp34), and Knud Aage Frøbert in *Jyllands-Posten* (4 February, 1997, p9).

2 In their 1994-5 survey, *The News Breed*, for instance, Delano and Henningham found that 57 per cent of the journalist respondents were intending to vote Labour at the next election, and just 6 per cent, Tory.

3 In the UK, this point has been made by, for instance, Tim Gopsill, a former editor of the NUI's in house magazine, the *Journalist*, in a paper on ownership, media workers and editorial standards, given at the Media v. The People Conference, at the TUC Centre, London, on March 18, 1995. Danish journalists, too, suffer from feelings of job insecurity, as was evident in the strike among journalists in the Berlingske group, that took place during the sample period. Their dispute with the management over proposed job cuts was widely reported in the Danish press in, for instance: *Berlingske Tidende*, 28 January, 1997, 3. Sektion, p3 '118 job skal væk på Berlingske'; and *Information*, 29 January, 1997, p3 'Tanten på skrump', among many others.

4 These 'routes' are described in the Newspaper Society's leaflet, *Training to be a Journalist*, published in July, 1995.

5. These include: 'National Diploma in Journalism "should replace NCE and NVQs"', 1 November, 1996, p11; 'Support for industry-wide qualification for journalists', 2 May, 1997, p8, 'A matter of course', 23 May, 1997, p14; and 'Talks may bring single training body and qualification', 18 July, 1997, p4.

6. Information purveyed in a personal interview of 15 April, 1998.

7. In, for instance, his James Cameron Memorial Lecture, entitled 'The Freedom of the Press, and other Platitudes', given at City University, 22 May, 1997.
8. Peter Brooke had taken over as National Heritage Secretary in September 1992 when David Mellor resigned in disgrace over an affair with an actress.
9. Reported in the *Daily Express* - 'Softly, softly urge MPs' - 15 January, 1993, p17.
10. Indeed, the article 'Making sense of the growing code confusion' in the *Press Gazette*, 17 April, 1998, p11, points out that the PCC's 'ultimate sanction against breaches to its Code is to force offending editors to publish its adjudications "in full and with due prominence"'.
11. At a lecture, entitled 'Press Regulation in a Free Society', given to the Bristol Society, at the University of the West of England, 28 November, 1996.

Chapter 12

Analysis of newspaper texts in the sample period - 14 January, 1997, to 14 February, 1997, inclusive - with reference to the application of practical measures to achieve 'fairness' in the reporting of EU stories.

The UK tabloids

Sources quoted in newspaper texts during the sample period were frequently unbalanced, particularly in the Euro-sceptic sections of the British press. In innumerable instances, little more than a token gesture - if that - was made towards achieving the journalistic ideal of balance in a story.

In the *Sun*, for instance, among the sources most regularly cited were such acknowledged Euro-sceptics as John Redwood, Norman Lamont, Lord Tebbit, Teddy Taylor and Iain Duncan-Smith. Virtually no attention was paid to those with opposing views. In a raft of stories such as: 'Vote Tory to save the £' (24 January); 'Axe £ or it's Toyota-ta to our cash' (30 January), 'Delors will have more statues than Churchill' (31 January); 'Don't let us sink in euro quicksand' (1 February); and 'Labour to scrap £ in 2002' (3 February), those MPs and others with similarly strong anti-EU views were given the bulk of the say.

Furthermore, the paper appeared sometimes to manufacture opportunities to drum home its Euro-sceptic message. An example of this was the muddled story of 17 January ('Tory fury at Euro plot to grab our tax') which mixed news of a vague 'leaked blueprint' about EU plans to 'grab our tax' with a Labour attack on Clarke, suggesting that he was planning to put VAT on food. The link between these two elements was not explained, and no proof was given for either, yet they were used collectively by the *Sun* to knock the pro-European Clarke while instilling fear at the expense of the EU.

Similarly manufactured was the story of 12 February ('I'll fight euro migrant laws to last breath...Minister's frontier vow') in which the *Sun* expressed fears that EU demands could

'open the floodgates to illegal immigrants and terrorists'. However, given that the story also included a quote from the Dutch European Affairs Minister, Michiel Patijn, that the UK would probably be allowed to opt out of opening its borders, there was clearly no need for such passion or panic.

Again, 'Daffy euro flower rule goes to pot' (18 January) related how the regulation about a cooling-off period for telephone orders had been amended so that it did not affect people who, for instance, wanted to issue an immediate order for the sending of flowers. Thus, since the regulation had clearly been amended before it got near to causing a problem - ie in the normal course of being fashioned in order to make it workable - this story, too, could be described as 'manufactured' by the *Sun* solely for propaganda purposes.

Exaggeration, too, was evident. For instance the story of 4 February ('Money men agree euro is a dud') started with the statement that 'Tycoon George Soros yesterday stunned the capitals of Europe by warning a single currency is "heading for the rocks".' It was, however, unlikely that such comments would have 'stunned' anyone, and in any case, the *Sun* offered no proof or examples. Furthermore, although two financial professionals were quoted supporting the Soros views, nobody was allowed to give an opposing opinion.

In the *Sun*'s defence, it has to be said that its very short news story style tends to lead, through over-simplification, to distortions, and that the complexities of EU stories in general are not easily conveyed in this short a space. Even so, the unbalanced quotes, manufactured stories, exaggerations - along with the extreme and often xenophobic language, and selectivity of facts, missing out on significant qualifying and explanatory information - are far removed from journalistic ideals for fair representation of the news.

There was far less EU news in *The Mirror*. But what there was, boasted more balance than was to be found in the *Sun*. For instance, in 'Fury at air merger bid' (15 January), the paper's more Euro-friendly stance was evident from the sources quoted - eg Richard Branson and 'consumer champions' all of whom spoke in support of the EC's intervention in the proposed alliance between British Airways and American Airlines - although the opposing views of the 'BA chief' and a 'Government source' were also included. Nevertheless, in its

version of the statues 'euromyth' - 'Delors statue not all right, Jacques' (31 January) - *The Mirror* quoted only sceptical politicians, Roy Perry and Graham Mather, voicing their displeasure at the notion, and clearly no attempt had been made to verify what turned out to be an erroneous story.

The Mirror was, however, not alone. The *Daily Mail*, too, had apparently not checked this story. Furthermore, like the *Sun*, it tended not to balance quotes. For instance, in 'Brussels bid to ground BA deal' (14 January), high-profile Euro-sceptic MPs, John Redwood and Teddy Taylor, were quoted in paragraphs four and six (out of 22). Richard Branson did get a voice - but not until paragraph 21. Indeed, Redwood and Taylor, along with Bill Cash and Norman Lamont, were regularly quoted in the paper's news stories, and Lady Thatcher was even given a front page slot for saying very little. This story - 'Britain may have to leave EU, warns Maggie' (10 February) - featured comments made by the former Tory Prime Minister at a lunch attended only by 'prominent Tory right-wingers', quoted by 'one ally'. It was, thus, an unremarkable comment from a known Euro-sceptic, at a lunch of other largely known Euro-sceptics that had, therefore, little news interest. It could be said that the decision to include it was not based on its inherent news value, or to give a balanced view of the pro- and anti-EU debate within the UK, but to present the Euro-sceptic views of a particularly élite politician with whom the paper was in harmony. The comments of Lady Thatcher - albeit relayed second-hand - were a chance for the paper yet again to bang the anti EU drum

Among other devices the *Daily Mail* used to put its own spin on EU news stories was the inclusion of adverbs and adjectives that constituted unverified comment. For instance, the story of 4 February - 'Major to hobble "Trojan Horse" of EU policy' - speculated without explanation or evidence that Britain's European partners would be 'furious' at John Major's attack on the social chapter in his speech in Brussels. Given that his comments were predictable, 'fury' seems an unlikely response from anyone. There was, too, the lame end quote that gave the initial impression of being fair, but was in fact designed to dismiss or ridicule the contrary argument. An example of this appeared in a story of 7 February ('German chapter of disaster, by Major') in which John Major was reported as blaming Germany's unemployment crisis on the social chapter. The last paragraph (out of 14), which

read: 'Labour Office chief Bernhard Jagoda said much of the jobless rise was due to lay-offs in building because of bad weather,' sounded more like a weak excuse than a credible reason when set against the 13 preceding paragraphs of apparently strong argument from the former Prime Minister that the social chapter was to blame.

Again, in common with the *Sun*, the *Daily Mail* could also be accused of including vague stories simply for the purpose of boosting its anti-EU cause. For example, as outlined in Chapter 4, p62, the story 'Britain tried to blackmail me on BSE says Santer' (16 January), reported an 'icy' exchange without telling readers what the blackmail amounted to or what it was about. The story had not been followed up for details, or set in context.

As for *The Express*, although commendable balance was seen in stories such as that of 25 January ('Brittan piles scorn on Tory Euro deal') in which pro- and anti Europeans were given a fair hearing, that paper, too, was often biased in its news reports. And, in common with its UK tabloid counterparts, it made much use of the 'rent-a-quote' MPs - especially John Redwood and Bill Cash - without anyone giving a more pro-European comment. Examples included 'Hi-Jacqued' (14 January) and 'Riskind throws down the Euro gauntlet to Kohl' (20 January).

As discussed in Chapter 4, p63, Lord Tebbit also featured, most notably in the *Express* story of 8 February ('Kinnock hope for top post at last') in which he was allowed the solitary, and spiteful, comment on Kinnock's EU presidential aspirations. It was 'a devastating comment on the Commission's usefulness that a double reject who has never held a proper job should be considered for the Presidency,' Tebbit sneered. This ended the story, and thus formed the impression with which the reader was left. Indeed, the negative end quote - ie the parting shot that leaves its impression on readers and thus informs their opinion about the issues raised in a story - was used again in 'Here's another rubbish idea from Europe' (27 January). In that report, any favourable notion the reader might have formed about the EU proposal in respect of the recycling of waste was annihilated by the end statement - 'Britain has no veto over final approval'. This concentrated on the 'negative' fact that, whatever the merits or otherwise of this idea, the fact was that Brussels could coerce the UK into acceptance.

There was, too, the 'manufactured' story about what prompted Hiroshi Okuda to make his remarks about the British stance on EMU (discussed in Chapter 8, p160) and the inappropriately extreme remarks of Sir Teddy Taylor in the 'Mint peps up debate' story of 4 February (Chapter 4, p64).

The Danish tabloids

Although the Danish tabloids embrace many of the elements of tabloid newspaper 'style', during the sample period they proved far more likely than their British counterparts to adhere to professional ideals of news reporting. In *BT*, for instance, the story 'Fears a new EU No' (21 January) reported the views of Holger K Nielsen (Socialist People's Party), Uffe Ellemann-Jensen (Liberal) and Lone Dybkjær (Social-Liberal), detailing the differences between these politicians as well as the areas of agreement. It was well-balanced, and featured neither insults nor 'rent-a-quotes'. Furthermore, *BT* regularly gave its readers substantial background information. For instance, to analyse just one story - 'Ritt's fate hangs in the balance' (14 January) - which reported the BSE débâcle and the threatened vote of no confidence in the European Commission, the paper gave the full background to the current situation, with quotes from MEPs including the Frenchman Jean-Claude Martinez and the Belgian José Happert. Indeed, the Danish papers as a whole showed much more inclination than their UK counterparts not just to recognise the role of MEPs - from home and abroad - but also to report their views.

Of course *BT*'s stories often concentrated on the Danish aspect of a story - and particularly on élite Danish individuals. For instance, in addition to the story above, the Danish Commissioner, Ritt Bjerregaard, was the focus of the stories of 7 February ('Kohl wants to get rid of Ritt and Santer'), and 12 February ('Ritt will be Denmark's last EU Commissioner'). And Danish MP and MEP, Bertel Haarder, also loomed large (in 'I give 200,000 kroner a year to handicapped children', 14 January, and 'Haarder is the last but one vice-president', 15 January). Thus, as is normal practice, the Danish tabloids tended to find specifically Danish aspects for their stories.

However, general topics chosen by the Danish tabloids often differed substantially from those

chosen by their British counterparts. For instance, on 7 February, *BT* devoted a whole page to 'MEPs must pay tax on insurance'. Not only was this story - with text covering 27.5 column inches - considerably longer than most that appear in UK tabloids, it was also on a subject of some technicality and seriousness that would have been considered of no interest at all to British tabloid readers. Indeed, MEPs perks seem to have been a campaign issue for *BT*, which also featured the matter in 'So we will drop the pension scheme' (6 February) and 'Helveg (hinders things)' (10 February).

Despite general 'fairness', however, there was some bias in *BT* stories. For instance, 'Danish protest does not help one jot' (30 January) about the French regulations that would hamper Danish ski instructors, included vague reports of French instructors trying to trip up Danish skiers - apparently out of spitefulness. These were unsubstantiated, and nobody gave the French side. In a similar vein, the opening sentence of the story 'Germany and France in agreement about atomic weapons' (27 January) - which read: 'The EU will have its own atomic weapons. But they will be under Franco-German control - without any of the other countries having a word to say in the matter' - left the reader in no doubt as to what the paper's opinion about this was.

Even so, such examples of blatant bias were comparatively rare, and balanced and 'straight' reporting was the norm in *BT*.

The fact that *Ekstra Bladet's* EU coverage during the sample period was minimal indicates that the EU as a whole was not considered a newsworthy subject for the paper's readers at that time. Perhaps without the conflict so beloved of the British tabloids, and with little human interest - specifically involving Danes - to be extracted from the available events, the paper had more relevant subjects with which to fill its pages. However, even in the few EU news items that did appear (eg, 'Earls on welfare', 31 January), all concerned were allowed to put their case.

Comparison of UK and Danish tabloids

Clearly, the Danish tabloids showed far more balance in their reporting and there was less

overt comment in news stories. They also gave more qualifying information, and made more attempts to put events and comments in context. A greater variety of sources was quoted and stories were, in general, longer. There was less compulsion in the Danish tabloids solely to entertain and more inclination to inform about matters of relative 'seriousness'. However, *Ekstra Bladet* in particular showed little interest in the EU at all, and clearly did not see Union issues as central to the lives of its average readers.

There was, too, less spitefulness in the Danish tabloids towards unfavoured individuals and less ridicule or scorn poured on foreigners as a whole. Their stance was thus more 'balanced' and their tone more measured.

The UK broadsheets

Predictably, the *Daily Telegraph* maintained its Euro-sceptic stance at every opportunity - not just in its choice of story and angle, but also in sources quoted. There was an inordinately large amount of space devoted to such Euro-sceptic MPs as John Redwood, Bill Cash, Norman Lamont and David Heathcote-Amory. These people were allowed to use a variety of news events to propound their anti-EU views - eg 'EC legal threat over BA merger' (14 January); 'Britain to face court on audits' (25 January); and 'Britain "very unlikely" to join EMU' (24 January), to name a selection - largely without a dissenting voice to balance. Where pro-Europeans were given a say, this was apparently in order to slap them down in associated leaders. This was the case in 'Major states resistance to EU single currency plan' (27 January) in which the pro-European, Tristan Garel-Jones, was allowed to speak in favour of pro-EU Tory and Labour politicians forming a pact after the General Election to take on the Euro-sceptics, only to have his suggestion roundly dismissed in the leader 'The Watford gaps'.

Like the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Telegraph* also used the lame end quote to make its own political point. This was evident in, for instance, 'Cook challenges Major over attack on social chapter' (5 February) where, after detailing the facts and figures given by John Major to support his negative views on this subject, a German MEP was quoted as saying, baldly and without detail, that 'Mr Major had exaggerated the problems caused by the social

chapter'. Similarly, in 'Peers vote for Bill to take back power from Brussels' (1 February), the combined anti-EU invective of the Lords Tebbit, Charteris, Belhaven and Stenton, and Willoughby de Broke, in respect of Lord Pearson's Bill, was hardly matched by the single, lame and woolly statement attributed to Lady Williams that the EU had created 'peace in Europe'.

In other instances, the paper made its point by acting as a mouthpiece for favoured politicians who were otherwise muzzled. For instance, in 'Major faces new split by Euro-sceptic Tory peers' (31 January), which related again to Lord Pearson's Bill, the paper told its readers that 'friends of the former Prime Minister (Lady Thatcher) say that she is "delighted" that the issue is to be discussed and would like to speak, but is likely to remain silent because she does not want to appear disloyal to her successor'. Thus, the *Daily Telegraph* made her point for her. Similarly, in 'Cabinet minister's attack on Brussels is censored' (also on 31 January), the paper related how Michael Forsyth was being ordered to tone down an anti-European speech - but then related precisely what he was going to say anyway.

Thus, evidence of bias in choosing stories and angles, and unbalanced and skewed news reporting in the *Daily Telegraph* was rife. Furthermore, facts were chosen more to underline the paper's point of view, than to give a true picture of events. Indeed, outside of its Business section the paper rarely achieved balance or 'straight' reporting at all.

In contrast, the *Guardian* was more 'fair' in its news reporting. For instance, within the story 'Single currency "on schedule"' (25 January), there were quotes from Yves Thibault de Silguy, John Major, 'senior Tory backbench sources' and Sir Leon Brittan - a wide spectrum of views. This paper was also more inclined than some of its UK counterparts to give validity to the views of other Europeans. For instance, the story 'Britain stymies EU co-operation deal' (21 January), relating to the unofficial press conference held by the French Foreign Minister, Hervé de Charette, and his German counterpart, Klaus Kinkel, included quotes from an unnamed Italian, and from Frans Weisglas, the Dutch Foreign Affairs spokesman, as well as from David Davis, the British Foreign Office Minister. The use of quotes from 'foreigners', that were not simply designed to ridicule them, was not common outside UK newspapers' business and finance sections, or their dedicated 'foreign' pages.

However, there was hidden opinion in news reports in the form of the lame quote from sources with whom the paper did not agree. For instance, in 'Major vetoes racism fight' (27 January), strong quotes from sources lamenting the apparent lack of British support for a European centre to monitor racism and xenophobia, were 'balanced' only by a feeble and apparently petulant response from an unnamed 'Government official' in paragraph 14 out of 16, that 'we do not oppose the idea in principle. It is just that we do not believe the European Union has, or should be given, the legal powers to establish a monitoring centre'.

The paper also used the device of the dismissive end quote in 'Outcry as EC opposes deal by BA' (14 January) apparently to discredit Neil Kinnock. The story's last paragraph - 'Mr Kinnock, it emerged yesterday, has also written to Mr Lang to tell him that any sale of slots would be illegal under EU rules. He had earlier given the impression a sale would be acceptable' - left the reader with the notion of an inconsistent Kinnock, saying one thing one moment, another the next. It was, however, even by the paper's own admission, only 'an impression'.

Like the *Guardian*, *The Times* generally managed to balance its stories in terms of the quotes used. For instance, such stories as: 'Parties collude to thwart Gorman' (22 January); 'Major takes poll battle to Brussels' (4 February); and 'Toyota tells Britain: join euro or risk losing car plant' (30 January) gave a fair chance to all sides to express their views. And in such stories as 'EMU will hit 1999 target, says Brussels' (25 January), a number of events were brought together to set a context and to provide background information.

Other stories were, however, less balanced. For example, in 'Britain heads for row over EU fuel tax' (12 February), 'rent-a-quotes' John Redwood and Bill Cash, gave the usual anti-EU comments, along with 'a spokesman from the treasury' saying that 'we would veto any directive that would impose a new tax on electricity, coal or gas'. The rationale behind the proposals - which had found so much favour among the environmentally-aware Danes - was covered only briefly, and in paragraph 10 of 13. Similarly, in 'Redwood condemns calls for European smartcard' (22 January) - *The Times*' version of the proposals for a bank-cum-identity card - John Redwood's views were, again, covered in depth along with those of a civil rights organisation representative and 'a Whitehall spokesman' both also speaking

against the idea. At the end of the story, *The Times* - clearly also against the proposal - made use of the dismissive last paragraph to support its case. After quoting the Tory MP, John Stevens, who was in favour of the idea, saying that 'it is not a question of using taxpayers' money', the report ended with the sentence: 'A recent Green Paper on introducing ID cards in Britain put the cost at £600 million.' Thus, the smartcard's sole supporter was, by implication, dismissed as talking nonsense.

Furthermore, *The Times* also occasionally used words to add a subtle slant to stories. An example of this appeared in the story of 10 February ('EMU would mean loss of sovereignty, Rifkind warns') where Malcolm Rifkind was said to have 'insisted that Mr Clarke agreed with him'. The word 'insisted' suggested a determined Rifkind attempting in vain to persuade a sceptical press that his colleague shared his views on EMU. It smacked of desperation. In a similar vein, the story 'Spaniard's promotion deal angers some MEPs' (14 January) related that the appointment of Gil Robles as President of the European Parliament, was the result of a cosy deal. These words suggested a fix - something underhand in the operation of the EU Parliament.

For *The Independent*, although balance was often achieved, this was done, more often than was the case in other newspapers, via the unattributed quote. For example, in 'Paris and Bonn hail Major, their flexible friend' (14 January), 'senior French and German officials' along with 'a source in Bonn', 'pro-Europeans', 'a senior commission official' and 'officials' in Paris were all cited, but not one name given. A similar absence of named individuals was to be found in 'Now Britain faces single European tax system' (16 January) - one of *The Independent's* major exclusives during the sample period (Chapter 4, p76) - and in 'EU fleshes out how "flexibility" would work' (also 16 January). In neither story was anyone directly quoted supporting or otherwise giving credence to the reports from which these stories emanated.

In fairness, there were examples of commendable balance. For instance, 'Toyota job cut threat for Britain' (30 January), included quotes from the Liberal Democrat treasury spokesman, Malcolm Bruce, along with Edwina Currie, Ian Lang and Gordon Brown giving a variety of views. Even so, the paper did make use of the 'rent-a-quotes', including John

Redwood and Iain Duncan-Smith (in 'Major winks at the Tory Euro-sceptics', 24 January). Also, strangely, (and as discussed in Chapter 4, p76), in its reporting of Lord Pearson's Bill, the paper concentrated exclusively on the comments of arch Euro-sceptic, Lord Tebbit, to the exclusion of everyone else (in 'Tebbit calls on Euro-sceptics to provoke crisis', 1 February).

Among other devices *The Independent* used to further an opinion in news reports was the dismissive end statement. An example of that appeared in 'Rifkind rules out a federal future' (4 February), which concluded by pointing out that Rifkind's understanding of the word 'federalism' differed to that of, say, the Germans, thereby implying that what he was saying was meaningless to his European audience.

There was, too, the use of emotive words and pictures. In the first category was the story of 22 January ('Italian farmers go sour on Europe') which started with the sentence: 'After living a fairy-tale life of subsidies and cosy government protection for the past 15 years, Italy's dairy farmers have suddenly come face-to-face with reality of European integration - and they don't like it one bit.' The paper's view of the Italian farmers as mollycoddled and spoilt was clear from the language used. The best example of the emotive picture was that used to illustrate the story of 12 February ('Boston takes on EU over Burma trade') which featured a group of chained workers, their bodies hunched and bowed. The obvious aim was to underline the paper's view of the Burmese as ruthless abusers of human rights.

The Danish broadsheets

In terms of adherence to 'ideals' of practice, the Danish broadsheets far outstripped their UK counterparts. The tendency of *Jyllands-Posten* to give full background details and qualifying information has already been discussed (Chapter 4, p78). And even in reports about decisions that were likely to be unpopular with its readers the paper still aimed at 'reasonableness'. For instance, the story relating EU plans for passports for animals (16 January) reported that, although this idea was not well received by the Danish adviser, Jan Pedersen (because the relevant bits of paper could easily be lost), there were sound reasons for its introduction, primarily as a control for such diseases as BSE. Similarly, in 'Danish

EU politicians in the fight against tobacco' (16 January) the paper did quote the Commissioner for Agriculture, Franz Fischler, explaining how the withdrawal of support would put many thousands out of work, although the health risks of tobacco were fully acknowledged.

There was, too, little evidence of the use of the dismissive end comment, or lame quote, to further the paper's own opinions within news stories. For *Jyllands-Posten*, the majority of stories were concluded with a paragraph outlining the next stage in the event. A typical example was the story, 'Danish tin ban could end in court' (17 January), which ended simply by telling readers that the matter would be aired at the next meeting of the Folketing's environment committee.

In terms of people quoted, the variety was wide, with less evidence of 'rent-a-quotes' than was to be found in the UK papers, and more concentration on the issues than on the trading of insults. For instance, the story 'Young Social Democrats want done with the opt-outs' (7 February), included quotes from their leader and other Social Democrat MPs, along with that of a Euro-sceptic, voicing differing views. But these were centred on concrete issues of direct relevance to Denmark - ie the opt-out concerning asylum policy and its effects on the Danes. Indeed, that opt-out and the need for its abolition - in the opinion of *Jyllands-Posten* - was a focal issue for the paper, and appeared to have influenced story choice and angles. There was a concentration on stories related to the topic and on angles that supported *Jyllands-Posten*'s own view about it. These included. 'Young Social Democrats want done with the opt-outs' (7 February); 'EU co-operation at a snail's pace' and 'Opt-out without meaning', (both of 11 February), as well as 'Danish opt-out under pressure in the EU' (12 February), to name just a selection.

And despite general fairness in its reporting, *Jyllands-Posten* did have its unpopular figures. Sir Leon Brittan, for instance, was clearly disliked by the paper for his aggressive style. In 'Brittan's Cuba initiative has created a division' (5 February), the paper commented that the EU's attempt to drag the US before the WTO was becoming Brittan's own personal campaign. It added that Brittan himself posed a problem in the US, where he was seen as arrogant and confrontational, and was often an isolated figure in the Commission. These

observations about how he was seen by other countries and organisations were, however, made without hard evidence or live quotes to back them up. Such examples of unsubstantiated, critical remarks, were, however, comparatively rare.

Information, too, showed a determination to give both sides of an argument, backed up by quotes from relevant sources, as has already been discussed (Chapter 4, p86). For instance, in 'Bonn and Paris deny secret plan' (17 January), the proposals for a common EU tax as outlined in *The Independent* exclusive, were obviously well checked by *Information*, which devoted 23 column inches to discussion on the subject. Quotes came from 'spokesmen' from the French and German Ministries of Finance, from a 'spokesman' saying what it might mean for Denmark, as well as from Marianne Jelved, the Danish Minister for Economic Affairs. The story finished by looking forward to a meeting expected to take place within the following fortnight at which EU Finance Commissioner, Yves-Thibault de Silguy, 'will put forward his proposals about what flexibility in finance policy ought to be permitted under EMU'. There were thus no hysterical comments from 'rent-a-quotes' about loss of sovereignty, the matter was mulled over rationally, and the last sentence told readers what would be the next stage in the process. Similarly, the story sparked by the *Financial Times* report about the proposal for an EMU 'waiting room' for countries such as Italy, had also been well checked. Among those quoted were a Danish economist and a banker, as well as Italians, again giving a range of views. Like the rest of the Danish press - but only a few British newspapers - *Information* included quotes in general news stories from other Europeans as a matter of course, and without doing so purely to sneer at them.

Information did, however, have its 'crusade' issues - primarily the need for more openness and accountability in the EU's institutions - which had influenced its choice of story and angle. Furthermore, it did make substantial use of the unattributed quote such as those outlined in the BSE story above. And some stories contained no quotes at all - which would have been a rare occurrence in the UK press. For instance, the story 'New Spanish President of the EU Parliament' (15 January), devoted 12 column inches to a full explanation of how the election of Gil-Robles came about, the protests against it, the unfair composition of the European Parliament, and so on. There was much background information, but no quotes. Similarly, the story of 22 January ('BSE report censured by the Commission'),

which was sparked by a report in the Belgian newspaper, *Le Soir*, also contained no quotes, while others, such as 'EU Commission threatened with the sack in the BSE affair' (23 January), simply alluded to the input of 'sources' which had informed the paper's correspondent.

The impression was that the paper's reporters were authoritative enough to carry the story themselves and thus did not necessarily need to support their accounts with quotes from external agencies or individuals. And they would appear to be justified in this approach if one takes their reports of the British political scene as examples. One of the best was 'British take a tough line towards the EU' (5 February) which talked about the 'verbal campaign' of leading ministers against further EU integration, and also covered John Major's Brussels speech, the Rifkind initiative and Robin Cook's predictions about EMU entry. It even related how Cook's comments had been used by the Tory press in the UK to maintain that Labour would take the UK into EMU in 2002, adding that this was denied by him. Thus, in a nutshell, *Information* had presented a rich, well-balanced and accurate appraisal of key issues within the UK's political scene at that time. It had done so without a solitary live quote or reference to any sources, but also without injecting any comment or indicating any view on the subject.

In common with its Danish broadsheet counterparts, *Berlingske Tidende*, was also in the habit of quoting a wide range of sources in its stories. These came not just from within Denmark (eg 'R:Common policy on asylum in the EU', 4 February, in which the views of Socialist People's Party, Liberal, Conservative, Social Liberal, and the Social Democrat politicians were included), but also from abroad (eg 'Modest Spaniard in the EU's top post', 15 January, in which the Spanish Foreign Minister gave his opinion of Gil Robles). It also tended to cite those who were directly relevant to the story, rather than all-purpose 'rent-a-quotes'. Examples included a representative of the Transport Council in 'Haulage contractors: The environment is everyone's responsibility', 16 January, and a Danish representative of the Agriculture Committee in Brussels in 'Clear-up after the cow affair in the EU is criticised', 13 February.

As has already been discussed (Chapter 4 p81), the paper also gave considerable background

detail. One of the most interesting examples of that was the story of 20 January, 'EU countries in group work or on the way to a split'. In this, an imaginary scenario of the year 2001 was given, with the concept of 'flexibility' working in practice. The report, spanning 22 column inches, also covered views of the notion - pro and anti - in Denmark and in other EU member states. In common with some of the *Information* stories cited above, this *Berlingske Tidende* account had no quotes, and readers were clearly expected to take the reporter's word for it.

Again in common with its Danish counterparts, *Berlingske Tidende* generally gave opposing views, even in respect of topics about which the Danes as a nation have strong opinions or about which it, as a newspaper, had taken an editorial stance. An example of this was the environmental story 'Industry and ministers in Europe in disagreement about carbon dioxide' (21 January). This gave a fair account of why other EU countries were less in favour of 'green' taxes than were the Danes, as well as relating the fears of industry that these would blunt their competitive edge.

Examples of detectable bias were, again, rare. Among the few was the story of 16 January - 'Brussels has the last word about airspace' - which related the UK's difficulties with the EU over the proposed BA/AA alliance. After recounting the UK's view that it was being unfairly picked on by Brussels, the story ended with the dismissive statement: 'The EU Commission has previously compelled Lufthansa and SAS to give up slots at Frankfurt airport without payment.' Thus, without actually saying so, the paper was clearly dismissing British complaints as nonsense.

Compared with the other Danish broadsheets, *Politiken* was more inclined to inject its own opinion into its news stories. For instance, the paper's strong views about the need for more openness and democracy in the EU's institutions shone through such reports as 'EU election decided in advance' (14 January) - which dealt with the appointment of Gil-Robles - and 'The ways of power are secret' (17 January) which reported the views of Danish politicians that there should be more openness in committees involved in EU law-making. In neither story was any case put for the defence. Similarly, the paper's views on the need to abolish the opt-out that impinged on asylum policy were evident from 'No to common policy harms

refugees' (4 February) and 'Refugees - (there will be more help without the opt-out)' (11 February), both of which, again, concentrated exclusively on the comments of sources which shared its stance.

Politiken also made some use of the significant end statement. An example of that appeared on 16 January ('Santer will learn from BSE') which again focused on lack of openness in the EU, and ended with a comment from the French socialist, André Laignel, that the committee charged with investigating the BSE affair only got knowledge of many documents because certain people in the Commission leaked them and the press had done its job. Similarly, the story 'Strife in the EU about genetically modified maize' (28 January) concluded with a quote from Paul Lannoye of the Green group in the EU Parliament, echoing *Politiken's* view that people should wait until more is known about such products before giving an import licence. Thus, in both cases, the reader left the story with quotes supporting *Polinken's* view of matters uppermost in their minds.

Emotive language was also evident. The opening sentence in 'EU sharpens its approach to Serbia' (21 January) - which read: 'The EU's Council of Ministers has had enough. The Government of Beograd has just one more chance not to be totally isolated, politically and economically' - smacked of exasperation. Similarly, the story 'EU and NATO sit on the fence' (24 January), talked of the 'EU-Swahili' which was the cause of confusing and contradictory messages that were circulating about just when the Eastern European countries could expect to join the EU.

However, although *Polinken* was thus less inclined than other Danish broadsheets to keep emotion out of its news stories or to adhere rigidly to the provision of 'balance', it did emulate them in avoiding 'rent-a-quotes'. Sources quoted tended to be those with relevant expertise rather than simply an axe to grind. For instance, in 'EU will open for sale of private addresses' (28 January), which described a new EU directive that might lead to private addresses being available for commercial use, the only quotes were from lawyers who discussed the legal implications. Had the same story appeared in the UK, it would most likely have featured a 'rent-a-quote' issuing passionate warnings about overweening Brussels bureaucrats and further erosions of sovereignty.

Comparison of UK and Danish broadsheets

In the Danish broadsheets, there was more evidence of balance in sources quoted and in relevance of those chosen. They also generally gave more background and qualifying information, and made less use of such devices as the lame quote and the dismissive or significant end statement. Even so, the lack in some Danish stories of any quotes at all could be said to place too much authority on the reporter; without the authoritative quote, it was difficult to judge validity. Furthermore, the Danish papers all had their own particular 'crusades' with stories and angles chosen accordingly. Particularly in the case of *Politiken*, these 'crusades' were supported by news reports that were sometimes one-sided. As for the other Danish papers, although stories and angles had apparently been chosen to further the papers' causes, at least some attempt had generally been made to present opposing views.

Overall, there was less passion in the Danish broadsheets, less emotive language and more attempt at rational argument and the airing of all sides of the argument.

Thus, in terms of the attempt to give 'straight' news reports and to keep comment and opinion out - in accordance with the journalistic ideals of practice - the Danish broadsheets were far more successful than were their British counterparts.

Chapter 13

Summary and conclusions

Given that the Danes and the British as a whole have broadly similar views about the EU (Chapter 2, p25), the aim of this research has been to identify the reasons why coverage of the Union differs in the newspaper press of the respective countries. This has involved an investigation and analysis of the nature of EU reporting, set against the prevailing contexts in which British and Danish journalists work. It has covered the seven areas that Voakes has identified as influential in the way journalists approach their work (Chapter 2, p25) to identify those in which differences between the UK and Denmark are significant in explaining why coverage of EU news differs.

These differences can be grouped in two categories. One comprises those that are the result of the national context in which the journalist works - British and Danish - and that bring about differences that can be expected, and that would pertain to any journalist working in any country with a comparable press system. The other encompasses those that are the result of specific factors in the UK or Denmark and that cannot, therefore, be explained as normal practice.

In first identifying the differences, and the reasons for them, it is relevant to use Voakes' work as a framework.

Organisation and competition

Two of Voakes' areas of influence - 'organisation' and 'competition' - can be discussed together. These cover elements identified and analysed in Chapters 3 and 4, including the nature of the individual newspaper titles, newspaper industry structures in the UK and Denmark, and the national context within which the newspaper press operates, including relevant legislation. In this area, there were differences that were highly significant to this research, particularly in the shaping of newspaper styles and journalistic cultures.

For instance, the often aggressive and adversarial approach of the UK newspapers to EU news is at least partly the result of a reporting style, not shared by the Danes, that has become a tradition over time. For much longer than their Danish counterparts, the British newspapers have been free of allegiances to specific political parties, and have had a national rather than regional role. From the days of Barnes and Delane, a tradition has been established in the UK of independent newspapers, intent on pursuing a role of Fourth Estate in a direct and vociferous manner. There has, of tradition, been comparatively little deference shown to politicians or to those who hold power in general. This adversarial approach has been employed in EU coverage in the UK press as a matter of course. But, while entertaining, this style can be spiteful towards individuals - Neil Kinnock, Hiroshi Okuda, Niall Fitzgerald, Kenneth Clarke and Karel van Miert are just a selection of people who were personally abused by British newspapers during the sample period - and often involves the use of 'strong' language. Particularly among the right-wing newspapers, the sample period revealed the widespread use of words of conflict in connection with the EU, and there were constant references to the Union and its member states in terms of WW2 and other historical conflicts. An arrogance of style also affects EU reporting in that every perceived inadequacy in the Union's operation will, of tradition, be treated with outrage if not contempt.

In contrast, the general Danish reporting style is gentler, and more respectful towards those in power. It also involves the application of far more pragmatism and rational analysis than is the case in its British counterpart. Instead of simply attacking on a superficial level every perceived EU failing, the Danish newspapers are, in keeping with their more moderate style, more inclined to subject matters to honest investigation and appraisal.

As is clear from the texts analysed, the Danes in general, and their newspaper press in particular, place far more emphasis than do the British on the role of their newspapers in informing and explaining news events; despite the fact that the British journalists interviewed in this research cited this as an important role for the newspapers in respect of the EU, it had relatively rarely been fulfilled in practice. The role of the newspaper in the democratic process - ie as a means through which the citizenry can glean a comprehensive, overall, view of the Union and its activities, in order to make informed judgements about it - is maintained

to a greater degree in Denmark than it is in the UK. Consequently, as has been seen from the sample period, the Danish newspapers in general make a policy of conveying all sides of the EU debate. They do have set views and stances on Union matters, but tend, far more than their British counterparts, to put these in context - setting out the alternatives, while explaining, openly, the rationale behind the stances they have taken. In this respect, the fact that the Danish newspapers have far more Brussels-based correspondents than do their British counterparts is influential - they clearly benefit from having more on-the-spot reporters to glean information. In contrast, for the UK titles, this role to inform and explain is often abandoned wholesale. Instead, the individual newspaper's view often predominates to the exclusion of all opposing opinion. Thus, *The Times*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Daily Mail* and the *Sun* were not open to debate about, for instance, EMU, while, for *The Express*, opposition to the initiative was the 'obvious' stance of any who 'bothered to look at the facts'. In many instances, readers would have been unaware that any other views could be seriously held.

Similarly, although journalists in both countries considered that newspapers have an important role as watchdog in respect of the EU, there were also differences here in the way the role was fulfilled in practice. It is significant, for instance, that although generally pro-EU, the Danish press still contained stories that criticised the EU - specifically in its lack of openness, 'democratic deficit', failure to implement 'green' policies, and so forth. In contrast, the generally Euro-sceptic UK newspapers pursued the watchdog role in a way that was overzealous and unbalanced, rather than comprehensive and detached. News stories in which the EU could be criticised were, in some instances, manufactured, and there were few instances where criticism was balanced with reports of events in which the EU had been beneficial or positive in any way. Furthermore, some British newspapers did not appear to apply a watchdog role at all towards Euro-sceptics. The words of these people were often accepted at face value, without any critical appraisal.

Among the other major reasons behind this fundamental difference in general journalistic culture is the greater emphasis placed in the UK on newspapers as a business. This often overrides all other considerations. The compulsion for British newspapers to be commercial successes has in many instances pushed other newspaper 'roles' into the shade. For instance,

although newspapers in both countries are aware of a need to 'entertain' as a means of attracting and retaining readers, the UK titles have generally placed far more emphasis on this, particularly by pandering to mass interests and prejudices, which has been especially detrimental to fairness in EU reporting. Particularly evident in the British tabloid press - although also in some of the UK's 'dumbed down' broadsheets - the heavy, background information necessary for readers to understand EU activity has been abandoned in favour of passionate stories of alleged 'daft' regulations, overblown reports of rows and a general concentration on trivia. Furthermore, in playing to prejudices and vested interests to maintain sales, many UK titles tend, far more than their Danish counterparts, to regurgitate old stereotypes of the UK's EU partners, and their 'dishonest' or 'sneaky' motives, whether or not these bear any relation to the 'facts' in any given instance. Of course, during the sample period, the Danish newspapers did, for example, reflect the country's suspicion and fear of Germany, but this 'prejudice' was often openly acknowledged, with views expressed that the Danes needed to move on from the influence of past conflicts with their biggest neighbour, to adopt a more 'understanding' position towards its current problems and aspirations

Furthermore, although it, too, needs to keep in the black, the Danish press as a whole is less frivolous and less keen to 'entertain' at the expense of honest reporting. Thus, for Denmark's 'lightest' tabloid - *Ekstra Bladet* - the fact that, without the rows, exaggerations, distortions, and so forth, the EU could not be made 'entertaining' meant that it simply was not covered very much at all. Certainly, *Ekstra Bladet* did not show the inclination of, say, the *Sun* to manufacture an EU story simply to have something 'entertaining' to include. Furthermore, as the text analyses showed, the other Danish titles were unafraid to include 'boring' background detail in order to ensure that readers had a better idea of the rationale behind EU events. They were also less inclined to sneer and snipe at 'foreigners' simply as a means of entertaining their readers, while pandering to their baser instincts. Interestingly, they were apparently pursuing this 'honourable' approach without damaging sales: *Jyllands-Posten*, with its relatively 'heavy' and thorough reporting style, was Denmark's best-selling newspaper at the time, and the Danes as a whole are more avid in their newspaper reading habits than are the British. So, although competition for market share between newspapers in both the UK and Denmark is intense, the response to that competition has often differed.

For instance, the Danish broadsheets, have tended to take measures to improve journalistic depth and quality as a means of beating the competition, whereas their British counterparts have 'dumbed down', 'lightening' their contents and emulating the tabloids in putting more emphasis on news as 'entertainment'. This has further reduced the instances within the UK newspaper press where the EU is subjected to thorough reporting and appraisal. However, although some analysts have maintained that journalists distort, suppress, or enhance news stories to pander to advertisers, this thesis found no evidence to support this view - at least in respect of EU coverage.

As another significant difference, the 'public service' role of the newspaper press in Denmark is subject to more official support than it is in the UK. In the UK, for instance, recent Prime Ministers, particularly Margaret Thatcher, have shown little inclination to curb the media ownership aspirations of, say, Rupert Murdoch apparently for fear of alienating a powerful ally, and have consequently made few moves to safeguard the independence and diversity of the national media. Of course, newspapers in Denmark are independent of the state. Even so, the existence in Denmark of measures, such as postal subsidies and VAT concessions, indicates that the importance of the newspapers' 'public service' role is more keenly recognised in that country than it is in the UK. Furthermore, the newspapers, themselves, in Denmark are generally run by companies that have been established in such a way as to foster editorial independence, and to avoid the emergence of solitary, all-powerful proprietors.

In fact, the British Press Barons are highly significant in explaining the way the EU is handled in some UK newspapers. Particularly Rupert Murdoch and, to a lesser extent, Conrad Black, have strong Euro-sceptic views that their newspapers promote and which were evident throughout the sample period. The personal and business interests of these proprietors are supported in their newspapers in a way that is highly partisan, and which tolerates no contrary argument. By the same token, although the effects of competition in reducing the market in terms of the number of titles available are common to both countries, the concentration of ownership in the UK means that proprietors such as Rupert Murdoch have assumed power over a significant section of the UK media. Their opportunities for using these media to support their own, anti-EU, views, have thus burgeoned. Without such

all powerful proprietors, the Danish newspapers, although subject to some concentration, are more free to act as a forum for thorough debate, by airing a variety of views. Similarly, they are under less pressure than are their British counterparts to make EU news fit pre-determined lines. As is evident from the texts in the sample period, the compulsion to toe a set line on the EU means that UK journalists often distort news events, quote in a one-sided manner, omit material facts, and so on. Some of the interviewees, too, indicated that, in order to be seen as a 'good' story, an EU event had to show the Union in a 'bad' light. If it did not do this, then it would not appear in some newspapers' pages, regardless of any other strengths it might have. Thus, although both British and Danish journalists maintained that, in general, the EU was not treated differently to any other subject, the evidence revealed in this thesis suggests that, specifically in the case of the UK newspaper press, this was not the case.

The Law

Although the effects are less direct, it can be argued that differences in legal frameworks are also influential. In contrast to the British, the Danes have a press whose freedom is protected in the Constitution, and they have laws that promote the dissemination of information from official sources. British journalists have neither. The effects are to promote a generally easier relationship between government and press in Denmark which lessens the tension between the two. In the UK, the difficulties journalists often have in obtaining information from official sources often foments suspicion which inevitably also colours reporting of the EU, as an element of 'government'. This is further discussed on p241. As one of the Danish interviewees pointed out, this might make British journalists particularly well-practised at 'digging out the dirt', but it also means that they are, more than their Danish counterparts, inclined to approach the actions of those in power with scepticism born of being kept regularly in the dark. This is, therefore, a further element in the nurturing of the UK's often belligerent journalistic culture which affects EU reporting.

Small group

As a further area of influence, Voakes cited the 'small group', which he defined as a

journalist's immediate colleagues; the people with whom he or she comes into daily contact. This includes not only the people working on the same newspaper, but also those working for other titles, but covering the same topics. In terms of EU coverage, members of this 'small group' influence each other in that, preferring generally to 'hunt in packs', they tend to cover the same stories, and in the same fashion. They also feed off each other for story leads. This research showed strong evidence of that, and its main effect, particularly in the UK during the sample period, was to keep coverage of the EU narrow. The same restricted selection of EU news events, generally supporting the anti-EU stance, appeared in most newspapers. In contrast, there was a much wider selection of EU events and initiatives covered in the Danish papers and, given that the newspapers are often the only source of information people have about the Union, and that they thus set the agenda in terms of which EU affairs are in the collective British consciousness, there were necessarily more items about which UK newspaper readers remained unaware, than did their Danish counterparts.

Individual

This research identified no significant differences between British and Danish journalists in terms of the type of people they are and the skills that are expected of them. Therefore, although an individual's 'personal values and beliefs, personal upbringing, and personal moral reasoning' are fundamental influences on the way he or she performs the role of journalist, they do not shed any specific light on why differences occur in the reporting of EU events. The triggers are external; they are factors to which the individual journalist, British or Danish, is responding.

Extra-media

The external triggers that can be considered under the heading 'extra media' include areas identified in Chapters 5-10, covering historical and political backgrounds, size and geography.

First, differences in the historical and current relationship to the EU of the UK and Denmark inevitably colour reporting of Union events. For instance, the fact that Britain joined the

then EEC 'too late', in that the French and Germans had seized the initiative, has left a lingering sense of detachment which affects the British relationship with the Union and consequently reveals itself in related reports. Furthermore, resentment over initial French rejections of the British application for membership, jealousy over the supremacy of the French and Germans within the EU, and deep suspicion of their motives, are also major elements of the UK's relationship with the rest of Europe, which has also been marked by the words and actions of adversarial Prime Ministers who have regularly been at odds with their European counterparts. These negative emotions and conflicts have inevitably been reflected in British press reporting of EU events. The UK's geographical detachment, and traditionally close ties with the US and the Commonwealth countries, have also conspired to enhance the sense of detachment within the UK in respect of the rest of Europe, which has, again, exacerbated the 'them and us' approach, present in some press reporting. It was perhaps for this reason that, during the sample period, the UK newspapers in this research showed no interest at all in, for instance, defence initiatives put forward by other EU member states, or in the notion that the EU might have any role at all in the international arena as peace-keeper or as champion of the oppressed. The fact that, in viewing the EU as a bunch of squabbling member countries, unable to achieve the kind of unity necessary to make them a powerful international entity, the UK newspapers were more in tune with the US-focused *IHT* and *WSJE*, than with the Danish newspapers, further suggests that UK 'thinking' is, in many respects, still more North Atlantic than European.

In contrast, as a small country, Denmark is often at the whim of larger states. However, it has generally come to terms with its dependence to the extent that it sometimes welcomes EU intervention in its affairs. Of course, there is concern that Denmark might be totally overwhelmed - or sidelined - by larger countries, but there is fear, too, of isolation. This results in an often ambivalent attitude - to the EU in general and Germany in particular - which colours press reporting in Denmark. This ambivalence also affects the Danish view of the US. Here, again, the EU is sometimes favoured as a way of 'diluting' US influence, and sometimes seen as threatening, specifically insofar as its actions on the defence front might alienate the Americans, whose support, via NATO, the Danes are anxious to maintain.

Physically attached to mainland Europe, Denmark is much more closely involved in, and

affected by, what happens on the Continent, so takes a less detached interest in the affairs of other EU member states. For instance, German economic problems, Eastern European refugees, and suchlike, were matters that, during the sample period, were of concern to the Danes in that the geographical proximity of these countries meant that these problems were likely to have a direct influence on Denmark. By the same token, its closest affinities lie not with countries far afield - as is the case with the UK - but with those on its doorstep, including the Baltic and other Scandinavian countries. These lands are also closely involved in EU affairs in an often positive way, and that, too, is inevitably reflected in Danish press coverage. Thus, the national and international contexts have fashioned a consensus within the UK and Denmark in terms of the way the EU is seen which differs fundamentally. The reporting of events will tend to be consonant with this consensus.

Differences in political structures are also influential. The British first past the-post electoral system, which has led to the emergence of just two major parties, obliged, therefore, to slug matters out between them, has fostered a Parliamentary environment in which heated debate, jeering, booing and heckling are the norm. Since Britain's relationship with the rest of Europe is a matter over which the Tory party, in particular, has been riven, and about which feelings run especially high, the EU is often the cause of intense emotion, and is, consequently, also reported in *passionate terms*. The conflicts the Union has caused are inevitably 'good' news topics and give rise to reports in which vehement language is used. In addition, given that, as the analyses in this research show, during the sample period at least, the Euro-sceptics had seized the initiative in getting their views into the newspapers, this provided an extra spur to the production of ferociously negative reports.

In contrast, with the Danish political parties far less passionately at war within themselves over the nature of Denmark's relationship with the EU, there was far less emotion to report, and the Danish electoral system of proportional representation, and its broad coalition governments, mean that, in any case, there is far more emphasis on achieving general consensus. Furthermore, given that it is the custom for debates in the Danish Folketing to be conducted in a rational and dignified manner, arguments must be presented clearly and politely, and a readiness to compromise is expected. This is also reflected in comparatively mild press reports.

The fact, too, that the Constitution guarantees Danish voters the right of a referendum when any aspect of Danish sovereignty is in question, is significant - and was particularly so during the sample period. Since the Danes are able to make direct decisions about the nature of their country's relationship with the EU, the Danish newspapers have had an important role in expressing relevant debate. This has tended to subject the elements of the Union - and of the Danes' specific relationship to it - to rational analysis and scrutiny in the Danish newspapers in a way that has not been reflected in their British counterparts. In contrast, debate about the EU in British newspapers - so much fashioned by the Euro-sceptics - has largely ignored concrete details and rational analysis to concentrate more on the passions it has triggered as a 'concept'. During the sample period, this was particularly true of EMU, in respect of which, little heed was paid to the economic pros and cons of membership and great attention paid to its perceived threat to British sovereignty.

A disparity in the degree of governmental 'openness' in each country has also played a part in promoting some differences in reporting style. The 'secretive' nature of the British system - which has already been partly discussed in respect of 'the law' - also reveals itself in the UK's lobby system. This tradition enhances the opportunity the government has to further its cause in the media. Consequently, when a largely Euro-sceptic government is in power - as was the case during the sample period - these views will stand a particularly good chance of being propounded in the newspapers. Using the lobby, the government of the day can dominate the agenda of political discussion, including, where relevant, the injection of a Euro-sceptic bias. By the same token, the 'secretive' British system has tended to foment suspicion to the extent that the press is often inclined to assume sinister motives in respect of all those in power - including those in the EU - whether or not this suspicion is justified.

In contrast, used to governmental 'openness', Danish citizens expect constant accountability from those in charge, and regular involvement in the decision-making process. Therefore, they also expect public debate on matters of governance, in which they can have a meaningful say. This debate is, to a large extent, conducted in the media.

As a further 'extra media' influence, the lack of openness within the EU itself, and the lack of clarity in its communications, do little to improve its image, or the way its affairs are

covered, in either the UK or Danish press.

Occupation

In terms of the nature of training, and attitudes to what constitutes ethical practice in journalism, this research revealed significant differences between the UK and Denmark. Danish journalists who, at the time of the sample period at least, were generally all trained at the same place in a course of four years' duration, have a more uniform training that includes more EU-specific guidance and has a stronger emphasis on ethical approaches to journalism than is the case in the UK. They have thus been more thoroughly schooled in the practicalities of reporting EU matters, as well as in the 'competence of reflection' in respect of their journalistic activities, and have consequently tended to develop a more critical approach to their work. The fact that, uniquely, a Code of Practice for journalists is legally enforceable in Denmark also has the effect of promoting awareness of what constitutes 'good practice'. Although it is not possible to prove that training in ethics and the imposition of a legal requirement for ethical practice have an effect in practical terms, the results of this research suggest that Danish reports - at least in respect of the EU - are carried out with far greater regard to the principles of 'fairness' than is the case in their British counterparts.

This is, however, not necessarily the result of shortcomings on the part of British journalists themselves. The fact that many reports of EU events in UK newspapers lack the elements of 'fair' reporting does not necessarily mean that the journalists are unaware of this - or that they could not produce 'fair' reports if they had more power over what appeared in the newspapers for which they write. This view is supported by analyses of the ways in which the story of the proposed BA/AA alliance was handled (Chapter 7). The fact that the same story sometimes appeared twice within the same edition of a newspaper, but handled differently, was significant: in the business sections, the rules of 'fair' reporting were far more rigidly adhered to than they were in other news sections. The evidence suggests that it was not an unconscious failure on the part of British journalists that lay behind the biased and distorted news reports that appeared about the alliance in the general news pages, but rather that the compulsion to enforce an anti-EU stance, born of political motives and influences, overrode all other considerations.

Indeed, as the analysis in Chapter 12 showed, the UK newspapers failed in many respects to adhere to the practical rules for 'good' reporting. In respect of sources, Euro-sceptic MPs were often used to the exclusion of all those with contrary views. There was much obvious exaggeration, selectivity of facts, the use of emotive language, xenophobia and personal abuse, along with the inclusion of lame quotes, and dismissive end statements designed to 'colour' news reports. Stories that were weak, or manufactured, had sometimes been included solely to make a Euro-sceptic point and there was frequently little attempt to represent any view that was pro-European, unless it was in order to ridicule such sentiments. Only *The Independent* and the *Guardian* generally avoided this. In contrast, there were relatively few instances in the Danish reports where such practical 'failings' were evident. News stories in those titles generally included quotes from people who either had relevant expertise in the subject area concerned, or who could represent a variety of view points. Although there was some overt bias to some *Politiken* stories, in the other Danish broadsheets, news reports were generally free of such bias. The features included in the Danish papers, too, generally covered the spectrum of views, even if these were at odds with the stance of the paper.

Another British 'failure' in terms of adherence to the practical rules for 'good' reporting, was highlighted when comparisons with both the Danish and financial and international titles revealed that material facts had sometimes been omitted from UK newspapers. This was especially evident in reports of EC objections to the proposed BA/AA alliance, and in the response of the Commission and European Parliament to the BSE crisis. Outside of dedicated business sections, most British newspapers were unwilling to accept that other nationals might genuinely be fearful about the restriction of competition on trans-Atlantic routes, or about the spread of BSE.

These elements revealed a conscious effort on the part of some UK newspapers to support a view of the EU at the expense of any attempt at objectivity, and could not, therefore, be explained on the grounds of any 'excusable' criteria relating to the national or any other context. Indeed, a fundamental element of this research has been in distinguishing between differences appearing in UK and Danish EU news reporting that are predictable - and the result of the application of normal 'news values' and procedures - and those that are not and

that thus represent an undesirable distortion of the news for propaganda purposes, or generally to serve ulterior motives. From this analysis of the newspaper reports in respect of their application of the practical rules of 'fair' reporting, it was clear that they were distorted in order to follow a set line and to feed a skewed picture of the EU to British newspaper readers. In many instances, any attempt at objectivity had been abandoned, to the extent that the subjective, anti-EU newspaper stance appeared not just in features and comment sections, but also throughout news reporting.

Furthermore, it was not just in the structure of news reports, and in the application of the rules of fairness in individual stories, that unjustified distortion appeared. For instance, an analysis of the sample period texts (listed in Appendix 1) and the major 'themes' (listed in Appendix 11) against the most relevant of Galtung and Ruge's, and Bell's factors of newsworthiness (Chapter 2, p26) revealed further evidence, which will be discussed next.

Relevance

Some of the differences between the UK and Danish press in respect of EU news coverage are explained under this heading; and many are inevitable and 'acceptable'. For instance, in seeking to make stories 'relevant' to their readers, newspapers will choose those events that match their readers' interests. For a start, this involves the national context, much of which has been outlined above in respect of the 'extra media' area of influence on journalistic activity. British interests and concerns about the Union, for instance, the dominance of the Franco-German alliance, the influence of the 'special relationship' with the US, along with the UK's geographical location, detached from mainland Europe, will inevitably affect the nature of coverage. Similarly, fear of Germany, relationships with neighbouring countries, concern about the dominance of American culture, and so on, will be evident in the Danish press. At the same time, each newspaper will be taking the interests of its specific readership into account. The readers of the *Guardian* and *Polinken* will, for instance, be more interested in human rights issues and, say, the response of the British government to the launch of the EU Year against Racism, than they will in matters that relate to business. Similarly, readers of the *Daily Telegraph* and *Jyllands-Posten* will be more interested in the 'conservative' issues, such as the excesses of the welfare state, and initiatives that promote

or hamper business.

Even so, comparisons between the newspapers in each country show that stories and information that were 'relevant' to British readers were often omitted if they did not support the anti EU line. For instance, the positive aspects of new regulations and initiatives - insofar as they promoted the single market or were otherwise beneficial - either failed to be included at all, or were distorted to appear in a negative light. *Jyllands-Posten*, for instance, contained more practical, and unbiased information in this sphere, which would be of particular use to its business readers, than did the *Daily Telegraph*. Likewise, news of 'relevant' - and positive - EU action on, say, the labelling of genetically modified food, or the reduction of carbon dioxide emissions - fully covered in the Danish papers - received few, if any, mentions in the British press.

By the same token, stories that were 'irrelevant' made far more appearances in the UK papers than they did in their Danish counterparts. News of regulations that might have been 'daft', but had been amended well before implementation (including the one that might have prevented people from issuing immediate telephone orders for flowers) fall into that category. Clearly, the only reason for including a story such as this was to present the image of an inept Brussels bureaucracy that both 'entertained' and promoted a negative EU image.

Consonance

Consonance - closely linked to 'relevance' - also explains some differences. For instance, in choosing and handling EU stories in a way that legitimately mirrors their readers' 'mind-set', the newspapers, as mentioned above, will reflect national concerns about, say, profligacy in the EU, the viability of EMU, or the hidden agendas of other member states. They will also reflect national characteristics. Inevitably, therefore, stories and angles will often mirror the sense of superiority the Danes feel about their approach to the environment and their welfare provisions, as well as their 'humbleness' in pleasure at EU praise, and 'reasonableness' in their determination to understand the point of view of others. Similarly, 'consonance' with the British sense of superiority and wariness born of history, particularly in respect of the French and Germans, will affect UK newspapers.

However, some British papers during the sample period were over-extreme in their coverage and not, therefore, in 'consonance' with their readers. For instance, as the Eurobarometer survey, the polls commissioned by *The Sunday Times* and the *Financial Times* - and even *The Express* poll conducted during the sample period itself - suggest, although the British as a nation are sceptical about EU membership, this scepticism is nothing like as ferocious within the population as a whole as it is within its national press. After all, around a half of the British population is generally in favour of the EU, yet, with the exception of *The Mirror*, all the tabloids are Euro-sceptic, as is the top-selling broadsheet. The fact that the business community is overwhelmingly in favour of the EU - or at least in respect of its actions to combat protectionism and to nurture the single market - suggests that, in its approach to EU news in general, and ferocious opposition to EMU in particular, neither the *Daily Telegraph* nor *The Times* are in 'consonance' with a large section of their readers. Indeed, to achieve this, one might expect them to emulate the approach taken by, say, the *Financial Times*, which regularly reported such initiatives in a thorough and dispassionate way that 'informed' and 'explained'.

It could be argued that the Danish newspapers in this research - which are generally pro-EU - are even more out of tune with their national readership of whom around half are Euro-sceptic. However, the text analyses showed that the Danish newspapers generally expressed their pro-EU views only in features and leader columns, and that news stories were chosen and handled with more regard to their 'consonance' with a broad spectrum of Danish opinion. Consequently, in responding to this 'factor of newsworthiness', the British newspapers, again, showed greater inadequacies than did their Danish counterparts.

Unexpectedness

Adjudged against this factor - described by Galtung and Ruge as the 'unexpected within the meaningful and the consonant that is brought to one's attention' - again, the British newspapers revealed a substantial degree of 'unacceptable' bias. Many of the stories that appeared, particularly in the Euro-sceptic newspapers, seemed to have been chosen more because they underlined the 'expected' than the 'unexpected'. For instance, because some of the British newspapers 'expected' the social chapter to cause economic woes, stories were

chosen and angled to suggest that this was the case, even when it was not. Similarly, because it was 'expected' that EU regulations would inevitably be 'daft', that the EC would automatically 'pick on' the UK, and that the major purpose of the EU was to enable the French and Germans to create a superstate in which British powers would be diminished, stories that could be made to reflect this stood a good chance of inclusion. The Danish press was not distorted to the same extent.

Continuity

In this research, 'continuity' - in that issues, once established, rumbled on for some time - could also be considered under the definition of 'expectedness'. For instance, the comments of Hiroshi Okuda that the UK might suffer from being excluded from EMU - about which most British newspapers were outraged - provoked ongoing, negative, coverage of EMU in its relation to business, external investment, the perceived evils of the social chapter, and the general 'right' of such 'foreigners' to comment on British affairs.

Of course, 'continuity' was also a feature of Danish news coverage. The debate over national and supra-national policy on asylum, for example, stayed in the newspapers for some time after it had been introduced, with a story introduced one day, being built on the next. However, again, whereas the effects of 'continuity' in the Danish press were to spark news coverage which looked at a theme from a number of different angles, and gave a variety of commentators the chance to present their views about it, in the UK newspapers the picture did not often widen in the same way. In many of those British titles, an inevitably negative EU story would be chosen, which would then provide an opportunity for a narrow band of largely Euro-sceptic 'rent a-quotes' to enhance its negativity, or to spark off linked stories to reinforce the theme.

Composition

According to Galtung and Ruge, this factor relates to the 'composition' of a newspaper insofar as editors are seeking a balance of news coverage. They will, therefore, be looking for a varied mix of topics. However, compared with the Danish press, the performance of

the UK newspapers in this respect was, again, inferior. Although most newspapers in this research devoted substantial amounts of space to the EU, the range of related topics covered was far greater in the Danish press than it was in its British counterpart (see Appendix 11). Thus, although UK newspapers such as the *Daily Mail*, *The Express*, the *Sun* and the *Daily Telegraph* devoted many column inches to the Union, the subjects embraced a relatively narrow field - ie the domestic political strife, alleged EU 'interference' in competition and other regulations, the 'cheating' of other member states to meet the EMU convergence criteria, and so on. So, although the Danish newspapers also had major EU topics - for instance, internal debate over the pros and cons of the opt-outs to the Maastricht Treaty, the BSE affair, the illegal subsidies to Danish shipyards, and suchlike - the broadsheets in particular did manage to cover a greater selection of EU affairs. This was particularly evident in coverage of EU regulations - current or proposed - which, in the Danish papers, were well aired in a series of 'straight' and informative reports. It was also especially relevant in terms of the number and depth of stories involving the EU and its interactions with non-member states, that appeared in the Danish papers. For example, the British papers in general paid little heed to EU actions in the international arena, focusing instead almost entirely on the Union as it affected internal affairs, or as it related to the UK's relationship with, primarily, the Germans and the French. Although it could be argued that as 'élite' nations, these would justify more coverage in the UK press than, say, Belgium or Luxembourg, the factor of 'composition' that nurtures variety still suggests that the UK's EU coverage was unduly narrow. Again, there was a reluctance in some British titles to take a wider look at the Union, preferring instead to concentrate entirely on well-worn, and negative, EU themes.

This British insularity is not helped by the comparatively smaller number of dedicated foreign correspondents employed by UK newspapers. With access to a greater number of reporters posted abroad, and thus with a larger 'news net' in which to 'catch' stories, it is perhaps not surprising that the Danish papers both feature a wider selection of news events from EU countries as a whole, and have more focus on the interaction of the Union and its member states with the world at large, in a commercial, defence and humanitarian context.

Eliteness of people involved

Given that, like 'élite' countries, 'élite' people are inherently newsworthy, some differences between the British and Danish coverage of the EU were inevitable, and did not necessarily imply any unwholesome distortion of the news. For instance, during the sample period, the words and actions of leading politicians in both countries, and such international figures as Helmut Kohl, Jacques Santer and Jacques Delors, were automatically newsworthy. Furthermore, given that Danish politicians were less at odds over the nature of the Danish relationship with the EU - or at least were less inclined to passionate outpourings on the subject - than were their British counterparts, journalists in Denmark had fewer colourful quotes or heated exchanges from 'élite' Danes to report. Inevitably, therefore, during the sample period the British newspapers contained more stories of heated anti-EU invective.

However, some British newspapers were not even-handed in their reporting of the words and deeds of 'elite' people. For instance, for newspapers such as the *Sun*, the *Daily Mail*, *The Express* and the *Daily Telegraph*, almost anything that the former Prime Minister, Lady Thatcher, said about the EU was newsworthy, even when this amounted to very little. The particularly favourable image that this politician still enjoys in the right-wing press is at least partly due to the regard in which she and her right-wing policies are held, and partly because her vehemently anti EU views accord with those of these newspapers. Consequently, almost every time Lady Thatcher makes a comment on the Union, this will be reported in depth - regardless of how 'relevant' her intervention is. Although some 'élite' pro-Europeans are quoted in these British newspapers, they figure less prominently, and their comments are often ridiculed, or generally played down. In contrast, the greater determination of the Danish newspapers during the sample period to show all sides of the EU debate meant that the words and deeds of 'élite' people who were pro- or anti- EU were more likely to be treated even handedly with no camp appearing to merit more of a say than was reasonable.

The fact that, with broad coalition governments a common feature of Danish politics, there is less concentration on individual leaders, perhaps also explains why the Danish newspapers were not so dominated by a small band of 'élite people' as was the case in their UK counterparts.

Negativity

Since, as Galtung and Ruge argue, 'bad' news makes 'good' news simply because it is more likely to match the 'factors of newsworthiness' listed above, it was inevitably the disasters and conflicts about the EU that were most likely to get into the media during the sample period. This was common to the newspapers of both countries. However, in terms of the EU at least, some UK newspapers focused on negativity to the exclusion of all else and in some instances, even manufactured it themselves. In contrast, there was less of an unwavering focus on 'bad' EU news in the Danish newspapers. For instance, the 'positive' side of EU activity in supporting the Danes in respect of the export of pigmeat to Japan, in interventions to support human rights and in representing European interests in the face of unfair US trading restrictions, were well covered. This was not the case in the British press.

Competition

The effects of competition on newspaper reporting in general and on the EU in particular have already been discussed, specifically in terms of 'dumbing down' of both tabloids and broadsheets, a greater focus on trivia, sensationalism, and so forth. This has been far more marked in the British press than it has in its Danish equivalent.

However, there were other effects. For instance, the substance of *The Independent's* exclusive about the Franco-German 'plot' to harmonise tax was covered in newspapers in both the UK and Denmark. However, while the Danish papers sought comment from relevant sources in an attempt to establish the veracity of this story, the British newspapers seemed more keen to discredit it, making official denials of it the focus of their accounts. This was presumably because it emanated from a competitor, and was despite the fact that the story itself - one that both portrayed the 'threat' of the Union to British sovereignty and highlighted the 'sneaky' qualities of the French and the Germans - was one that would otherwise have been covered with relish. Clearly, the compulsion to discredit a rival in the highly competitive British newspaper market had even overridden the compulsion to use every opportunity to discredit the EU.

Co-option

In this research, Bell's news factor of 'co-option' is closely linked to that of 'continuity' in that, as the list in Appendix 11 shows, any story that could be made to fit into an existing theme, stood a good chance of being included. This was common to both countries, but was, of course, subject to the tendency of some British newspapers to use any opportunity, no matter how tenuous, to bang the anti-EU drum.

Consequently, at its most extreme, 'co-option' in the British press meant that even a simple story about the efforts of a mint manufacturer to promote its new Euromints by sending a packet to each MP, was used for propaganda purposes. Similarly, a story about the introduction of a bank-cum-identity card was fashioned in order to link it to the 'threat' of EMU - even though this link was tenuous, if not entirely imaginary - and a proposal simply to introduce a European dialling code was represented as a part of moves to create a superstate

Of course, there were 'campaign' issues in the Danish papers. For instance, *Jyllands-Posten* was particularly concerned about asylum policy, *BT* was focusing on MEPs' perks, *Berlingske Tidende* on EU bureaucratic inefficiencies, and *Information* on lack of openness and accountability in EU institutions, and stories were 'co-opted' accordingly. Even so, there was generally more balance in these Danish titles, and the emphasis was on unearthing genuine problems for which there were realistic solutions.

Consequently, while it is to be expected that newspapers will favour stories that fit in with current news themes, and that there were differences here between the British and Danish press that were 'legitimate' and by no means disreputable, others, such as those outlined above, represented a difference that, again, cast a shadow on the quality of EU reporting in UK newspapers.

Prefabrication

The lure of the ready-made news story - in the form of, for instance, a well-written press release - was described by one of the British interviewees in this research. He explained how, in particular, vigilant Euro-sceptic MPs had learnt how to get stories about 'daft' EU regulations into the UK newspapers by sending out irresistible accounts of how Brussels was planning to foist its allegedly unworkable plans on UK citizens. His claim that such stories stood a good chance of inclusion in British newspapers, unchecked, was supported by the treatment given to the 'euromyth' that appeared during the sample period, and which had been 'prefabricated' by a freelance journalist and sent to a number of UK newspapers. This story - which claimed that a regulation had been passed that would compel the UK to replace statues of British heroes with EU 'worthies' - was 'consonant' with the Euro-sceptic British newspapers' views on the EU, and featured prominently. It was not checked, and no correction was made when it subsequently turned out to be entirely false.

Indeed, the comments of the interviewees in this research - British and Danish - suggesting that, in terms of harnessing the strength of 'prefabrication' as a major factor in whether or not a story will be featured in a newspaper, the Euro-sceptic element of the British political establishment had taken the initiative, were well supported by an analysis of the news texts. Thus, although 'prefabrication', particularly as it appears as 'nobbling', is an element in the professional lives of journalists in the UK, Denmark and all other countries where a similar press - and democratic - system prevails, it is a particularly distorting element of EU reporting in some British newspapers.

Overall conclusion

Thus, many differences between the UK and Danish press in their coverage of EU affairs are inevitable; they relate to national differences that would affect any journalist in any country and are therefore unremarkable. These differences do not, therefore, represent any failure of the relevant newspapers to adhere to the principles of good, ethical practice.

However, there are many other differences which suggest that the coverage the Union

receives from the British press is distorted to a significant - and remarkable - degree; that good, ethical practice is often deliberately suspended in respect of the reporting of EU affairs. In innumerable instances, all attempts at objectivity have been abandoned in order to present, and constantly enhance, a negative image of the Union as a whole, and of its major member states of France and Germany, in particular.

The reasons why the newspapers have taken this 'unbalanced' approach, can at least partly be ascribed to the fact that, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 11, most UK newspapers these days are seen solely as businesses, and that their prime purpose is to make as large a profit as possible. Although this has been a frequently acknowledged aspect of current trends within the newspaper industry, this research is innovative in revealing the full extent to which this development is adversely affecting the reporting of a major aspect of British life. Furthermore, this thesis also highlights the degree to which the broadsheets are affected. For, although tabloids such as the *Sun* have long been recognised for their xenophobic and personally insulting style - and for their hysteria about EU 'interference' in all its alleged guises - the evidence in this research shows that anti-EU bias is almost as strong in the broadsheet press, particularly in the *Daily Telegraph* and, to a lesser extent, in *The Times*. Furthermore, many of the failings of the British press, in terms of EU coverage, are subtle and become evident only when comparison is made with newspapers produced in other countries. Thus, in numerous instances during the sample period, the readers of British newspapers would have been wholly unaware of the distorted nature of the reports they were reading. This was particularly true in instances where material facts had been omitted. With the UK press generally helping to set the agenda for EU debate within the country, British citizens would thus have remained in ignorance about significant aspects of Union activity which had direct relevance for their everyday lives, and about which they needed to be aware in order to make appropriate responses. Therefore, the nature of EU reporting in the British press during the sample period represented a failure that was detrimental to the national interest.

Looked at in detail, this drive to earn profits has obscured the 'public service' aspect of some British newspapers, and obliterated their role as essential element in the democratic process. They do not provide any reliable indication of the nature of the EU - or of the range of

opinions about it - that would enable readers to make a realistic judgement about it. Overall, the forces of competition have encouraged newspapers to seek to outdo their rivals in, for instance, concentrating on making EU news entertaining, rather than informative, and, in order to do this, they have focused on the 'entertaining' rows, pandered to negative stereotypes of foreigners, and have regularly seized on any opportunity to sensationalise EU news. This has been done at the expense of 'boring', but necessary, background information, thorough explanations of rules and initiatives, or general attempts to put words and deeds into context.

In addition, it was clear during the sample period at least that British Euro-sceptic MPs had become particularly adept at feeding news stories to the press that promoted their own ideas, indicating a level of 'news management' and 'spin-doctoring' that was ousting 'honest' debate. It is also reasonable to suppose that the over-arching Euro-sceptic views of proprietors, specifically Rupert Murdoch and, to a lesser extent, Conrad Black, were also influential, in that their notion of a 'suspect' EU, intent on 'interfering' in every aspect of British life to further its vision of a European 'superstate', was promoted at every opportunity.

Although not all UK newspapers are affected by this - the *Guardian* and *The Independent*, for instance, were generally far more 'balanced' than were their British counterparts - the conscious distortion of EU news is a marked trait within the British press as a whole. Thus, although a truly objective press, entirely free of the flaws of imbalance, and skewed and biased reporting, can only be an ideal, the Danish newspapers as a whole are much closer to achieving this than are their British counterparts.

Furthermore, the narrow, nationalistic, stance taken by most UK newspapers contrasts with that of the Danes, which tends far more to view the country as part of Europe, and to place its actions and responses in an international context. Furthermore, the language and allusions used so often in the British press, suggest that, in some quarters, the UK newspapers have not moved on from WW2 in their perception of the UK's relationship with the rest of Europe. That conflict in particular is regularly evoked in the context of EU activity, and reinforces the negative, 'them and us' approach of some of the British to their fellow

Europeans.

Overall, therefore, observations about the inadequacies of EU reporting in the British newspapers, made by Danish interviewees in this research, have been borne out. The 'serious' press is much diminished in the UK with detrimental consequences for fair and balanced reporting, and the state of 'war' which exists between the Union and some of the country's best-selling titles, means that 'truth' has often been replaced by 'propaganda'.

Areas in which further research could be pursued

This project has covered a wide field, and areas in which further research could be pursued are similarly diverse. However, major suggestions include the following:

1) This research has compared the British and Danish press, and comparisons have proved enlightening. Similar studies could use comparisons among other countries, using other 'common' themes. This could be the EU, or any other international organisations or subject areas where interests converge. Although linguistic difficulties might limit choices, the possibilities here are multitudinous. Such studies could involve the wide sweep featured in this research, or concentrate on one of more of its 'section' areas.

2) This research has also illustrated the extent to which the media feed off each other for story leads. This sometimes means that 'myths' have been spread, internationally. It can also lead to a 'Chinese whispers' effect in which an original story eventually ends up with substantial - and inaccurate - differences as it passes from one medium to another. The effects of this practice would make for interesting research.

3) This thesis has shown that the influence in particular of 'rent-a-quotes' is significant. Comparative analyses of sources used in newspapers, and the nature of their input, is worth further investigation.

4) Comparisons of, say, EU coverage in the newspaper press over time (a number of years), measured against public opinion surveys relating to the degree of support for the Union, might shed some light on how much newspaper coverage influences - or reflects - public opinion.

5) Similarly, the effects of a change of Government on the way, say, the EU is reported, might make an interesting study, particularly in shedding light on the relationship between press and politicians.

6) Further research into the differences in the way a story can be handled, depending on whether it appears in a newspaper's general news or business section, could enhance understanding of the influence of politics in general in the way news is presented.

7) In Denmark, training courses have been introduced to encourage local journalists to seek out local angles to EU initiatives and regulations. In order to ascertain whether or not a similar initiative would be beneficial in this country, it would be enlightening to examine local newspapers in the UK to discover the nature and extent of their EU coverage.

REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

ADELMAN I., VUJOVIC D. Designing Foreign Assistance Programs for Eastern Europe. Economie Appliquée, tome XLIV, 1991, No.1 pp5.

AGER, D. Discourse Variety: Whence, Why and Wherefore. In COLEMAN, J. AND CRAWSHAW, R. (eds.) Discourse Variety in Contemporary French, London: Association for French Language Studies in association with the Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research, 1994.

ALLEN, R., FROST, J. (World Press) Daily Mirror, Cambridge. Patrick Stephens, 1981.

ALTSCHULL, J.H. Agents of Power: The Role of the News Media in Human Affairs, New York: Longman, 1984.

BAGDIKIAN, B. The Media Monopoly, Boston: Beacon Press, 1983.

BAISTOW, T. Fourth-Rate Estate: An Anatomy of Fleet Street, London: Comedia Publishing Group, 1985.

BARBER, L. Making friends with fun financiers New Statesman, 1 May, 1987, p18

BARBER, L. Europe's case of the Danish blues. The Financial Times, 16/17 January, 1993, p7.

BARBROOK, R. (Internet Pamphlet 1995) <http://www.wrmin.ac.uk/media/vd/mf/mfcontents/html>.

BARNES, H. Gap between leaders and led. The Financial Times, 8 October, 1992, Section III, p2.

BARNES, H. The Baltic approach: Leading light in regional defence; Holding EU in suspense. Both stories in The Financial Times, 21 November, 1996, Denmark supplement, p3.

BARNES, H. Social Democrats hail surprise win. The Financial Times, 13 March, 1998, p2.

BARON, E. Europe at the Dawn of the Millennium, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1997.

BBC1 Panorama: Have they got news for you, 30 September, 1996, 9.30pm.

BBC RADIO 4. Today, 19 November, 1996 (Interviews with Peter Mandelson, Kelvin McKenzie and Nicholas Winterton on the media relationship with politicians in the run-up to the next General Election).

BEHRENS, T. (Ed.) Pressens Blå Bog, Århus: Danmarks Journalisthøjskole, 1990.

BELL, A., Telling it Like it Isn't: Inaccuracy in Editing International News. Gazette, 31.3, 1983, 185-203.

BELL, A. The Language of News Media. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991.

BELSEY, A., CHADWICH, R. (Eds.) Ethical Issues in Journalism and the Media. London: Routledge, 1992.

BENNETT, W.L., EDELMAN, M. Toward a New Political Narrative. Journal of Communication 35 (3), 1985, 156-71.

BERLINS, M., GRELLIER, C., KRUUSE, H.N. The rights and duties of journalists in the twelve member states of the European Union. Maastricht: European Journalism Training Association, 1994.

BEVINS, A. The crippling of the scribes. British Journalism Review, Vol.1 No.2, Winter, 1990, 13-17.

BIERRING, O. Europas sikkerhed - en historisk udfordring. Europa, April, 1997, p14.

BISCHOFF, H V., HANSEN, B , SKOVMAND, S. Hvad Er De Uenige Om: Danmark og Fællesmarkedet. Gjøellerup: 1972.

BOGART, L. The Public's Use and Perception of Newspapers. Public Opinion Quarterly, 48, 1984 85, 709-719.

BORCHARDT, K D. European Integration: The Origins and Growth of the European Union. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1995.

BOYCE, G., CURRAN, J., WINGATE, P. (Eds.) Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day, London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1978.

BOYD-BARRETT, O., BRAHAM, P. (Eds.) Media, Knowledge and Power. London: Croom Helm, 1987.

BOYES, R. US and Europe Agree Nato role. The Times, 6 June, 1996, p11.

BRENDON, P. The Life and Death of the Press Barons, London: Secker & Warburg, 1982.

BRITISH OVERSEAS TRADE BOARD. Country Profile: Denmark (In 'Europe Open for Business' series). 1988.

BROCK, G. Europe's Eastern dilemma: imports or immigrants?. The Times, 16 April, 1994, p25.

BRODY, R. Assessing the President: The Media, Elite Opinion, and Public Support. California: Stanford University Press, 1991.

BROOKES, H. 'Suit, tie and a touch of juju' - the ideological construction of Africa: a critical discourse analysis of news on Africa in the British press. Discourse and Society, 6, 4, 1995, 461-495.

BROWN, J. D., BYBEE, C.R., WEARDENN, S.T., STRAUGHAN, D.M. Invisible Power: Newspaper News Sources and the Limits of Diversity. Journalism Quarterly 64, 1987, 45-54.

BROWN, R. O'Reilly fulfils 'Independent' dream. The Independent, 12 March, 1998, p3.

BRUHN JENSEN, K., JANKOWSKI, N. (Eds.) A Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication Research. London: Routledge, 1991.

BRUMMER, A. Just why is the Wall Street Journal crossing the Atlantic in a bulldozer? The Guardian, 8 November, 1982, p12.

BUCKLEY, R. NAFTA and GATT: The impact of free trade. Cheltenham: European Schoolbooks Publishing Limited, 1994.

BUDD, S.A., JONES, A. The European Community: A Guide to the Maze. (Fourth Edition). London: Kogan Page, 1991.

BULMER, S., GEORGE, S., SCOTT, A. (Eds.) The United Kingdom and EC Membership Evaluated. London: Pinter Publishers, 1992.

BURNS, T. The Organisation of Public Opinion. Mass Communication and Society. Eds James Curran, Michael Gurevich, Janet Woollacott (see below).

BUTLER, K. Britain joins Europe's poorest. The Independent, 30 April, 1997, p1.

BÜTLER, H. Storm in an EC Cup, The Guardian, 12 July, 1992 p25.

CAMERON, D. Style policy and style politics: a neglected aspect of the language of the news. Media, Culture & Society, Vol 18 1996, 315-333.

CAMERON, F. The European Community and Eastern Europe. In: Preventing a New East West Divide: The Economic and Social Imperatives of the Future Europe. Edited by Armand Clesse and Rudolf Tőkés, Luxembourg: Institute for European and International Studies, 1991.

CAMERON, J. Point of Departure. London: Arthur Barker Limited, 1967.

- CAMPAIGN FOR PRESS AND BROADCASTING FREEDOM. 21st Century Media: Shaping the Democratic Vision, London: 1996.
- CAMPBELL, J., BONNER, W. Media, Mania and the Markets, London: Fleet Street Publications, 1994.
- CARR, F. IFANTIS, K. NATO in the new European Order. London: MacMillan Press Ltd, 1996.
- CENTRE FOR CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL STUDIES UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM. Culture, Media, Language: Working papers in Cultural Studies, 1972-79. London: Routledge, 1980.
- CHANNEL FOUR (TV). Manufacturing Consent - Noam Chomsky and the Media, 17 May, 1992, 10.55pm.
- CHANNEL FOUR (TV) Royals and Reptiles: Unleash the Greyhounds. The 1980s. 26 October, 1997, 8.00pm.
- CHANNEL FOUR (TV) The Power List, 1 November, 1998, 6pm.
- CHARNLEY, M. Preliminary Notes on A Study of Newspaper Accuracy. Journalism Quarterly 13 4 1936, 394-401.
- CHOMSKY, N. Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies. London: Pluto Press, 1989.
- CHRISTENSEN, J.G. Blurring the International-Domestic Politics Distinction: Danish Representation at EC Negotiations. Scandinavian Political Studies, Vol. 4 - New series - No.3, 1981, p191 - 208.
- CHRISTENSEN, J.N. Fra Maastricht til Amsterdam, Europa, December 1996, p2.
- CHRISTENSEN, R. Denmark: Consequences of EC membership. Scandinavian Political Studies, vol 3 - New series - No 1, 1980, 79-94.
- CLARKE, P., FREDIN, E. Newspapers, Television and Political Reasoning. Public Opinion Quarterly, 42, 1978, 143-160.
- CLEMENS, C. (Ed.) Nato and the Quest for Post-Cold War Security, London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1997.
- COHEN, S., YOUNG, J. (Eds.) The Manufacture of News: Social problems, deviance and the mass media, London: Constable and Co. Ltd., 1973.
- COLE, J. Here is the News: Too Bad if it's not Good. The Daily Telegraph April 28, 1993, p18.

COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES. Report on United States Trade and Investment Barriers. 1992: Problems of doing business with the US. (RF:EU4/4752).

COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES. Europe and the challenge of enlargement. Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement 3 92.

CORBETT, B. Get it sorted. Journalist, March/April, 1997, p14.

CORNISH, P. European security: the end of architecture and the new NATO. International Affairs, 72, 4 1996, pp751-769.

CRITCHLEY, J. These are the Johnson Brothers. They hate Europe, will ruin the Tory party and hand power to Tony Blair. The Independent, 21 May, 1996, p15.

CROZIER, M. The Making of 'The Independent'. London: Gordon Fraser Gallery Ltd , 1988.

CURRAN, J., GUREVITCH, M., WOOLLACOTT, J. (Eds.) Mass Communication and Society. London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd., 1977.

CURRAN, J., SEATON, J. Power without Responsibility: The Press and Broadcasting in Britain. Fourth Edition. London: Routledge, 1991.

CURRAN, J., SMITH, A., WINGATE, P. (Eds.) Impacts and Influences: Essays on Media Power in the Twentieth Century. London: Methuen, 1987.

DAHLGREN, P., SPARKS, C. (Eds.) Communication and Citizenship. Journalism and the Public Sphere. London: Routledge, 1991.

DAL, E. Dansk Mediet. Avisen i Undervisningen, 1988.

DANISH MINISTRY OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS, Denmark and the Euro Copenhagen J.H. Schultz Information A/S, 1998.

DANSK FOLKEOPLYSNINGS SAMRÅD Pas på pressen! : Pressens betydning for demokratiet, demokratets betydning for pressen. Copenhagen: 1995.

DAVIS, F., TURNER, L. Sample Efficiency in Qualitative Newspaper Content Analysis Public Opinion 15, 4 1951, 762-763.

DAVIS, H., WALTON, P. (Eds.) Language, Image, Media. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publisher Limited, 1983.

DELANO, A., HENNINGHAM, J. 'Talk about journalism...? Sorry, no comment'. British Journalism Review Vol.5 No.3, 1994, pp58.

DONSBACH, W. Journalists' Conceptions of their Audience: Comparative Indicators for the Way British and German Journalists Define Their Relations to the Public. Gazette 32,1 1983, 19 36.

DYNES, M. EC in shock horror tabloid outrage. The Times June 9, 1992, Media page 7.

THE ECONOMIST, When money makes news and news makes money. The Economist, 26 December, 1987. (Unattributed), p89.

THE ECONOMIST, Up to a point, Lord Rothermere. The Economist, 3 February, 1996. (Unattributed), pp81.

THE ECONOMIST, NATO acquires a European identity. The Economist, 8 June, 1996. (Unattributed), pp51.

THE ECONOMIST INTELLIGENCE UNIT. Denmark: Country Report, No 1, 1993.

THE ECONOMIST INTELLIGENCE UNIT. Denmark: Country Report, 1st quarter, 1995.

THE ECONOMIST INTELLIGENCE UNIT. Country Profile - Denmark. 1997-98.

EKIERT, G. Democratization Processes in East Central Europe: A Theoretical Reconsideration. British Journal of Political Science, Volume 21, Part 3, July 1991, pp285

ELLEGAARD, L. Information - et produkt i strid med tiden. På Nært Hold Af Information 1943 1993. Copenhagen:A/S Dagbladet Information og Informations Venner, 1993.

ELLIOTT, P. Media Organisations and Occupations: An overview. In CURRAN, J., GUREVITCH, M , WOOLLACOTT, J. (Eds) Mass Communication and Society. London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd , 1977.

EMMOTT. B. Journalists' credibility is under threat. Reporting Europe, Winter 1995. (Published by the Centre for Journalism Studies, Cardiff).

ENGEL, M Papering over the cracks. The Guardian, 3 October, 1996, Media Section, pp2.

ENGEL, M Tickle the Public: One Hundred Years of the Popular Press, London:Indigo, 1997.

ENTMAN, R. Democracy without Citizens: Media and the Decay of American Politics. Oxford Oxford University Press, 1989.

ERBRING, L., GOLDENBERG, E., MILLER, A. Front-Page News and Real-World Cues: A New Look at Agenda-Setting by the Media. American Journal of Political Science 24. 1980, 16-49.

EUROPA. Fra Maastricht til Amsterdam. (Leader column, December, 1996, p2).

EUROPA PUBLICATIONS. Denmark. In Europa World Yearbook, Vol 1., 1993.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM Do you believe all you read in the newspapers? London: February 1994.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM. Do you STILL believe all you read in the newspapers? London: September 1995.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION, Openness and Transparency in the European Institutions, (Report of seminar, 22 November, 1995).

EUROPEAN COMMISSION, Economic and Monetary Union, Luxembourg, 1996.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION, Information programme for the European citizen, Brussels, 1996 (CC-99-96-803-EN-C).

EUROPEAN COMMISSION, Background report: The enlargement of the European Union B/3/97, February, 1997.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION Eurobarometer: Public Opinion in the European Union, Report No. 46, Brussels, May 1997.

EVANS, H. Good Times, Bad Times London: George Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1983.

EVENS, C. Contexts. In COLEMAN, J AND CRAWSHAW, R. Eds. Discourse Variety in Contemporary French. London: Association for French Language Studies in association with the Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research, 1994

FAIRLEY, D. D Notices, Official Secrets and the Law. Oxford Journal of Legal Studies Vol. 10, No.3, Autumn 1990, pp430-440.

FANNING, D. Journalism and the press. British Book News, January, 1993, p4-6

FARMANN, E. (Personal interview, 15 April, 1998).

FELDBÆK, O., LUND, E. (Eds.) Festschrift til Niels Thomsen Odense Universitetsforlag, 1990.

FITZMAURICE, J. Politics in Denmark, London: C. Hurst & Company, 1981.

FLEET, K.G. The influence of the financial press. Annual Livery Lecture. The Worshipful Company of Stationers and Newspaper Makers, 3 February, 1983.

FONSMARK, H. Historien om den danske utopi: Et idépolitisk essay om danskernes velfærdsdemokrati, Gyldendal: 1991.

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE. Britain in NATO, July 1992.

- FOWLER, R. Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press. London: Routledge, 1991.
- FRANKLIN, B. Taming an Unruly Leviathan: Regulating tabloid journalism. Paper presented to the conference, The Press in Europe - Past, Present and Future, at City University, 4 February, 1995.
- FRANKLIN, M. with WILKE, M. Britain's Future in Europe. London: Printer Publishers Ltd., 1990.
- FRENCH, H.F. Green Revolutions: Environmental Reconstruction in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The Columbia Journal of World Business, Spring 1991, Volume 26, Number 1, pp28.
- FRIED, A. The European Community of culture. Life and Education in Finland. 4/93, pp29.
- FRØBERT K.A. Ytringsfrihed og journalistik. Jyllands-Posten, 4 February, 1997, p9.
- FULLER, J. News Values: Ideas for an information age. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- GALTUNG, J., HOLMBOE RUGE, M. The Structure of Foreign News: the Presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus Crises in Four Norwegian Newspapers. Journal of Peace Research 2, 1, 1965, 64-91.
- GARCIA, S. (Ed) European Identity and the Search for Legitimacy. London: Pinter Publishers, 1993.
- DE LA GARDE, R., GILSDORF, W., WECHSELMANN, I. (Eds.) Small Nations, Big Neighbours. Denmark and Quebec/ Canada Compare Notes on American Popular Culture. London John Libbey, 1993.
- GARODKIN, I. Håndbog i Dansk Politik 1996, Munksgaard:Rosinante.
- GAUNT, P. Choosing the News: The Profit Factor in News Selection. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990.
- GILSDORF, W.O. CBC Television and the 1988 Canadian Federal Election. In DE LA GARDE, R., GILSDORF, W., WECHSELMANN, I. (Eds.) Small Nations, Big Neighbours: Denmark and Quebec/ Canada Compare Notes on American Popular Culture. London: John Libbey, 1993.
- GITLIN, T. Making Protest Movements Newsworthy. Media Power in Politics, Doris A. Graber (1990) (see below).
- GLASGOW UNIVERSITY MEDIA GROUP. Bad News. Volume 1. London: Routledge & Kegan, 1976

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY MEDIA GROUP. More Bad News Volume 2. London: Routledge & Kegan, 1980.

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY MEDIA GROUP War and Peace News. Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1985.

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY MEDIA GROUP, ELDRIDGE, J. (Ed.). Getting the Message: News, Truth and Power. London: Routledge, 1993.

GLOVER, S. A little xenophobia goes a long, long way. The Daily Telegraph, 31 May, 1996, p24.

GLOVER, S., Labour wins the paper chase. The Daily Telegraph, 30 April, 1997, p4.

GOODHART, D. WINTOUR, P. Eddie Shah and the Newspaper Revolution. London: Coronet Books, 1986.

GOPSILL, T. Paper on ownership, media workers and editorial standards, presented to the conference, Media v. The People, at the TUC Conference Centre, London, March 18, 1995

GOTT, R., The newspapers we deserve, Prospect, July 1996, p29.

GRABER, D. Media Power in Politics. United States of America: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1990.

GREENAWAY, D. Policy Forum, Europe 1992 - Views from the Outside Editorial Note The Economic Journal. Vol. 101, No. 402, November 1991, pp1535-1537.

GREENSLADE, R. It's the Andreas Fault: Too Independent by far. Daily Express July 31, 1993, page 9.

GREENSLADE, R., Gotcha, Tony! New Statesman & Society, 16 February, 1996, pp22 23

GREENSLADE, R. The Telegraph, it is a-changin'. The Guardian, February 3, 1997, Media, p5.

GREER, H. Who Censors What, Where & When? Encounter July August, 1986, pp56-62

GREER, H. The Ethics of Fallible Journalism. Encounter, December, 1986, pp57-61.

GRÖNHOLM, C. The failure of the Nordic Community. Life and Education in Finland, 4 93.

GUILD OF EDITORS, Tomorrow's Journalist: The "White Paper" on Editorial Training. London: 1997.

GUREVITCH, M., BLUMLER, J.G. Linkages between the Mass Media and Politics: a model for the analysis of political communications systems. Mass Communication and Society. Eds. James Curran, Michael Gurevitch and Janet Woollacott. (1977) (see above).

HAARDER, B. "Lad os dog spørge vælgerne om Vestunionens nye rolle", Europa, June 1996, p15.

HAIGHT, T., BRODY, R. The Mass Media and Presidential Popularity. Communication Research. 4, 1977, pp41-60.

HALL, S. The determinations of news photographs. In COHEN, S., YOUNG, J. (Eds) The Manufacture of News: Social problems, deviance and the mass media. London: Constable and Co. Ltd., 1973.

HALL, S., CRITCHER, C., JEFFERSON, T., CLARKE, J., ROBERTS, B. The Social Production of News: Mugging in the Media. The Manufacture of News. Eds. Stanley Cohen and Jock Young (1981) (See above).

HANF, K., SOETENDORP, B. Adapting to European Integration: Small States and the European Union, London: Longman, 1998.

HANLIN, B. Owners, Editors and Journalists. In: Ethical Issues in Journalism and the Media. BELSEY, A., CHADWICK, R. (Eds.) (See above).

HARDT-MAUTNER, G. How does one become a good European?: the British press and European integration. Discourse & Society, 6, 2, 1995, 177-206.

HARRIS, R. Emotion is all that matters on Europe. The Sunday Times, 16 February, 1997, p5 4

HARRISON, B. Thousands die, but is Diana flying out? The Times, January 15, 1997, p33.

HART, A. Understanding the Media: A Practical Guide. London: Routledge, 1991.

HART DAVIS, D. The House the Berrys Built. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1990.

HARTLEY, J. Understanding News. London: Routledge, 1982.

HATTERSLEY, R. The guilty editors. The Times, January 29, 1992, Media page 6.

HEINDERYCKX F. Quality and Business Daily Newspapers in Europe: A Comparative Study In. The Press in Europe - Past, Present and Future, conference at City University, 4 February, 1995.

HELGADOTTIR, B. Past events hang in the air at Nordic family reunion. The European, 30 January - 5 February, 1997, p5.

- HELGADOTTIR, B. Scandinavian brinkmanship. The European, 9-15 March, 1998, p18.
- HENNESSY, P. Why journalists should breach the wall of political secrecy. The Independent. 1 April, 1987, p16.
- HEREN L. Memories of Times Past. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1988.
- HERMAN, E., CHOMSKY, N., Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media. New York: Pantheon Books, 1988.
- HESSELAGER, O. Tanten på skrupp. Information, 29 January, 1997, p3.
- HETHERINGTON, A. News, Newspapers and Television. London: Macmillan, 1985.
- HILL, S. (Ed.) Visions of Europe: Summing up the Political Choices. London: Gerland Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 1993.
- HOCH, P. The Newspaper Game: The Political Sociology of the Press. London: Calder & Boyars, 1974.
- HOLLEDGE, R., Hush now, Euro-sceptics. The Independent, 12 May, 1997, Supplement, p10-11.
- HOLMBERG, Å. On the Practicability of Scandinavianism. Mid-nineteenth-century Debate and Aspirations. Scandinavian Journal of History, 1984, Vol. 9.
- HOLMSTAD, D. Berlingske skærer ned Jyllands-Posten, 28 January, 1997, Erhverv og Økonomi, p1.
- HUMPHREYS, G. In. Euromoney: Guide to Currencies, 1993, Supplement of February issue, 1993.
- HUXLEY, J. The columns that are marching into Europe The Sunday Times, 17 October, 1982, p63.
- HYNDS, E.C. Business coverage is getting better Journalism Quarterly, 57, 1980 297 304
- INFORMATION, Den stærke tante, (Leader), 30 January, 1997, p1
- INNO/EU-INFORMATION. EF/EU Håndbog. Nykøbing 1994
- IRELAND, P.R. Facing the True 'Fortress Europe'. Immigrant and Politics in the EC. Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. XXIX, No. 5, September 1991, pp457
- JACKSON, T. When the people say no. The Independent, 4 June, 1992 p9
- JAGD, M., Alt for meget enighed om EU i Danmark, Information, 21 March, 1994

- JENKINS, S. Newspapers: The Power and the Money. London: Faber and Faber, 1979.
- JENSEN, B. Danskernes Dagligliv: Træk af udviklingen i Danmark fra 1960erne til 1990erne. Viborg: Spektrum, 1991.
- JENSEN, K. News as Social Resource: A Qualitative Empirical Study of the reception of Danish Television News. European Journal of Communication, 3, 3, 1988, 275-301.
- JOHANSEN, H. The Danish Economy at the Crossroads Between Scandinavia and Europe. Scandinavian Journal of History, 18, 1993, 37-57.
- JOHNSON, B. Goodbye, Brussels. The Daily Telegraph, 5 March, 1994, p12.
- JOHNSON, B. Germany: the ghost at the D-Day anniversary. The Daily Telegraph, 8 June, 1994, p22.
- JOHNSON, B. Britain enlists in Europe as Clinton beats retreat. The Daily Telegraph, 14 November, 1994, p22.
- JOHNSON, B. So much for the pen and dagger men. The Daily Telegraph, 5 July, 1995, page 21
- JOHNSON, B. Do these little Europeans know how the EU works? The Daily Telegraph, 29 May, 1996, p20.
- JOHNSON, F. Out of Order. London: Corgi Books, 1984.
- JOHNSON, J, KAMPFNER, J. Doctor, doctor, my head is in a whirl. New Statesman & Society, 24 May, 1996, p26
- JOCHIMSEN, R. The European Geography of Economic Development: The Reform Process in Eastern Europe. The International Spectator, Volume XXVI, No 1, January-March, 1991, pp103.
- JONES N. Soundbites and Spin Doctors: How Politicians Manipulate the Media - and Vice Versa. London: Cassell, 1995
- KAARE, J. Edel Kappelstrid om Journalist-uddannelse. Dansk Presse, 07/97, p16-17.
- KEDOURIE, E. The overweening pride of the self-appointed priesthood. The Independent, 27 July, 1988, p18
- KING, C. The Future of the Press. London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1967.
- KLAPPER, J T. The Effectiveness of Mass Communication. Media Power in Politics. Doris, A. Graber (1990) (See above).

- KRAMER, H. The EC and the Stabilisation of Eastern Europe. Aussen Politik, Vol 43, Quarterly Edition, No 1.
- KRISTENSEN, U. Åbenheden er lige stor i Danmark og i EU. Europa, January 1997, p3.
- KROGH, T. Medierne og folkestyret. In: Pas på Pressen!, Dansk Folkeoplysnings Samråd (see above).
- KRUUSE, H. Etik i Journalistik, Århus: Forlaget Ajour, 1991.
- KYNASTON, D. The Financial Times: A Centenary History, London: Viking Press, 1988.
- LANGSAM, D. Europe in Print. New Statesman & Society 18 May, 1990, p40-41.
- LARSEN, K. Scandinavian Grass Roots: From Peace Movement to Nordic Council Scandinavian Journal of History, 1984, Vol. 9.
- LASKY, M.J. Towards a Theory of Journalistic Malpractice Encounter, November, 1985, pp74-8.
- LEAPMAN, M. All change, but gently, to stay in the pink. The Independent, 6 September, 1982.
- LEAPMAN, M. Treacherous Estate: The Press after Fleet Street, London Hodder & Stoughton, 1992.
- LEAPMAN, M. Supping with the Devil The Independent, 7 January, 1995, p25.
- LERCHE-NEILSEN J., WECHSELMANN, I. Does Internationalization Impose a Crisis on Denmark? In: Small Nations, Big Neighbours, (Eds) Roger de la Garde, William Gilsdorf and Ilja Wechselmann, (see above).
- LINTON, M. It was the Sun wot won it. New Statesman & Society, 22 March, 1996, pp20-21.
- LIPARI, L. Journalistic Authority: Textual Strategies of Legitimation Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, Vol.73, No.4, pp821.
- LIPPMAN, W. Newspapers. In: Media Power in Politics, Doris Graber (1990) (See above).
- LISTER, D. Bookworm who turned. The Independent, 28 February, 1998, P17.
- LLOBERA, J.R. The Role of the State and Nation in Europe In: European Identity and the Search for Legitimacy, , Garcia, S., (see above).
- LLOYD, J., Babel. Prospect, June 1996, p77.

- LUBETKIN, W. The Quest for Definition. Best Business Locations 1992-1993 Cote: 93B/60. pp240.
- LUFF, P. The Simple Guide to Maastricht. European Movement, 1992.
- LUND, E., PRIMSTAD, I. (Eds.) På nært hold af Information 1943 - 1993. Copenhagen: Informations Forlag & Informations Venner, 1993.
- MACARTHUR, B. New readers, new times. The Times. 5 February, 1997, 1997. p21.
- MACLEAN, E. Between the Lines: How to Detect Bias and Propaganda in the News and Everyday Life. Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1981.
- MAIGÅRD J. NATO's europæiske søjle. Europa, May 1996, p8.
- MANNING WHITE, D. The Gatekeeper: A Case Study in the Selection of News. Journalism Quarterly. 27. 4. 1950, 383-390.
- MANOFF R. SCHUDSON, M (Eds.) Reading the News. New York: Pantheon Books, 1986.
- MARGACH, J. The Abuse of Power: The War between Downing Street and the Media from Lloyd George to Callaghan. London: W. H. Allen, 1978.
- MARSHALL, A. Mixed metaphors spell out post-Maastricht doubt. The Independent on Sunday, 11 September, 1994, p11.
- MARSHALL, A. A little in-out cohabitation. Independent on Sunday, 2 July, 1995, p14.
- MARTIN ROJO, L. Division and rejection: from the personification of the Gulf conflict to the demonization of Saddam Hussein. Discourse & Society. 6. 1. 1995, 49-80.
- MATTHEWS, V., Capitalism goes pop. The Guardian, 24 Augst, 1987, p13.
- MAYER, O G , EC. Challenge from the East. Intereconomics, 3 May June 1992, Volume 27. pp101.
- McALLISTER, E.J. A U.S. Perspective on EC-92. Economic Impact, 1989 4, pp17-21.
- MCCOMBS, M.E., SHAW, D.L. The Agenda-Setting Function of the Press. Media Power in Politics, Doris A. Graber (1990). (See above).
- MCCOMBS, M E., SHAW, D.L. The Evolution of Agenda-Setting Research: Twenty-Five Years in the Marketplace of Ideas. Journal of Communication 43(2), Spring, 1993, 58-67.
- MCMANUS, J.H. Market Driven Journalism: Let the Citizen Beware?, London: Sage Publications, 1994.
- MCNAIR, B. News and Journalism in the UK: A Textbook, London: Routledge, 1994.

- MCQUAIL, D. Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction, London: Sage Publications, 1983.
- MCQUAIL, D. Processes of Media Effects. In: Media, Knowledge and Power, Eds. Oliver Boyd-Barrett and Peter Braham (1987) (See above).
- MEDIEKOMMISSIONEN. Betænkning om de trykte mediers økonomi og beskæftigelse, Århus Stiftsbogtrykkerie, 1983.
- MEDINA, P., DONALD, V. Careers in Journalism, London: Kogan Page, 1989 (fourth edition).
- MEILBY, M. Idé og Research, Århus: Forlaget Ajour, 1992.
- MENON, A. Defence Policy and Integration in Western Europe. Contemporary Security Policy, Vol. 17, No. 2, August 1996, pp264-283.
- MERRILL, J. The Elite Press: Great Newspapers of the World, New York: Pitman Publishing Corporation, 1968.
- METHVEN, N. Pilger to slam 'tabloid decline'. Press Gazette, 7 February, 1977, p2.
- METZ, G. (Intermetzo column), Information, 1-2 February, p11.
- MIDDLETON, N., WEITZMAN, S. A Place for Everyone: A history of State education from the end of the 18th Century to the 1970s, London. Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1976
- MILES, L. The European Union and the Nordic Countries, London: Routledge, 1996
- MILJAN T. The Reluctant Europeans: The Attitudes of the Nordic Countries towards European Integration, London: C. Hurst & Company, 1977.
- MILLER, J., Battle of the satellites, The Times, 6 May, 1987, p19.
- MORGAN, D. British Media and European Union News, European Journal of Communication, Vol 10, No 3 September 1995, 321-344.
- MORGAN J. Mirror spends 16m to halt sales slide. Press Gazette, 10 January, 1997, p2.
- MORGAN, J. Mirror strikes for the millennium. Press Gazette, 10 January, 1997, p15
- MORGAN, J. 'Papers better off opposing government'. Press Gazette, 2 May, 1997, p2
- MORGAN, J. 'Media did matter in General Election - but not much'. Press Gazette, 13 June, 1997, p11.

MORTENSEN, F., POULSEN, J., STIGEL, J. (Eds.) Medie Håndbogen. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1990.

MORTON, C. Market Games or Market Rules? International Financial Law Review: Competing Interests - A Guide to EC and G7 competition law. Supplement, June 1991, pp3-6.

MUSOLFF, A., SCHÄFFNER, C., TOWNSON, M. (Eds.) Conceiving of Europe: Diversity in Unity. Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing Company Limited, 1996.

NATO OFFICE OF INFORMATION AND PRESS. A new chapter in the history of the North Atlantic Alliance. Brussels (undated).

NEGRINE, R. Politics and the Mass Media in Britain. London: Routledge, 1989.

NEIL, A. Arkansas Kid guns down Nato. The Sunday Times, 23 July, 1995, p3.7.

NEWMAN, K. Financial Marketing and Communications. London: City University Business School, 1984.

NIELSEN, H.O. What's Wrong with European Politics. In: Visions of Europe, S. Hill, (See above), p110-116.

NORTON, P.(Ed.) National Parliaments and the European Union, London: Frank Cass, 1996.

NOTKIN, A. Forfulgt af pressen. In: Pas på Pressen!, Dansk Folkeoplysnings Samråd (see above)

OLSEN, L. Dansk EU-debat handler om taktik og forbehold. Europa, May 1996, p9.

OLSEN, L. Partierne rykker tættere sammen i dansk EU-politik. Europa, October 1996, p6.

O'NEILL, J. Journalism in the Market Place. In: Ethical Issues in Journalism and the Media, Eds Andrew Belsey and Rutch Chadwick (1992) (See above).

ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT OECD Economic Surveys 1996-1997. Denmark, OECD, Paris, 1997.

PAGE, B., SHAPIRO, R., DEMPSEY, G. What Moves Public Opinion? American Political Science Review. 81, 1987, 23-45.

PARISOT, L. Attitudes about the Media: A Five Country Comparison. In: Media Power in Politics, Doris Graber (1990) (see above).

PARSONS, D.W. The Power of the Financial Press: Journalism and economic opinion in Britain and America. Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1989.

PEDERSEN, T. Western European Security Cooperation - A View From Denmark. Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft, 16, 4238, 1987, p189-197.

PETERSEN, N., ELKLIT, J. Denmark Enters the European Communities. Scandinavian Political Studies, 8, 1973, 198-213.

PETERSEN N. Attitudes towards European Integration and the Danish Common Market Referendum. Scandinavian Political Studies, Vol. 1 - New Series - No 1, 1978, 23-42.

PETERSEN, N. The Security Policies of Small NATO Countries. Cooperation and Conflict, 23, 1988, pp145-162.

PETERSON, R.A., KOZMETSKY, G., CUNNINGHAM, I.C.M., Perceptions of Media Bias Toward Business, Journalism Quarterly, 59, 1982, 461-464.

PETERSON, S. International News Selection by the Elite Press: A Case Study. Public Opinion Quarterly, 45, 2, 1981, 143-163.

PILGER, J. (Col) New Statesman & Society, 5 July, 1996, p12.

PILKINGTON, C. Britain in the European Union today, Manchester University Press, 1995

PINHEIRO, J. Information. Communication. Openness, European Commission, Luxembourg: 1994.

POLITIKEN. Den nye regerings grundlag. 23 January, 1993, Sektion 2, p2 3

PRESS GAZETTE (Leader), It's not just the politics wot wins readers Press Gazette, 23 May, 1997, p12.

PRIESTLAND, G. The Dilemmas of Journalism, London Lutterworth Press, 1979

RABOY, M., DAGENAIS, B. (Eds.) Media, Crisis and Democracy: Mass Communication and the Disruption of Social Order, London: Sage Publications, 1992.

REEVES, I., Sharpening the focus on Europe. Press Gazette, 16 October, 1998, p14-15.

RICHARDS, H. The Bloody Circus: The Daily Herald and the Left, London: Pluto Press, 1997.

RICHARDS, S. (Politics Column). New Statesmen & Society, 6 September, 1996, p8.

ROBERTSON, G. People against the Press: An Enquiry into the Press Council, London Quartet Books, 1983.

ROBERTSON, G., NICOL, A. Media Law, London: Penguin Books, Third Edition, 1992.

- ROBINSON, J. The Press as King-Maker: What Surveys From the Last Five Campaigns Show. Journalism Quarterly, 51. 1974, 587-594.
- ROCK, P. News as Eternal Recurrence. In: The Manufacture of News. Eds. Stanley Cohen and Jock Young.(1981) (See above).
- ROSENBLUM, M. Who Stole the News? ;Why we can't keep up with what happens in the world and what we can do about it. New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 1993.
- ROYAL DANISH EMBASSY, The Danish Parliament: Folketinget. (undated factsheet).
- ROYAL DANISH MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. Danish Political Parties - in their own words. Copenhagen, April, 1993.
- ROYAL DANISH MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. The Government of Denmark, Copenhagen, December 1994.
- ROYAL DANISH MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. Danish Politics: From Absolutism to Democracy. Copenhagen, 1996.
- RUBIN, B. (and Associates) Big Business and the Mass Media. Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1977.
- RUBIN, B. Media, Politics and Democracy. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- RUDDOCK, A., ELLIS, W. Blood on the Street. The Sunday Times. June 26, 1994, Focus page 9
- RUSBRIDGER, A. The Freedom of the Press, and other Platitudes. James Cameron Memorial Lecture, 1997.
- RØDSGAARD, S. Danmark i 1992. Nordisk Tidskrift. 1993, Hæfte 2.
- SAMUELSON, R.J. The Euro? A Foolish Plan That Could Do Harm All Around. The International Herald Tribune. 9 January, 1997, p8.
- SCHILLER, B. At Gun Point: A Critical Perspective on the Attempts of the Nordic Governments to Achieve Unity after the Second World War. Scandinavian Journal of History, 9, 1984.
- SCHLESINGER, P.R. Europe's Contradictory Communicative Space. Dædalus, Vol. 123, Number 2, Spring, 1994, p25-52.
- SCHNEIDER, W., LEWIS, I. Views on the News. Public Opinion, 1985 Aug/Sept, 6-11, 58-59.
- SCHOU, S. Postwar Americanisation and the revitalisation of European culture. In: Media Cultures, edited by Michael Skovmand and Kim Christian Schrøder, (see below).

SCHOU, S. The Charisma of the Liberators. The Americanization of postwar Denmark. In: Small Nations. Big Neighbour, edited by Roger de la Garde, William Gilsdorf and Ilja Wechseltmann, (see above).

SCHRAMM, W. Mass Media and National Development: The Role of Information in the Developing Countries, Stanford University Press, California, 1964.

SCOTT, A. External trade policy. In: The United Kingdom and EC Membership Evaluated, edited by Simon Bulmer, Stephen George and Andrew Scott, (see above).

SEABROOK, J. What the papers show. New Society, 5 June, 1987, p16-18.

SEIDENFADEN, T. Denmark: A Reluctant Corner of Europe. European Affairs, 2, 1987, 64-71.

SELLERS, L. The Simple Subs Book. Second Edition, Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1985.

SEYMOUR-URE, C. The British Press and Broadcasting since 1945, Oxford: Blackwell, 1991.

SEYMOUR-URE, C. The Press, Politics and the Public: An essay on the role of the national press in the British political system, London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1968

SEYMOUR-URE, C. The Political Impact of Mass Media, London: Constable & Co. Ltd, 1974.

SHORT, D, CLARKE, H. Will Sun shine on Blair for long? The European, 20-26 March, 1997.

SIEBERT, F., PETERSON, T., SCHRAMM, W. Four Theories of the Press, University of Illinois Press, 1963.

SIGAL, L.V. Sources Make the News. Reading the News. Eds. Robert Karl Manoff and Michael Schudson (1986) (See above).

SILBERBRANDT, H. Den Danske Syge, Gylling:Hovedland, 1993.

SILVENNOINEN, A. Call for EC to be more open. Reporting Europe, Centre for Journalism Studies, Cardiff, Summer, 1995.

SIUNE, K. Valg Kamp i TV og Radio. Århus: Forlaget Politica, 1982.

SIUNE, K. Political Journalism. Nordicom Review 2, 1989, 25-27.

SIUNE, K. Continued Scope for a National Communications Framework in Denmark Rundfunk und Fernsehen, 37, 2-3, 1989, 270-275.

SKOVMAND, M., SCHRØDER, K. (Eds.) Media Cultures: Reappraising Transnational Media. London: Routledge, 1992.

SLATER, M.D., ROUNER, D. How message evaluation and source attributes may influence credibility assessment and belief change, Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 73, No. 4, Winter 1996, 974-991.

SMITH, A. The Newspaper: An International History. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1979.

SNODDY, R. The Good, the Bad and the Unacceptable: The Hard News about the British Press. London: Faber and Faber, 1992.

SNODDY, R. The Mirror goes in for a polishing. The Financial Times. 3 February, 1997, p17.

SNODDY, R. Our people screwed up in Patten row, says Murdoch. The Times, 4 March, 1998, p1.

SOGNER, I. The European Idea: The Scandinavian Answer. Scandinavian Journal of History, 18, 1993, 307-327.

SPIEGL, F. Keep Taking the Tabloids!: What the papers say and how they say it. London: Pan Books Ltd., 1983.

STAAB, J F. The Role of News Factors in News Selection: A Theoretical Reconsideration. European Journal of Communication. Vol 5, 1990, 423-443.

STEPHENSON, H , MORY, P. Journalism Training in Europe, European Journalism Training Association, Commission of the European Communities, 1990.

STEPHENSON, H. Media Freedom and Media Regulation: An alternative White Paper. Association of British Editors, Guild of Editors, International Press Institute, February 1994.

STEPHENSON, H., BROMLEY, M. Sex, Lies and Democracy: The Press and The Public, London Longman, 1998.

STEVENSON, R. L., GREENE, M. T. A Reconsideration of Bias in the News. Journalism Quarterly, 57, 1980, 115-21.

SØLLINGE J.D., THOMSEN, N. De Danske Aviser, 1634-1989: Bind 2, 1848-1917. Odense Odense Universitetsforlag, 1989.

SØLLINGE J.D., THOMSEN, N. De Danske Aviser, 1634-1991: Bind 3, 1918-1991. Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1991.

SØRENSEN C. The Danish Experience with the European Communities. Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft, 16, 4238, 1987, 157-197.

SØRENSEN, C. Danmark - delstat i Europa?: Politisk, økonomisk og monetær union...efter Maastricht, Århus: 1992.

TAJIK, L., Mediernes rolle i hverdagen. Berlingske Tidende, 28 October, 1994.

TAYLOR, G. Changing Faces: A History of The Guardian 1956-88, London: Fourth Estate, 1993.

TAYLOR, S. Shock! Horror!: The Tabloids in Action. London: Bantam Press, 1991.

THOMSEN, N. Partipressen, Institut for Presseforskning og Samtidshistorie, 1965.

THOMSEN, N. Dagbladskonkurrencen 1870-1970: Politik, journalistik og økonomi i dansk dagspresse strukturudvikling, Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gads Forlag, 1972.

THOMSEN, N. Mass Communications. In: Denmark - An Official Handbook, Copenhagen: Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1974.

THOMSEN, N. Why Study Press History? A reexamination of its purpose and of Danish contributions. Scandinavian Journal of History, 7, 1982, 1-13.

THOMSEN, N. Den Stille Revolution i Dansk Presse. Nordisk Tidskrift, 1986, 319-336.

THOMSEN, N. I mediernes vold. In: Dagligliv i Danmark i vor tid. Bind 1. Samfund og familie, Eds. George Nellemann, Lørn Pæ, Birgit Vorre. Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck, 1988.

THOMSEN, N. Vigtigst er uddannelsen og den redaktionelle bladledelse. In: Pressens Blå Bog, Ed. Thorkild Behrens. Århus: Danmarks Journalisthøjskole, 1990

THYNNE, J. Sun editor to quit paper for BSkyB TV. The Daily Telegraph, 22 January, 1994, p5.

TILLINGHAST, W. Source Control and Evaluation of Newspaper Inaccuracies Newspaper Research Journal, 5, 1983, 13-24.

TRIANDAFYLLIDOU, A. The Chernobyl accident in the Italian press: a 'media story-line'. Discourse & Society, 6, 4, 1995, 517-537.

TSAKALOYANNIS, P. (Ed.) The Reactivation of the Western European Union: The Effects on the EC and its Institutions, Maastricht: European Institute of Public Administration, 1985

TSAKALOYANNIS, P. (Ed.) Western European Security in a Changing World: From the Reactivation of the WEU to the Single European Act, Maastricht: European Institute of Public Administration, 1988.

TUCHMAN, G. Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality, New York: The Free Press (A Division of Macmillan Publishing co. Inc.), 1978.

TUCHMAN, G. Qualitative methods in the study of news. In: A Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication Research. Edited by Klaus Bruhn Jensen and Nicholas W. Jankowski, 1991 (see above).

TULLOCH, J. Policing the public sphere - the British machinery of news management. Media, Culture and Society, Vol. 15, 1993, pp363-384.

TULLOCH, J. Managing the press in a medium-sized European Power. In: Sex, Lies and Democracy, edited by Hugh Stephenson and Michael Bromley (see above).

TUMBER, H. 'Selling scandal': business and the media. Media, Culture and Society Vol. 15, 1993, 345-361.

TUNSTALL, J. Journalists at Work. London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1971.

TUNSTALL, J. The Media are American: Anglo-American media in the world. London: Constable, 1977.

TUNSTALL, J. Newspaper Power. Oxford:Clarendon Press, 1996.

TURNER, B. The Other European Community: Integration and Co-operation in Nordic Europe. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982.

VALLELY, P. The code of Kelvin: jolly japes and base instincts. The Daily Telegraph, January 22, 1994, page 5.

VALLELY, P. No FT, no job...no confidence? The Independent, 23 April, 1996, PP16.

VAN DIJK, T. (Ed.) Discourse and Communication: New Approaches to the Analysis of Mass Media Discourse and Communication. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1985.

VAN DIJK, T. Discourse Analysis: Its Development and the Application to the Structure of News. Journal of Communication, 33, 2, 1983, 20-43.

VAN DIJK, T. News Analysis: Case Studies of International and National News in the Press. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1988.

VAN DIJK, T. The interdisciplinary study of news as discourse. In BRUHN JENSEN, K., JANKOWSKI, N.W. A Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication Research. London:Routledge, 1991.

VIDMAR, N., ROKEACH, M. Archie Bunker's Bigotry: A Study in Selective Perception and Exposure. Journal of Communication, 24, 1, 1974, 36-47.

VOAKES, P.S. Public Perceptions of Journalists' Ethical Motivations. Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, Vol 74, No. 1, Spring 1997, 23-38.

WAKEHAM (THE LORD). Press Regulation in a Free Society. (Lecture given to the Bristol Society, 28 November, 1996, University of the West of England.)

WAKEHAM (THE LORD). Why media scrum must be tackled. The Sunday Times, 1 December, 1996, News Review, p9.

WALES, M., RARICK, G., DAVIS, H., Message Exaggeration by the Receiver. Journalism Quarterly, 40, 3, 1963, 339-341.

WALLACE, H. (Ed.) The Wider Western Europe: Reshaping the EC/EFTA Relationship. London: Pinter Publishers, 1991.

WAVELL, S. Euro-Czech, The Sunday Times, 13 May, 1990,

WELSH T., GREENWOOD, W. McNae's Essential Law for Journalists, London: Butterworths, 1997.

WESTERGAARD, J. Power, Class and the Media. Mass Communication and Society, Eds. James Curren, Michael Gurevich, Janet Woollacott (1977) (see above).

WHEELER, M. Politics and the Mass Media, Oxford. Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1997.

WHITAKER, B. News Limited: Why you can't read all about it, London: Minority Press Group, 1981.

WILLIAMS, F. The Right to Know: The Rise of the World Press, London: Longmans, 1969.

WILLIAMS, G. Britain's Media - How they are Related. Media Ownership & Democracy, London: The Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom, 1994.

WINTOUR C. The world newspaper has arrived. The Sunday Times, 27 January, 1985, p18.

WIVEL, O. En krise på Information. På Nært Hold Af Information. Copenhagen. A/S Dagbladet Information og Informations Venner, 1993.

WOOLLACOTT, M. Grail or bitter cup? The Guardian, 11 December, 1992, Comment page.

WORRE, T. The Danish Euro-Party System. Scandinavian Political Studies, Vol. 10 - No. 1, 1987, 79-95.

WORRE, T. Denmark at the Crossroads: The Danish Referendum on 28 February 1986 on the EC Reform Package. Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume XXVI, No. 4, 1988, 361-388.

WORRE, T. Danskerne og Europa: Holdningen til det Europæiske Fælleskab gennem 30 år. In: Festskrift til Niels Thomsen: Presse og Historie. Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1990.

WYN REES, G. The Western European Union at the Crossroads: Between Trans-Atlantic Solidarity and European Integration. Oxford: Westview Press, 1998.

ØSTERGAARD, B. (Ed.) The Media in Western Europe: the Euromedia Handbook. (Second Edition) London: Sage Publications, 1997.

ØSTERGAARD, U. Danish Identity: European, Nordic or Peasant? In LYCK, L (Ed). Denmark and EC Membership Evaluated. London: Pinter Publishers, 1992.

APPENDICES

**EU STORIES IN UK NEWSPAPERS DURING THE SAMPLE PERIOD
(14 JANUARY 1997 - 14 FEBRUARY, 1997)**

JANUARY 14

The Sun

p2: 'My fight for referendum' (by Teresa Gorman)

'The Conservatives are on the defensive over this election. We are miles back in the polls and worried about losing votes to the Referendum Party in marginal seats.'

p6: The Sun says... 'Let People have vote on Europe'

'John Major says it is "faruous" to talk of leaving the EU. Michael Heseltine says the idea is "preposterous". We agree it would be a decision with far-reaching, and potentially damaging, implications. But you should never say never.'

Daily Mail

p1. 'Brussels bid to ground BA deal'

'Britain was locked on a new collision course with Brussels last night after Euro chiefs vowed to block British Airways' plans to create the world's biggest airline.'

p10: 'When the question is the big question'

(Referring to the question of a referendum on the EU)

p11 'Britain targeted by Euro-court'

'Britain has suffered the second-highest number of defeats in the European Court of Human Rights, it was revealed yesterday.'

Express

p1: 'Hi-Jacqued'

'Britain was on a collision course with Europe last night after Brussels shot down the world's biggest ever airline merger.'

p10: Comment. 'Rebukes only add fuel to the Euro-sceptics' fire'

'It was real bad hair day for Britain in Europe yesterday. It seems we could do nothing right.'

The Daily Telegraph

p1: 'EC legal threat over BA merger'

'Tory Euro-sceptics claimed last night that Britain was being "kicked around" by Brussels after the Government was threatened with legal action by the European Commission over the merger between British Airways and American Airlines.'

p9: 'Euro code is unobtainable'

'The Government went into battle again with Europe yesterday over plans to harmonise telephone dialling codes.'

p25: 'Brussels threatens to fight BA alliance'

'Britain was yesterday threatened with legal action by the European Commission in Brussels over the contentious British Airways and American Airlines alliance.'

The Times

p14: 'Spaniard's promotion deal angers some MEPs'

'Barring an upset, a Spanish conservative from an illustrious family will be picked as President of the European Parliament today in a cosy deal with German parties that has stirred revolt among MEPs from smaller states and political groups.'

p20. 'Europe's Eastern sceptics'...'Anatole Kaletsky says integration has failed before...'

p27. 'European opposition to BA link intensifies'

'British Airways insisted that its proposed alliance with American Airlines was on track yesterday, despite signs of growing opposition from the European Commission.'

The Guardian

p4 'Outcry as EC opposes deal by BA'

'The Government was heading for a new showdown with Brussels last night when the European commission threatened to take ministers to court over plans by British Airways to form a transatlantic alliance with the US carrier American Airlines.'

p15 'Twists and turns in EU aerospace'

'The embryonic realignment underway within Europe's aerospace and defence has taken an intriguing turn.'

The Independent

p8 'Paris and Bonn hail Major, their flexible friend'

'John Major's latest ideas for a "flexible" Europe, allowing countries to pool powers at different speeds, are being cautiously welcomed in Paris and Bonn, as the possible key to a new treaty deal.'

p14 'Brussels warns of legal action over BA alliance'

'A simmering row between the Government and the European Commission over the UK's moves to approve British Airways' proposed alliance with American Airlines exploded yesterday when it emerged that the EC has threatened Britain with legal action unless it imposes much stricter conditions on the two carriers.'

p15 Comment 'The long arm and big nose of Mr Van Miert'

'There are, it seems, very few things in this world beyond the reach of Karel van Miert, the European Competition Commissioner '

p15 'Europe set for £32bn of state sell-offs'

'European governments will sell a record \$53bn (£32bn) of state assets in 1997 compared with \$43bn last year *as they rush to reduce debt interest payments to improve their chances of qualifying for monetary union*, according to a report by JP Morgan Securities.'

JANUARY 15

The Sun

p6 The Sun says... 'It's hot air'

'British Airways is hugely successful. And, unlike many European airlines, it doesn't cost taxpayers a penny. That's why the socialists at the European Commission don't like it.'

The Daily Mirror

p6 'Fury at air merger bid'

'Virgin boss Richard Branson and consumer champions yesterday backed European Union moves to block a huge airlines merger.'

p11: 'Brewery in storm over EC jibe ad'

'Britain's top brewer will be blasted today for ridiculing Euro chiefs in a beer advert.'

p11: 'Euro revolt splits Tories'

'Almost half of John Major's top ministers are in open revolt over Europe.'

The Daily Mail

p8: Comment: 'These insufferable lame duck keepers'

'Profitable and privatised, British Airways is a soaraway success of which this country can be proud. What a contrast to most European airlines which jangle the collecting tin while they fly the flag '

p10 'Why Britain threatens the cosy cartels of Europe' (by Lord Bethell, former MEP) ..'As row grows over EU's attempt to block deal, airline and ministers unite against meddlers'

p11 'The Brussels bullies won't ground our jumbo merger'

'Relations between Britain and Brussels plunged to a new low last night over EU attempts to block the merger of British Airways and American Airlines.'

p31 'A Brussels brew-ha-ha over beer advert joke'

'A beer joke by a British brewing giant fell flat with Brussels bureaucrats '

Express

p10: Comment: 'Fasten your seatbelts for a bumpy flight over EU issue'

'Should the European Union Commission in Brussels be able to block a British airline's deal with an American competitor once the British Government has given its okay? Of course it shouldn't.. '

p61. 'Europe right to give BA a bumpy ride'

'Barely a day goes by without a fresh controversy over British Airways' proposed alliance with American Airlines.'

The Daily Telegraph

p4 'Lang to defy Brussels threat over BA deal' by Roland Gribben

'The Government and British Airways last night served notice that they were ready to defy attempts by Brussels to block a planned alliance between BA and American Airlines '

p19. Comment: 'A second CAP?'

'It is impossible to keep politics out of airlines...'

Business News

p24: 'KLM faces Euro fine over pact'

'KLM, the Dutch national airline, was yesterday facing the threat of fines from the European Commission for failing to move fast enough in providing details of its link-up with North-west Airlines '

The Times

p1: 'Brussels threat to BA rejected'

'The Government yesterday angrily rejected an attempt by Brussels to block British Airways' attempt to create the world's biggest airline.'

p2: 'Hogg sparks fresh row by dismissing EU legal threat'

'A further confrontation between the Government and the European Union was triggered yesterday by Douglas Hogg, the Agriculture Minister, when he dismissed the threat of legal action over his refusal to give evidence to a European Parliament inquiry into BSE.'

p29: 'EMU: looking for hidden agendas' Anthony Harris column

(Discusses whether EMU will happen on time etc)

Business

p25. 'BA confident of American link-up'

'Bob Ayling, chief executive of British Airways, yesterday insisted the planned alliance with American Airlines would go ahead, in spite of a deepening rift between London and Brussels.'

The Guardian

p8 'Hogg derides threats by MEPs to take him to court'

'The Government yesterday tried to shrug off threats from the European Parliament to take Douglas Hogg, the Agriculture Secretary, to court in the wake of a report strongly condemning ministers for their handling of the BSE crisis '

p11 'Paris warns Bonn on EU bank pledge'

'The simmering conflict between France and Germany about the role and powers of the planned European central bank in Frankfurt grew more heated yesterday after a senior French official claimed Bonn was reconsidering a secret pledge to make a Frenchman its first head.'

p16 'Brussels attacks BA chief's "lie" as row escalates'

'The Government's row with Brussels over the planned alliance between British Airways and American Airlines escalated yesterday with the EU competition commissioner branding BA's chief executive, Robert Ayling, a liar '

The Independent

p2 'Ministers angry after being accused of fuelling beef crisis'

'The European Parliament yesterday enraged both the British government and the European Commission when it published a draft report attacking both for fuelling the beef crisis.'

p16 'DTI challenges Brussels on BA'

'The rift between the UK and Brussels over British Airways' proposed alliance with American Airlines deepened yesterday after the Department of Trade and Industry insisted it had the final say over approving the tie-up.'

JANUARY 16

The Sun

p6 The Sun says... 'Looking up'

'The number claiming the dole goes down again. The 45,000 drop means our unemployment is almost half that of Germany Thank goodness we don't have the social chapter.'

p6 'EU chief in snub to PM'

'EC President Jacques Santer snubbed John Major last night by pressing for a Euro superstate - and fast.'

The Daily Mail

p2. 'Britain tried to blackmail me on BSE says Santer'

'John Major was accused of blackmail by EU President Jacques Santer yesterday. He claimed he had been

threatened and browbeaten by the Prime Minister in the early days of the crisis over mad cow disease '

p2: 'Delors tipped for top of Euro-bank'

'Jacques Delors has been tipped to become the first president of the new European Central Bank.'

p27: 'Not a lot of plain talk as Kinnock talks planes'

'Neil Kinnock yesterday defended Brussels meddling in the proposed merger of British Airways and American Airlines - by letting his celebrated verbosity take wing.'

The Times

p2: 'Minister reopens debate on Europe'

'The Tory ceasefire on Europe was broken last night when a pro-European minister rounded on his Eurosceptic colleagues for suggesting that Britain should renegotiate its relationship with Brussels '

Business News

p24: 'Germany's deficit bodes ill for EMU'

'Germany's efforts to qualify for European monetary union suffered a serious set-back yesterday The latest budget figures reveal that Bonn has overshoot one of the Maastricht convergence criteria by almost 25 per cent '

p24: 'EU bank safeguards "too low"'

'The Government has expressed concern that a European directive to make cross-border credit transfers cheaper, quicker and more reliable, does not provide enough compensation for customers when the transfers do not arrive on time.'

The Guardian

p11: '"Flexibility" the key to Britain's relaxing EU veto'

'The Government is prepared to relax its opposition to any weakening of its veto in the EU in an attempt to reach an agreement on a new EU treaty this year, according to British sources here (in Strasbourg) '

The Independent

p1: 'Now Britain faces single European tax system' (exclusive tag)

'Plans to create a single European system for tax and social security are being privately prepared in Brussels by a powerful alliance of countries including France and Germany '

p11: 'EU fleshes out how "flexibility" would work'

'Two confidential European Union reports show that Britain's partners have ambitions to integrate policies in areas as far-reaching as taxation, social security, policing and immigration.'

p19: 'British Airways becomes a campaign issue'

...'But the row should not be about Europe - the real themes are large but domestic.'

p21: 'Germany "may not cut deficit in time for single currency"'

'A former Bundesbank chief warned yesterday that the German government would have difficulty cutting its budget deficit by enough to meet the target for the single European currency.'

JANUARY 17

The Sun

p2: 'Tory fury at Euro plot to grab our tax'

'Tory anger exploded last night over a secret Brussels plot for Europe to decide Britain's tax levels.'

p6: 'They want your taxes to built EU super state'

'The cat is out of the bag as European Union officials now admit they are drawing up plans for a single tax system.'

p6: The Sun says... 'Single threat to our nation'

'What's the BIG issue going to be in the election...Europe of the economy? The answer is BOTH because Europe IS the economy.'

p13: 'Just who are EU to order Britain about?' Norman Tebbit column

'A member of the European Parliament tells us that our Minister of Agriculture should be punished. What was his crime? Well, he didn't obey orders to go to a Euro Parliament committee.'

The Daily Mail

p11 'Major calms fears on secret EU tax'

'John Major was trying last night to reassure Tory MPs angered by claims that Brussels is secretly planning a single European tax and welfare system.'

p8 Comment: 'A threat to Britain's national identity'

'So the worst fears of the sceptics are proving true. Despite the denials, France and Germany are clearly contemplating a gigantic new step towards a European superstate, with long-term plans for a single system covering tax and social security. And our own Government, it seems, is the last to know.'

p59 'Red Tape Alert by Christopher Brooker and Richard North

'Brussels is behind tax takeover'

'The row over plans to impose VAT on food is the most startling example yet of how our politicians are concealing the Brussels stranglehold on British politics.'

Express

p10: Comment. 'We can no longer gloss over the great Euro gulf'

'The only surprising thing about the plans to create a single tax and social system in Europe - revealed in Brussels yesterday - is that people in Britain still find such "revelations" surprising.'

p27 'In other words, the old Welsh Windbag's back'

'The voice of Neil Kinnock droned over Britain yesterday as a row over airline mergers dramatically deepened.'

Daily Telegraph

p10: 'Brussels confirms study of plans for unified tax'

'Controversial plans to allow harmonisation of tax and social security policies in countries that join Europe's single currency are being studied in Brussels, the EC confirmed yesterday.'

p23 Comment. 'Single currency, single taxation'

'Be grateful to our European partners. With a candour rarely demonstrated by the British Government, they have repeatedly provided clarification of what European monetary union would really entail.'

Business News

p27 'Major faces EU wrath over link-up by airlines'

'The stakes were raised yesterday in the battle between London and Brussels over the planned British Airways and American Airlines alliance when the Prime Minister was on the receiving end of a dressing down from the European Commission'

p29 'Lorrho head for Euro row'

'Lorrho is hoping to buy Gencor's stake in its platinum subsidiary in a move which will heighten the European Commission's concern at the 28pc stake in the British mining group bought by Anglo American, another

platinum company.'

The Times

p12: 'Brussels lines up against Britain on multispeed Union'

'The European Commission yesterday added its weight to a drive led by France and Germany for a future multispeed Union in which groups of countries could pursue deeper integration even if other states objected.'

p12: 'Germans tip Delors to head bank'

'Jacques Delors, bogey man of British Eurosceptics, was yesterday tipped in the German press to be the first president of the European central bank.'

The Guardian

p14: 'Anti-EU party paper off to 1960 scoop'

'Sir James Goldsmith yesterday set the presses rolling on a 24 million-copy run of a Referendum Party newspaper he intends to deliver to every home in the country.'

p14: 'Rebel Labour MEP scores in fight against privatisation'

'Hugh Kerr, the dissident left-wing member of the European Parliament who was publicly threatened with disciplinary measures by the Labour Party last month for criticising Tony Blair, yesterday struck a blow against the Conservative government's privatisation strategy.'

p22: 'Euro-sceptics cheer BA row'

'John Major tried to appease Euro-sceptic sentiment on his back benches yesterday when he insisted that the Government and not Brussels would decide whether BA should be allowed to go ahead with its planned alliance with American Airlines.'

The Independent

p1: 'EU confirms common tax plan'

'The EC yesterday confirmed that, after monetary union, European member states may move towards a Europe-wide economic policy - which could include a common tax regime across the EU'

p15: Comment: 'Taming the Franco-German Behemoth'

'They lied through their teeth. So says Sir James Goldsmith, whose confused propaganda is about to flood the country.'

P17: 'Jobless in Leipzig, taxed in Liverpool' (feature by John Redwood)

'Let's have an end to fairy stories. Share a currency with other countries, and you share their tax burden, too'

p19: 'Siemens chief laments "UK Europhobia"'

'The head of UK operations for Siemens, the German electrical engineering giant, yesterday made one of the strongest attacks yet from the business community on the Government's increasing hostility towards joining the single European currency.'

JANUARY 18

The Sun

p2: 'Clarke: I know Euro is a no-no (But I still won't say so in public)'

'Chancellor Ken Clarke has admitted there is "not a cat in hell's chance" of Britain signing up to the Euro in 1999. But he is refusing to say so in public - even though he knows he will be blamed if the Tories lose the

election.'

p6: 'Why Britain will never join in the Euro fiasco' (by Lord Desai)

'Tony Blair and John Major both know that, whoever wins the election, they will never persuade the British people to join a single European currency.'

p6: The Sun says... 'Stubborn Ken'

'What on earth does Ken Clarke think he's playing at? In private he admits there isn't "a cat in hell's chance" of Britain scrapping the Pound in 1999. But he won't say so publicly.'

p23: 'Daffy Euro flower rule goes to pot'

'A barmy Brussels plan making it difficult for lovers to send flowers over the phone was nipped in the bud yesterday.'

Daily Telegraph

p1 'Brussels to fight election attacks'

'Officials working for the European Commission in London have been authorised by Brussels to put the case for Europe during the general election campaign.'

The Times

Business

p28 'EU jobless rate steady' in Business Roundup

The Guardian

p5 'Strasbourg bar to deportation'

'An attempt by the Home Secretary, Michael Howard, to deport a convicted heroin dealer has been thwarted by the European Commission of Human Rights in Strasbourg, which has agreed to hear the man's claim that he risks torture if returned to Iran.'

p10- 'Brittan warns on "rival Euro scepticisms"'

'Both Labour and the Conservatives should avoid turning the coming election into "a Dutch auction between competing Euro-scepticisms", the former Tory cabinet minister and EU Commissioner, Sir Leon Brittan, warned yesterday '

p20- Comment 'Sovereignty is as you make it'

'We have known for sometime that this is going to be a very taxing election campaign in every sense of the word. *But it is already descending into farce before it is even seriously underway.*'

p22. 'Happy to take a back seat'...'Domestic politics hold no allure for Eurocrat Neil Kinnock'

p22. Euro Eye column. 'Pin you hopes on the favourites in monetary union grand national'

The Independent

p2. 'Brittan warns Tories to lay off Europe'

'The Conservatives were yesterday given a highly charged warning to lay off Europe as an election issue by Sir Leon Brittan, vice-president of the European Commission.'

JANUARY 20

The Sun

p2: 'Come clean Kohl!'

'Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind accused Germany yesterday of trying to conceal its plans for a European superstate.'

The Daily Mail

p13: 'Brussels "will sue" over BA merger'

'Eurocrats have stepped up their plans to shoot down the proposed merger of British Airways and American Airways. They have threatened to seek an injunction in the European Court of Justice if the Government gives it the expected all-clear.'

Express

p2: 'Rifkind throws down the Euro gauntlet to Kohl'

'Britain last night threw down an extraordinary challenge to Germany in the battle over the future of Europe '

The Daily Telegraph

p2: 'Rifkind challenge to Kohl on EU future'

'Malcolm Rifkind, the foreign secretary, yesterday challenged Chancellor Kohl of Germany and other European leaders to spell out the limits they would place on EU integration.'

p18: 'Goldsmith's dirty tricks' (by Sir Edward Heath)

Intro: 'Sir Edward Heath, who took Britain into Europe, answers the Referendum Party charge that he lied to the electorate about the loss of sovereignty that membership would involve'

Business news

p23: 'European rules "stifle biotech"'

'European Union regulations are stifling development of biotechnology throughout Europe and making it easier for American companies to improve their competitive advantage, claims an American study published today '

p23: 'Government welcome for EU move on cash transfer'

'European Union legislation to protect bank customers when sending money abroad was broadly welcomed by the British Government yesterday.'

p23: 'Commissioner on sticky wicket at Lords' (Personal view by Graham Mather, President, European Policy Forum)

First sentence: 'Later this week Europe's Social Affairs Commissioner, Pdraig Flynn, is due to give evidence to a House of Lord's European Committee on structural funds. It will be a timely moment for peers to ask the commissioner about some of the social spending nightmares which have occurred within his bailiwick.'

The Times

p2: 'Rifkind tells Kohl to spell out EU limits'

'Malcolm Rifkind yesterday challenged Helmut Kohl, the German Chancellor, to spell out the limits he would place on moves towards a European superstate.'

Independent

p5: 'Cyberspace - final frontier for EU taxman'

'A revolutionary new "information tax" on television, faxes and use of the Internet is being examined by the European Union.'

JANUARY 21

The Sun

p4 'Big Euro brush-off for Major'

'Euro allies Germany and France warned last night they will not let Britain block plans for a European superstate'

Daily Mail

p2 'Right rebuffs Heseltine on unity plea'

'Right wing Tories issued an embarrassing rebuff to Michael Heseltine last night, rejecting his plea to toe the Cabinet line over Europe.'

Express

p9 'Britain facing Euro gang of two'

'France and Germany yesterday joined forces against Britain in demanding an end to the right of any single country to veto plans for the future of Europe.'

The Daily Telegraph

p11 'Major's vision of EU rejected'

France and Germany yesterday rejected John Major's proposals for a multi-speed Europe in which Britain could veto its partners' plans for faster and deeper integration.'

Business news

p22 'Single currency call draws Directors' fire'

'Radical policy initiatives ranging from a national minimum wage to the creation of a new City pressure group to target underperforming companies are proposed in a report published today by a business group.'

The Times

p2. 'Heseltine fails to halt euro rebellion'

'Michael Heseltine appealed in vain last night to a crowded private meeting of Tory right-wingers not to reject a single European currency in their personal election manifestos.'

p12 'Show of power by Paris-Bonn axis outflanks Britain'

'Germany and France yesterday brushed off Britain's conditions for a multispeed Europe in a show of force that underlined the gulf that divides London from the big EU powers in the drive to revamp the Maastricht treaty'

p18 'Clarke could lose it'...'Drop the single currency says Woodrow Wyatt.
(Talks about how the EU will/should figure in the election debate.)

The Guardian

p4 'Business chiefs call for EMU and social chapter'

'Leading City and industrial executives will today undermine key planks of the Government's election strategy

as they unveil a report calling for a minimum wage and membership of the European Union social chapter.'

p11: 'Britain stymies EU co-operation deal'

'The British Government yesterday deflated hopes of an agreement allowing greater co-operation between groups of European Union countries by firmly insisting on its rights to veto changes to the existing rules.'

Finance

p17: 'Pound returns to ERM level'

'Fierce policy debate between the Treasury and the Bank of England over the strength of the pound intensified last night as sterling's rally took it back towards its old bands within the European exchange rate mechanism.'

The Independent

p8: 'Europe urges Annan to reform the UN'

'The European Union is to urge the new Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, to take swift and aggressive steps to overhaul the organisation's sprawling web of departments, agencies and specialised funds, if necessary merging some with each other and eliminating others altogether.'

p9: 'Britain slams EU fast-track strategy'

'The Government must maintain the right to veto any attempt by other countries to build a "flexible" multispeed Europe, Britain told its European partners yesterday.'

JANUARY 22

The Sun

p2: 'MPs rap Euro "cowards" for ducking vote'

'Euro rebels accused fellow Tories of cowardice last night for ducking a referendum vote that would have shown party splits.'

The Mirror

p6: Leader: 'A barmy Bill'

(About Teresa Gorman and her EU referendum Bill)

Daily Mail

p6: 'An identity crisis'

'Plans to impose a Europe-wide bank and identity card triggered fury from Right wingers and civil liberties groups last night.'

Express

p5: 'Clarke routs rebels on Euro cash'

'Chancellor Kenneth Clarke is poised for victory in the titanic struggle over a European single currency '

The Daily Telegraph

p1: 'Rifkind backs Clarke on EMU'

'A heavyweight Cabinet alliance of Kenneth Clarke, Michael Heseltine and Malcolm Rifkind yesterday appeared to have succeeded in blocking Euro-sceptic demands for a change to the Government's "wait and see" policy on joining a European single currency.'

The Times

p2: 'Redwood condemns calls for European smartcard'

'There was a marked lack of enthusiasm in Britain last night for the proposed introduction of a European smartcard that would act as an identify document, driving licence and electronic purse.'

p5: 'EU helps Scots lift kilt-making skills'

'A scheme to teach Scots how to make kilts, a garment many would argue was originally designed by an Englishman, is being funded by the European Union.'

p9: 'Parties collude to thwart Gorman'

'The Tory Euro-sceptic Teresa Gorman scored a hollow victory yesterday when MPs allowed through her EU referendum Bill without a vote.'

p13. 'Bonn and Prague heal 50-year rift'

'Germany and the Czech Republic yesterday made an important step towards ending 50 years of friction over the postwar expulsion of Sudeten Germans.'

'Helmut Kohl, the German Chancellor, and Vaclav Klaus, the Czech Prime Minister, signed an accord expressing mutual regret. There seems now no real hindrance to Germany asserting its role as the champion of Central Europe within an expanded European Union.'

p16 'A Cabinet seat for Europe'

(Feature wondering if there will be a Department of Europe in the next Government)

p17 Comment: 'Germany looks East'

(About Germany's relations with Eastern Europe with reference to the accession of Eastern European countries to the EU)

The Guardian

p2 'Chirping chimp loses its bill Sketch by Simon Hoggart

'The greatest issue before our Parliament is Europe, and the nation's future within the EU.' (Comment on Gorman Bill)

p8 'French MPs attack beef "deception"'

'Britain was accused of deception, procrastination and blackmail yesterday by a French parliamentary commission investigating the BSE scandal.'

p8 'Parties block Europe vote'

'Both the Government and Labour shied away yesterday from a potentially embarrassing vote on Europe, when a procedural device was employed to avoid a Commons division on Tory Euro-sceptic Teresa Gorman's bill calling for a referendum on Britain's links with the European Union.'

p8 'Tory MEPs in bitter war of words with leader'

'Warfare has erupted among Conservative Euro-MPs in Brussels with mutual accusations of bad faith circulating amid attempts to unseat group leader Tom Spencer.'

The Independent

p6 'Swineherd and wench do battle over Europe' column by David Aaronovitch
(Parliamentary Sketch on Gorman's Referendum Bill)

p8 Big feature marking 25th anniversary of signing up to Common Market. Heading 'Twenty-five years of the European dream that have changed the face of Britain'

p9 'Italian farmers go sour on Europe'

'After living a fairy-tale life of subsidies and cosy government protection for the past 15 years, Italy's dairy farmers have suddenly come face-to-face with the reality of European integration - and they don't like it one bit.'

JANUARY 23

The Sun

4: 'Referen-duff party going up the polls'

'Referendum party leader Sir James Goldsmith suffered a humiliating blow yesterday as leaked opinion polls showed almost no-one supports him.'

Daily Express

City

p65: 'UK takes on EU over BA deal'

'The gloves came off yesterday in the row between Britain and Brussels over who has the final say on British Airways £18billion deal with American Airlines.'

The Daily Telegraph

p11: 'Burns night haggis hit by beef ban in Europe'

'Exiled Scotsmen in Europe may have to celebrate Burns Night without the traditional haggis because of the European ban on British beef.'

p15: 'Scourge of British fishermen to head food safety agency'

(Profile of Italian, Emma Bonino, 'hand-picked by Jacques Santer for a daunting EU task')

p29: 'EMU could hit insurance industry for up to £1bn'

'Economic and monetary union (EMU) could cost insurance companies £1 billion over the three-year transition period if Britain joins, and up to £200m even if Britain remains outside the single currency, the industry warned yesterday.'

p31: 'Euro go-ahead for cola plant tie-up'

'The European Commission yesterday gave the green light for Coca-Cola Enterprises, the world's largest bottler of Coke, to buy out Cadbury Schweppes' 51pc stake in UK bottler Coca-Cola Schweppes Beverages '

The Times

p1: 'Riskind takes vision of EU to the people'

'Malcolm Riskind will today seek to take the debate about the future of the European Union to the people of Europe over the heads of the politicians.'

p4: 'EU puts damper on Burns night'

'Hundreds of Scottish ex-patriots planning Burns suppers on Saturday will be disappointed when their supply of haggis fails to materialise '

p18: 'The peoples of Europe must speak' (by Malcolm Riskind)

'It is time to take the debate on Europe to Europe, and I intend to do so over the next few weeks '

Business News

p24: 'Toyota jobs depend on Euro-sceptics stance'

'Toyota could build a new car in Britain but warned Euro-sceptics not to upset investment plans that would mean hundreds of new jobs by pushing Britain out of the European Union.'

p24: 'Chancellor opposes EU "tax on banks"' Business Roundup

The Guardian

p3: 'James and a not so peachy poll'

'Sir James Goldsmith's bid to hijack the election campaign for the anti-European cause suffered a fresh setback yesterday when his Referendum Party was accused of trying to nobble an opinion pollster to hide its minuscule level of public support.'

p12: 'EU welcomes its language barriers'

'The spread of English as Europe's lingua franca and the revival of more than 40 minority languages, some of which were close to extinction, are transforming the European Union's linguistic environment, a new report says'

p19. 'Britain has EU's most miserly subsidies'

'British manufacturers received fewer state subsidies per worker than any of their counterparts in other EU countries, competition commissioner Karel van Miert declared yesterday.'

p19 'Brussels clears Coke bottling buy but harbours competition doubts'

The Independent

p6 'Major backs Clarke in Euro showdown'

'Kenneth Clarke, the Chancellor, today will face a showdown with the Euro-sceptics in the Cabinet over the European single currency, with the backing of John Major, Michael Heseltine and Malcolm Rifkind.'

JANUARY 24

The Sun

p2 'Vote Tory to save the £'

John Major yesterday won his cabinet battle with Chancellor Ken Clarke and effectively ruled OUT joining a single currency in the next Parliament.'

p2. (Exclusive) '"Rebels to back Labour"'

Rebel Tory MPs are plotting to quit the Conservatives and back a Labour government over Europe, it emerged last night.'

p6 The Sun says . 'Pound saver'

'At last the penny has dropped on saving the pound.'

Mirror

p9 'PM fights to death on Europe'

'John Major's new policy on the single currency is not driven by Britain's interests in Europe, but by Tory interests in the election.'

Daily Mail

p1 (Exclusive) 'Left wing Tories in threat to break away'

'A group of up to 40 pro-European Tory MPs is secretly plotting to split from the party if John Major loses the election and Michael Portillo succeeds him.'

p2 'Major routs Clarke on single currency'

'Kenneth Clarke was yesterday forced into a retreat on the single currency as his Cabinet colleagues ruled out British membership of monetary union in 1999.'

p8: Comment: 'The empty rhetoric of Malcolm Rifkind'

'So now we have the demeaning spectacle of Her Majesty's Foreign Secretary trailing round the podiums of Europe in the vain hope of rousing the local populations against the federalising ambitions of Paris, Bonn and Brussels.'

p10: Andrew Alexander col. 'The big issue that's a winner' (about EMU)

The Express

p1: 'A last throw of the dice' ... 'Premier rules out the Euro currency in big election gamble'

'John Major took a huge pre-election gamble yesterday by coming out against a single currency.'

p4&5: 'Shrewd taming of Mr Clarke' ... 'How Major used all his cunning to make Chancellor toe the Euro-line before historic Cabinet meeting.'

'Only a handful of people knew they were on the brink of political history as they filed into the Cabinet meeting that ditched the single currency.'

p10: Comment: 'The PM's subtle but wise move on single currency'

'It is with painful, indeed exasperating slowness, that the Government is edging towards the correct policy on the single currency.'

Daily Telegraph

p1: 'Britain "very unlikely" to join EMU'

'John Major and the Cabinet yesterday came as close as possible to ruling out joining a European single currency in 1999 if the Tories won the general election.'

p2 'Tories in talks to halt single currency'

'Ten top Tory MPs are planning to attend a meeting in Paris today with other European politicians to draw up a joint strategy to stop the single currency being introduced in its current form.'

p25: Comment: 'Now rule out entry'

'Officially the Government's "wait-and-see" policy on the single currency survived yesterday's Cabinet intact. Outside the meeting, however, it soon became clear that the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary and, perhaps most importantly of all, the Chancellor, had accepted a significant hardening of the Conservatives' position'

The Times

p1: 'Major rules out joining EMU in 1999'

'John Major yesterday effectively ruled out British membership of a single European currency in 1999 with a hardened Cabinet line intended to unite the Tories in the run-up to the election.'

p2: 'Brittan calls on Major to sign up for EMU now'

'Britain should sign up immediately for European monetary union because it offers a wealth of benefits, not least by locking all governments into sound Conservative economics, Sir Leon Brittan, Vice-President of the European Commission, said yesterday.'

p12: 'Clarke's EMU option is all but dead and buried'

'Kenneth Clarke was last night holding on just by his finger tips to his wait and-see policy on a single currency'

p14: 'Ageing Germans seek referendum in anti-euro fight'

(about Germans who don't want the DM dropped)

p14: 'Rifkind argues for a nation state'

'The nation state has served Britain well as a protector of its freedom, Malcolm Rifkind, the Foreign Secretary, said yesterday.'

p22: 'A word in your ear, Mr Clarke'

(about Europe and single currency)

p23: Comment: 'Ruling out'

(Leader on EMU and the social chapter - and on where the Conservatives and Labour stand on each.)

p23 Comment: 'Rifkind's soapbox' 'A voter-friendly British message for jobless Europe'

'At first sight, Malcolm Rifkind's judgement that it is time for Britain "to take the debate on Europe to Europe" may seem little short of bizarre.'

The Guardian

p20 Comment: 'Europe: an apology'... 'Mr Rifkind in the land of fantasy politics'

(about Rifkind taking the debate on Europe, to Europe)

The Independent

p1. 'Major winks at the Tory Euro-sceptics'

'John Major sent a clear signal to the Tory Euro-sceptic rebels that it was "very unlikely" Britain would join a European single currency in the first wave, even though the Cabinet agreed to make no change in its policy on Europe before the election.'

p2. 'Hindley to reject EU appeal on freedom ruling'

'While the moors murderer Myra Hindley waited to learn her fate yesterday, her lawyer denied they would turn to the European Court of Human Rights if, as expected, Michael Howard decides that she will never be freed.'

p14 'Rifkind set to explain EU to the ordinary European'

'In an effort to reassert Britain's influence in the European Union, the Foreign Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, is planning a series of speeches in continental capitals to defend the Government's resistance to closer European integration.'

p14 'Cardiff wins race to host summit'

'Cardiff has seen off a rival bid by Glasgow to emerge as host city for the European heads-of-government summit marking Britain's EU presidency in June 1998.'

Business and City

p20 'British banks warn over EU capital rules'

'British bankers warned yesterday that European banks could suffer a serious competitive disadvantage against banks from other parts of the world, because regulators will require them to set aside more capital as a safety net against losses'

JANUARY 25

The Sun

p2 'EU blasts Major for Euro jibe'

'EU chiefs last night rubbished John Major's claims that the single currency won't be launched in 1999.'

The Express

p2 'Brittan piles scorn on Tory Euro deal'... 'EU Commissioner re-opens single currency wounds'

'John Major's attempt to heal Tory wounds over Europe by ruling out a single currency ran into immediate trouble yesterday.'

Daily Telegraph

p1: 'Britain to face court on audits'

'Britain is to be taken to the European Court of Justice because the Government failed to give accountants from other EU countries the chance to audit the books of councils in England and Wales.'

p2: "'Single currency to start on time"'

'Brussels hit back last night at the Cabinet's new hard line on Europe, warning that a single currency will go ahead within two years despite British doubts.'

Business News

B6: 'Brussels to probe Esso on price war'

'Britain's petrol price war will come under scrutiny in Brussels following a decision by the European Commission to investigate allegations that Esso is behaving anti-competitively.'

The Times

p2: 'EMU will hit 1999 target says Brussels'

'Brussels yesterday contradicted John Major's prediction that the European Union would be unlikely to proceed safely with a single currency in 1999.'

The Guardian

p6: 'Single currency "on schedule"'

'John Major's tough new stance on the European single currency was challenged yesterday by the EU commissioner in charge of the project, who said he had no doubt that the currency would be introduced in 1999.'

Independent

p3: 'Tory moderates pour scorn on breakaway party claim'

'Revised reports that up to 40 Conservative MPs are plotting to break away, form a new party, and back a Blair government on Europe, were roundly repudiated last night.'

JANUARY 27

The Sun

p6: The Sun says... 'Cuckoo Ken'

'It was good while it lasted. Just 48 hours after the Prime Minister signalled an ever-so-slightly more sceptical Cabinet stance on Europe, blundering Chancellor Kenneth Clarke reopens all the old wounds '

p6: 'PM's new euro snub to Clarke'

'Prime Minister John Major clashed with Chancellor Ken Clarke yesterday and warned him Britain may NEVER axe the pound.'

Daily Mail

p13: 'Clarke's Euro lurch out of the Major line'

'Kenneth Clarke contradicted John Major's tougher stance on the single European currency yesterday.'

p13: 'Brussels is accused on rights for workers'

'Brussels is forever preaching to Britain about workers' rights. But now Euro MPs are investigating claims that the EU Commission itself has been violating basic employment standards by recruiting an army of labour on the cheap.'

p23: 'Tails we lose on new Euro coins'

'The Queen's head will feature on one side of Euro coins if Britain joins the single currency. The reverse is likely to feature "founding fathers of the European Union".'

p28. 'Use two bins...a rubbish tip from the Eurocrats'

'Brussels is talking rubbish - the kind which goes into bins. Eurocrats want Britain's 23 million households to have two dustbins.'

The Express

p4 'Here's another rubbish idea from Europe'

'Brussels could this week order every British household to separate its rubbish in a recycling revolution.'

p9 'What Major fears Euro currency would force him to say...Interest rates are up but it's nothing to do with me, Guv'

'John Major yesterday toughened his opposition to scrapping the pound by warning that Britain may never join a European single currency.'

Daily Telegraph

p1 'Major states resistance to EU single currency plan'

'John Major has outlined his opposition to the single currency in principle for the first time in a further toughening of the Government's position on Europe.'

p1 'Hands fail to measure up to Euro rules on horses'

'The hand, used since Roman times as the measurement of horses, has been officially scrapped in Britain.'

p11 (Euro debate)

Britain is the nation that plays by the rules'

'Which of the European Union's big five member states is the best at implementing rules and regulations made in Brussels? Not France, nor Spain nor Italy. And certainly not Germany. Step forward, Britain.'

p11 'Queen heading for Euro coins clash'

'The Queen's head could appear on new Euro coins with the images of "founding fathers of the Union" on the reverse side if Britain joined the single currency, it was disclosed yesterday.'

p19 Comment. 'The Watford gaps'

'Tristan Garel-Jones, the retiring Conservative MP for Watford, has published a newspaper article urging the leadership of the two main political parties to work together over Europe.'

p29 'Euro currency clock ticking' (in Business Monitor)

'When will the euro be introduced, is one of the questions in a briefing paper from legal firm Lovell White Durrant '

The Times

p2 'Major admits he has deep doubts on single currency'

'John Major has signalled for the first time that he may be opposed in principle to a European single currency.'

p22 'Renegotiation means out'... 'Peter Riddell says the cracks can't be papered over, so we need a referendum about Europe.'

The Guardian

p1: 'Major vetoes racism fight'

'John Major's pre-election campaign to present himself as a champion of Britain's ethnic minorities will be seriously undermined this week by the Government's veto of a plan to establish a EU centre to monitor racism and xenophobia throughout the union.'

p16: 'Let's embrace the German Behemoth'(Debate by Andrew Hilton)

'Despite its name, economic and monetary union is primarily about politics - and specifically about the role of Germany in Europe.'

JANUARY 28

The Sun

p2: '£5bn going to waste on Euro trash'

'EU chiefs want to spend £5.6billion getting Britons to separate food scraps from other rubbish and put them in Euro bins.'

Daily Mail

p11: 'Brussels sets out tax battleground'

'Moves to harmonise taxes in Europe have again raised the spectre of a British Chancellor losing control of taxation policy.'

Daily Telegraph

p11: 'Brussels to promote euro on TV'

'European television companies are to be offered cash incentives by Brussels to help to promote increasingly unpopular plans for a single European currency.'

The Times

p13: 'Gibraltar chief's visit to Brussels infuriates Spain'

'Amid howls of protest in the Spanish press and a backroom campaign by the Madrid Government to wreck his trip, Peter Caruana, the Chief Minister of Gibraltar yesterday began a three-day visit to Brussels for talks with the European Commission.'

p13: 'EU seeks end to tax havens'

'France and Germany yesterday called for European Union rules to stop governments from "tax poaching" companies and individuals through low tax rates, such as in the Channel Islands '

p14: 'Caribbean bananas face EU export blow'

'The Caribbean is preparing for huge job losses in the banana industry and an upsurge in drug trafficking if the region loses its traditional export markets in the European Union.'

The Guardian

p14: Comment: 'Racism must be tackled' '...John Major should prove his Euro-credentials'

p14: Comment: 'The easy way to be a Europhile'...'But if handouts are so powerful why is Germany so keen?'

Guardian 2: p4 and 5: 'Winning the race' 'On the day the European Year Against Racism is launched, Angela Neustatter charts black women's progress...'

JANUARY 29

The Sun

p2: 'Britain in dock over 48hr week'

'Britain was threatened last night with European court action for not adopting a 48-hour working week.'

Daily Telegraph

p4: 'Gibraltar urges EC to fine Spain'

'Gibraltar urged the European Commission to consider legal action against Spain yesterday for preventing the Rock's 27,000 inhabitants from exercising their rights as EU members.'

The Times

p26 'Minister says fall in jobless will clear Germany for EMU'

'Gunter Rexrodt, the German Economics Minister, predicted that the record unemployment that led the Government to raise its 1997 deficit forecast will ease in the spring.'

p26 'French tax breaks threat to EMU'

'The French Government wants to curb the runaway costs of a high-profile job creation scheme that offers tax breaks to companies that cut working hours and take on new staff.'

p29 - analysis 'An EMU that makes for quarrelsome bedmates'

Guardian

p2 'Bonn snubs EMU hopefuls'... 'Germans themselves risk exclusion from single currency elite as forecasts indicate over-optimism'

p11 'EU shuts door on Gibraltar's status claims'

'The Gibraltar Government arrived in Brussels yesterday, only to find the doors to the European Commission closed against it - apparently due to Spanish pressure.'

p11 'Britain will urge Turkey to keep cool on Cyprus'

'Concern is mounting about relations between Britain, its European Union partners and Turkey as problems pile up over Cyprus and Turkey grows increasingly frustrated that its ties with the EU are failing to develop.'

The Independent

p1 'Sceptics granted freedom of speech'

'Sir Marcus Fox, chairman of the 1922 Committee of Tory backbenchers, is expected to assure the party's Euro-sceptic MPs today that they will not have their election addresses censored by Conservative Central Office'

p17 - the commentators. 'Beware! VAT on food'... 'Whether the next government is Labour or Tory, Europe could still make us impose far wider taxes, says Teddy Taylor'

p21 Business (Comment): 'EU holds key to inward investment "miracle"'

JANUARY 30

The Sun

p2: 'Axe £ or it's Toyota-ta to our cash'

'Toyota car bosses last night stepped into the row over a single currency and threatened to halt new investment unless Britain ditched the pound.'

p2: 'Maggie in "ditch EU law" battle'

'Lady Thatcher is throwing her full weight behind a Tory peer's bid to stop EU laws applying in Britain.'

p6: The Sun says... 'The threat does not add up'

'You'd expect the president of Toyota to know what he's talking about.'

The Mirror

p8. Comment: 'EU know it makes sense'

'Forget the fiery arguments for and against Britain's place in Europe. All that really matters is how well this country and its people will prosper.'

Daily Mail

p2: 'Toyota boss's threat over Europe'

'The boss of Toyota hinted yesterday that he would halt future investment in Britain if it stays outside the single currency'

p8 Comment. 'Japanese car giant in political pile-up'

'From Tokyo, the boss of Toyota warns that, if Britain does not join a single currency, it could lose millions of inward investment.'

p14: 'Allergy may be other side of euro coin'

'Some of the planned new euro coins could provoke an allergic reaction in those using them.'

p32: 'Rippon, man who paved Britain's path into Europe' - obituary

The Express

p2: 'Back Euro or else, warns Toyota chief'

'Car giant Toyota yesterday warned that Britain would pay a heavy price in lost jobs and investment if it turned its back on the European single currency.'

p10: Comment: 'Why we should ignore threat from Toyota'

'Toyota's threat to halt further investment in Britain if we stay out of the single currency experiment is strange and surprising, even eccentric.'

p28. 'Heath's tribute to Mr Europe' - Rippon obituary

Daily Telegraph

p1: 'No EMU, no more cash, says Toyota'

'Toyota, the Japanese car manufacturer, yesterday re-ignited the political row over a single currency by warning that future investment might go to continental Europe if Britain decided against joining monetary union'

p11: 'Euro-sceptic Gardiner faces vote to oust him'

'Nearly a third of the membership of the Reigate Conservative Association have signed a motion of no confidence in Sir George Gardiner, their Euro-sceptic MP.'

p16: 'Germans face fines for defying EU rulings'

'Germany is facing fines of £360,000 a day for failing to implement directives on wild bird conservation and water quality, the European Commission said yesterday.'

p23: 'Lord Rippon of Hexham' - obituary

p27: 'Toyota on dead-end street over single European currency'

(City Comment)

The Times

p1: 'Toyota tells Britain: join euro or risk losing car plant'

'The head of the Toyota car company gave a warning yesterday that Britain could risk losing Japanese investment if it failed to join the single currency.'

p12. 'Clarke accused of confusing voters on EMU'

'Kenneth Clarke dismayed senior Tory strategists and Eurosceptic MPs yesterday with his declaration that Britain could still be in the first wave of nations to join a single currency.'

p12. 'Eurosceptics demand treaty change'

'Tory backbenchers called yesterday for a renegotiation of the Maastricht Treaty before Britain was sucked into a European labyrinth.'

p15 'Secret defence plan pits Paris against Bonn'

'A joint strategy document on defence between France and Germany, supposed to symbolise peace between the two historic enemies, has suffered a breech birth.'

p15 'First Brussels fines fall on Germany and Italy'

'The European Commission yesterday moved to impose the first fines on member states for breaking EU law, setting a total penalty of £500,000 a day on Germany and Italy for non-compliance with environmental directives'

p21 'Clarke versus cabinet' (leader relating to story p12)

p23 'Lord Rippon of Hexham' - obituary

The Guardian

p1 'Toyota's EMU threat to Britain'

'The Japanese car giant Toyota threw a timebomb into the European single currency debate yesterday by issuing a threat to Britain that failure to join could see its multi-million pound investments switched to the Continent.'

p15 'Recruit minorities, MEP urges EU'

'The European Commission, the European Parliament and the other EU institutions were told yesterday to cease being "a platinum-plated white ghetto" and recruit more officials from ethnic minority communities.'

p17 'Tory man of Europe' - Rippon obituary

p18 Comment: 'When Toyota thinks again'...'It's not just the euro that moves Japanese investment'

The Independent

p1 'Toyota job cut threat for Britain'

'A Tory government refusal to join a single European currency would jeopardise jobs and overseas investment, Toyota, one of Japan's biggest investors in Britain, warned yesterday.'

p11: 'EU states accused of hypocrisy over race'

'The launch today in The Hague of the European "Year against Racism" will be overshadowed by a bitter dispute over proposals to give second-class "citizenship" to non-Union nationals.'

p14: 'Lord Rippon of Hexham' - obituary

p20: 'A yen for the euro' - Lex column

p12: 'The one-nation outlook of "Mr Europe"' Rippon obituary

JANUARY 31

The Sun

p2: 'Delors will have more statues than Churchill'

'Angry war veterans and MPs lashed out yesterday at crazy plans for statues to EU "heroes".'

p6: The Sun says... 'Pigeon English'

'They've finally gone off their rockers in Brussels. They want to spend millions (of our money) on statues of Euro nobodies to adorn buildings, bridges and roads.'

p9: 'Hans off our election you Brussels spouter' and 'The sucker in front is the EU' (in the Norman Tebbit column)

The Mirror

p4: 'Delors statue not all right, Jacques'

'Statues of Jacques Delors and other European VIPs could soon be popping up all over Britain.'

Daily Mail

p2: 'Blair's Toyota talks "gambling with jobs"' exclusive

'Labour stood accused of playing politics with British jobs last night over plans for a top-level meeting with Toyota executives.'

p5: 'Cash for sex-swap boss'

'A transsexual who took a sex discrimination case to the European Court after being made redundant was awarded substantial damages yesterday.'

p11: 'Blair clumbdown over Euro dissidents'

'Tony Blair has retreated from his warning that he would "not tolerate" Labour candidates opposing the single currency in their election addresses.'

p19: 'Danger - statue of Delors ahead'

'Britain's motorways and public buildings could be adorned with statues of EU "heroes" such as Jacques Delors under a Brussels plan.'

p57: (Red tape alert by Christopher Booker and Richard North)

'Cave plan all to pot' (anti EU feature as is...)

p57 'Huge net loss for Britain'

The Express

p2: 'Riddle of Tory link to Toyota'

'Tory MPs were last night puzzling over claims that senior ministers such as Kenneth Clarke and Michael

Heseltine might have encouraged car giant Toyota to speak out in favour of scrapping the pound.'

Daily Telegraph

p2: 'Major faces new split by Euro-sceptic Tory peers'

'John Major's attempt to end Tory divisions over Europe will receive another blow today when dozens of Conservative peers back a move to take Britain out of the European Union.'

p2: 'Cabinet minister's attack on Brussels is censored'

'A right wing Cabinet minister was ordered to tone down a speech that would have portrayed the European Union as a destroyer of nations, for fear of exposing Tory splits.'

p13: 'The Euro debate: Car chief's warning on single currency highlights the political tensions and the billions at stake'

'Toyota tries to calm row over investment'

'Driving force on road to recovery'

'EU talks to draw line on EMU entry rules'

p25 Leader: 'A row made in Japan'

First sentence: 'Of course Edwina Currie was excited yesterday. All her warnings have seemingly been vindicated by the mutterings from Tokyo.'

The Guardian

p19 'Should we join EMU? I don't know. Do you?' Commentary by Peter Preston

The Independent

p13 '"Budget massage" puts EMU at risk'

'The credibility of the single currency will be called into question next week when new evidence is expected to emerge that several countries may be rigging their economic figures.'

p14 'Stronger ties than EMU bind Japan and UK' ... 'The single currency might not be as crucial to investment as the Toyota chairman believes, writes Richard Lloyd Parry in Tokyo.'

The Times

p2 'Major defiant over single currency'

'The PM yesterday insisted that he would not "slavishly follow" policies adopted elsewhere in Europe after a warning from Toyota that Britain might lose Japanese investment if it chose not to join a single currency.'

p13 'Bulgaria plea for EU lifeline to stave off ruin'

'President Stoyanov of Bulgaria gave Europe a stark warning yesterday that his country faced imminent bankruptcy and financial ruin.'

p15 'Aznar pleads with Bonn for rapid entry to euro club'

'Spain's Prime Minister, José Maria Aznar, yesterday appealed to Germany not to lump Madrid with Rome in the sprint to qualify for economic and monetary union.'

p18 'Toyota and the Tory Right' ... 'Why do Eurosceptics protest when a firm says something unwelcome? Because at heart they are statist'

p18 'Amicable exit from the EU' ... 'Malcolm Pearson says his Europe Bill is not extremist'

'John Major is wrong to suggest that it is those of us who want to leave the European Union whose views are extreme.'

p27: Analysis: 'Businesses need not fear if Britain rejects EMU' by Anatole Kaletsky.... 'Why would EU expel UK from single market for staying outside single currency zone?'

Supplement on Turkey

FEBRUARY 1

The Sun

p2: 'Don't let us sink in Euro quicksand'

'Lady Thatcher gave anti-EU campaigners a huge boost last night by backing demands for Britain to pull out of Europe.'

p2: 'Delors dream busted'

'Sun readers yesterday blasted plans to plaster Britain with statues of EU "heroes" like Jacques Delors.'

p6: Cartoon with an 'up yours, Delors' Sun 'statue'.

p6: The Sun says... 'Alarm bells'

'Joining the single currency is not just a matter of economics' It is also about who makes our laws and sets our taxes.'

Daily Mail

p29: 'Victory in Europe'

First sentence: 'In a rare victory for Britain, Europe has backed a decision to bar Gerry Adams from a Commons meeting. The Sinn Fein leader and Labour Left winger Tony Benn yesterday failed to get the Government's action referred to the European Court of Human Rights.'

The Daily Telegraph

p1: 'Peers vote for Bill to take back power from Brussels'

'Conservative Euro-sceptics claimed last night to have put the possibility of British withdrawal from the EU on the political agenda for the first time, after a Private Member's Bill seeking to return power from Brussels to Westminster was backed by the House of Lords '

Other stories linked.

p2: 'Thatcher safety catch on as Europe is shot down' Lords Sketch by Robert Hardman

p10: 'God's Euro-sceptic' profile of Lord Pearson of Rannoch... 'The Bill calling for Britain's withdrawal from the EU is, according to its author, another skirmish in a cosmic struggle between good and evil Hugo Gordon meets a loner who is an indefatigable campaigner '

The Times

p1: 'Lords' vote backs EU withdrawal'

'Peers last night supported a Bill which would withdraw Britain from the EU '

p13: 'Debate on Europe reveals hostility of Tory peers'... 'John Major's policy on the EU came under heavy attack in a well-attended Lords debate. Many peers called for outright withdrawal '

The Guardian

p4: 'New Euro-myth from Old Hack'

'In the Old Hack pub in a seedy part of Brussels, Dennis Newson, veteran correspondent for Britain's tabloids,

was yesterday celebrating the creation of another Euro-myth' (this refers to the 'Delors statue' story.)

The Independent

p6: 'Tebbit calls on Euro-sceptics to provoke crisis'

'The former Tory Cabinet minister Lord Tebbit yesterday called on defenders of British parliamentary sovereignty to "save Europe from itself" by hitting back at advocates of a "United States of Europe".'

Business

p23: 'EMU "crisis over the euro"'

'The "unpopular euro" has become the focus for "a crisis of confidence in European integration", according to a Bundesbank board member.'

FEBRUARY 3

The Sun

p2 'Labour to scrap £ in 2002'...'No choice, says Cook'

'A Labour government would scrap the pound in 2002, Shadow foreign secretary Robin Cook revealed yesterday.'

p2 'Euro launch is on target says Santer'

'EU chief Jacques Santer insists the single currency WILL go ahead in two years as planned.'

p2. 'Gilly's blast on jobs'

'Employment secretary Gillian Shephard lashed out at Euro chiefs yesterday after they claimed credit for the UK's low unemployment.'

p6 The Sun says . 'Steam roller'

Last sentence: 'Don't expect the Euro fanatics to allow a little thing like democracy to get in the way'

Mirror

p2. 'Labour Euro hint'

'Britain should sign up for the single European currency by 2002, Labour signalled yesterday.'

Daily Mail

p1 'We'll have to join the Euro'

A Labour government would find it impossible to stay out of a successful EU single currency, Robin Cook admitted yesterday.'

p2. 'Roaring back as party of patriots'

'The Tories will today put Europe at the forefront of the General Election campaign. They will unveil this "new Labour Euro Danger" poster featuring a weeping lion said to symbolise Britain suffering under the EU's bureaucratic employment rules.'

p2. 'Stealing our thunder'

'The credit for creating thousands of jobs in Britain belongs to Brussels, a European commissioner said yesterday'

p20 'Why are Spanish trawler crews signing on in Cornwall?'

(piece criticising EU regulations)

The Express

p20-21: 'Vital power base or threat to freedom?' - in 'Election '97, the Burning Issues' series. Looks at a variety of issues re EU membership.

Daily Telegraph

p2: 'Labour "will join single currency within five years"'

'A Labour government could take Britain into a single currency within five years of coming to power, Robin Cook, shadow foreign secretary, said yesterday.'

p4: 'EU warns "windfall" tax may be illegal'

'A large part of Gordon Brown's plans to impose a "windfall" tax on the privatised utilities could be declared illegal under European Union competition laws, it emerged last night.'

p10: 'Italian business revolts at cost of monetary union' (The Euro debate)

'As Italy passes successive taxes in an effort to beef up its economy and qualify for European monetary union, the middle-classes are growing disenchanted.'

Business News

p23: 'Clarke says "cool it" on currency'...'Plea for caution after European Commission president says "doom and gloom" is exaggerated'

p23: 'Alpine sunbeams catch single currency conflicts' (comment on story above)

The Times

p2: 'Cook says Britain may have to join euro in 2002'

'Robin Cook strongly hinted yesterday that a Labour government would join a European single currency when it became legal tender in shops on the Continent in 2002.'

p5: 'EU may end cormorant's protected status'

'Anglers are claiming a breakthrough in their long running campaign against the cormorant, which they accuse of destroying their sport by raiding inland waters.'

p14: 'Juppé should be welcomed with a few euro truths' in 'The Week in Europe'

The Guardian

p4: 'Cook calls for alliance against EU integration'

'Labour took a further step along the Euro-sceptic road yesterday when Robin Cook, the shadow foreign secretary, said Britain should join an alliance of member states opposing the Franco-German move to integration.'

Finance

p17: 'Hurdle for euro is raised by faulty figures'

'Some European Union countries aiming to join the single currency in 1999 could be disqualified as their economic performance will be judged on the basis of inaccurate figures for inflation and output '

p17: 'Clarke forced to the margins over delay in single currency start-date'

'Britain's growing isolation over the single currency was highlighted at the weekend when the Chancellor's fears about the 1999 timetable were brushed aside by supporters of monetary union.'

The Independent

p1: 'Euro plan will cut Britain out' exclusive

'France and Germany have agreed to set up a powerful new political body to make European economic policy which would exclude Britain if it says outside the single currency.'

p2: 'Labour could enter the single currency by 2002, Cook says'

'The strongest hint so far that a Labour government could give the go-ahead to Britain's entry into a single currency within the lifetime of the next Parliament yesterday came from Robin Cook, one of the leading sceptics in the Shadow Cabinet.'

FEBRUARY 4

The Sun

p2: 'Major's Euro blitz'

'A new Tory offensive against an EU superstate is being launched in Brussels today by Premier John Major.'

p6 The Sun says... 'Forty days and frights' (beginning of election campaign - and coming out of Europe should be part of it)

p6: 'Money men agree: Euro is a dud'

'Tycoon George Soros yesterday stunned the capitals of Europe by warning a single currency is "heading for the rocks".'

The Mirror

p2 'Don't bin it - recycle it'

(Short story on ideas for making the most of waste) Last sentence: 'The EU wants countries to introduce the idea nationwide, but the British government refuses to sign up.'

Daily Mail

p1 'Major to hobble "Trojan horse" of EU policy'

'John Major will tell business chiefs in Brussels today that the EU's social chapter is a "trojan horse" that would wreck the British economy'

p57 City & Finance: 'German onslaught is threat to euro launch' (even Germans now turning sceptical about EMU)

The Express

p2 'Mint peps up debate on Europe'

At last a breath of fresh air in the stale European debate. A packet of Euromints, the "taste without frontiers" has been sent to every MP in Britain.'

pp20-21 'Which way to take at the crossroads?' in the 'Election '97 Burning Issues series'

The Daily Telegraph

p1 'EU's "Trojan horse" risk for Britain'... 'Major warns of social chapter perils'

'John Major will seek to put the European social chapter at the heart of the election campaign by saying today that it would lead to a return of the industrial relations problems that brought Britain "to its knees" in the Seventies'

p12 'Italian hopes of ditching lira for euro are boosted by EC ruling'

'Italy issued a confident prediction yesterday that it will be ready to adopt the euro in 1999, after the European Commission ruled in favour of Rome in the row over fudging of the Maastricht criteria.'

p18 cartoon - 'Too many cooks' Robin Cook as Pro Emu, Anti Emu and Wait and See.

The Times

p1: 'Major takes poll battle to Brussels'...'warning on Europe's "trojan horse"

'John Major will today blame European Union policies for mass unemployment across the continent and give a warning that acceptance of the social chapter in Britain would lead to all the problems that "brought us to our knees" in the 1970s.'

p2: 'Labour denies policy switch on single currency'

'Labour yesterday sought to play down any suggestion that it had softened its position on a single European currency after Robin Cook's admission that a Labour government might join in 2002.'

p2: 'Rifkind rallies Swedes to defend nation state against integrationists'

'Malcolm Rifkind yesterday challenged Germany, France and others pressing for more European integration to explain their ultimate objective.'

p18: 'Labour's no soft touch for Europe'...'The Shadow Foreign Secretary Robin Cook on Tory vacillation'
Article in which Robin Cook voices his views on EMU.

p19: Leader: 'The Cook currency'...'Labour remains more likely to lead Britain into EMU'

p27: 'Governor warns of EMU "risks"'

'Eddie George, Governor of the Bank of England, last night urged Europe's political leaders to stand back and weigh up dispassionately the "real risks" as well as the potential benefits of the single currency before any irrevocable step is taken.'

The Guardian

p2: 'Major reopens war over EU'

'John Major will today push the threat to British jobs posed by the EU's social chapter into the forefront of the coming election campaign with an attack on Labour for wanting to import a "Trojan Horse" that would supposedly bring industry to its knees.'

p8: 'Chapter and worse: Is it threat to jobs?'

(question and answer piece on the social chapter).

p14: Comment: 'Edging towards the Euro'...'Labour steers a sounder course on the single currency'

p15: 'At last, an issue that makes all the difference' Commentary by Hugo Young

(Opinion piece about the two main parties disagreeing on EMU - something concrete for electors to consider)

The Independent

Single Currency debate

p8: 'Rifkind rules out a federal future' ...'Europe divided Conservative leaders go on offensive, arguing against greater integration and the Social Chapter'

p8: 'Swedes blame Brussels for the hard times'...'Mats Wiklund reports from a nation of "euro" sceptics'

p8: 'Major takes pre-election shot at social chapter'

p8: 'Monetary union could be reckless gamble, warns Eddie George'

p13: Comment: 'Cook finds the right recipe for Europe'

p15: 'Europe is Britain's business' ...'The Government's chilly attitude to the EU is making companies such as Toyota think twice about investing in Britain. That's why, says Christopher Mackenzie, businessmen like him are looking forward to a Labour victory.'

Business

p17: 'Euro-babble can't obscure the budget crunch'. Comment piece on the confusing language of Eurostat overviews of EU countries' economic situations.

p17: 'Soros speculates on European politics'

FEBRUARY 5

The Sun

p2: 'EU are all losers'

'John Major launched a savage attack last night on EU laws which he blamed for destroying millions of jobs.'

p2: 'Premier so right, say foreign firms' heads' (leading on from first story)

'Foreign business chiefs hindered by EU red tape heaped praise on Mr Major's speech last night.'

p6 The Sun says...'Turning point' 'John Major talks tough on Europe once again.'

Two main party leaders write:

p8 'I want Europe to opt into Britain's success, not us opt into their failure' by John Major

'I want Britain to take a lead in Europe, rather than get pushed around' by Tony Blair.

p9 'EU're telly is rubbish'

'How long before the Eurocrats try to tell us what we can watch.'

The Mirror

p6 Voice of the Mirror . 'Social gaffe' 'John Major thinks he can scare voters back to the Tory fold. He warns that Labour wants to sign up to the European Social Chapter.'

Daily Mail

p4 'You're taking the road to ruin, Major tells Brussels' ... 'Premier's dire warning on crippling costs of the social chapter'

'John Major went to Brussels yesterday to warn Europe's leaders that they are in danger of creating an economic wasteland.'

p4 Question and Answer piece on the social chapter.

p8 Comment 'Why Britain works and Europe doesn't' 'Never before has the PM so powerfully put the case against being sucked deeper into a Europe over-regulated, over-taxed and over-burdened with social costs.'

p11 'EU ferry rules sail into a storm'

'Every man, woman and child taking a ferry across the Channel would have to declare their name, age and sex to the ship's crew under a new ruling from Brussels.'

Express

p10 The Express Opinion: 'Tackle Europe's fowl play'

p26 In 'Election '97 The Burning Issues - Europe' series - 'Ambitions leave a nation divided' ... 'From Common Market to EU, how the constant march forward has only served to confuse Britain's electorate.'

Daily Telegraph

p2: 'Cook challenges Major over attack on social chapter' by George Jones and Toby Helm
'John Major was accused by Labour last night of raising the spectre that the Tories could begin the process of leaving the European Union after he claimed that signing the social chapter would put 500,000 workers on the dole.'

p2: 'The figures that add up to more jobs for Britain' Analysis: Philip Johnston explains Europe's Trojan Horse equation
'John Major compared the European social chapter yesterday to a Trojan Horse. It was an apt analogy.'

p20: 'Labour's vision: white heat of molten sterling' ... 'Single currency goes with the whole New Labour package, together with narrow lapels, polenta, seared tuna steaks and the Bill of Rights.'

p20: - Europe cartoon (heading for Europe buffer - car test)

The Times

p2: 'Major dismisses EU proposal on ferry safety' by Jonathan Prynn
'Cross-channel ferry passengers will have to disclose personal details to a crew member during the crossing, if proposed European safety regulations are approved.'

p12: 'Brussels finance chief launches charm offensive against sceptics'
'Britain will decide to join monetary union once it is clearly explained and the public understands that it offers the best hope of competing in the world economy, according to the EU Commissioner responsible for the project.'

p23: 'Pound gains on doubts over EMU timetable'
'The pound bounced strongly again yesterday as doubts spread around Europe about whether or not the single currency will go ahead on schedule with a broad membership'

p29: 'Japan in EU pact to cut duty on Scotch'
'Scotland's whisky makers have welcomed a Japanese move that will reduce taxed on imported Scotch.'

The Guardian

p4: 'Major's onslaught on social chapter' ... 'PM leaves EU officials baffled and amused as he seeks to demolish "myth of sweatshop Britain" and defends the enterprise approach'
'John Major's latest election offensive against the "sweatshop Britain myth" last night drew baffled protests from EU officials and Labour accusations that the Cabinet is betraying the national interest instead of standing up to its own "Militant Tendency" on the Euroceptic right.'

p16: Cartoon. 'New Major Euro Bogey' (Reference to 'Lion' poster campaign)

Supplement p5

'Europhobic lords a'leaping' by Francis Wheen (about 'New Labour Euro Danger' slogan)

The Independent

p9: 'Major lays down gauntlet for his enterprise culture'
'Entering the lion's den, John Major last night chose Brussels as the venue for a fierce attack on the European "social model", proclaiming Britain as the "enterprise capital" of Europe.'

Linked story

p9: 'Tirade seen as election propaganda'
'John Major's Brussels speech received little attention in the continental press, and was unlikely to attract much interest in other European capitals.'

FEBRUARY 6

The Sun

p2: 'Can voters trust Tony to stop the grabby Germans' ... 'Leading American political and economic analyst Irwin Stelzer writes for The Sun today on Britain's role in Europe.'

p2 'PM "wrong on Europe"
'Euro chief Jacques Santer last night lashed John Major for claiming EU laws wreck jobs.'

p6: 'EU got it dead right, Major'... 'Foreign business chiefs back PM's Euro blast.'
'John Major's savage attack on the EU laws he says have thrown 18.5 million workers on the dole had Europe's top business chiefs queueing up to shake his hand.'

p6 The Sun says... 'Success story' (follow-on from p6 story above)

The Mirror

p8 'Why Major's still fighting the prattle of Britain' the John Williams column.

p8 Voice of the Mirror- 'Hurd instinct'

Daily Mail

p19: 'A rough ride for the Trojan horse'... 'Social chapter will make me Morocco bound' (interview with Kay Coleman, a businesswoman)

The Express

p2. 'Santer hits at Major'
'Euro chief Jacques Santer and John Major were locked in a bitter war of words last night over the social chapter'

p1 Comment. 'Concluding our analysis of the debate on Britain and the EU'... 'We just want Brussels to get ff our backs'

p65 City 'Ford starts "auction" for Euro aid'
'The Government yesterday said it would seriously consider giving carmaker Ford grants worth tens of millions of pounds to keep open the threatened Halewood factory.'

Daily Telegraph

p12 'Farmers accuse ministers over EU ban on beef'
'The Government's attitude to Europe has hindered efforts to lift the EU export ban on beef, farmers' leaders said in London yesterday.'

The Times

p8 'Santer ridicules Major's attack on social chapter'
'Jacques Santer, president of the European Commission, struck back yesterday at John Major's campaign against the social chapter, dismissing his argument as caricature.'

p9 'Jobless rise dents German hopes of monetary union'

'The number of Germans on the dole has jumped to 4.6 million, dashing the Government's hopes of an early recovery on the labour market and pushing the Maastricht monetary union targets farther out of reach.'

p17: Comment: 'Irreversible Opt-in' ... 'Business should weigh the social chapter's true cost'

The Guardian

p7: 'Millionaire wheat and barley barons cash in on huge EU subsidies while small hill farmers are left in the cold.'

p8: 'Cook calls on firms to fight EU sceptics'

'Robin Cook yesterday launched a scathing counter-offensive against the Conservatives' European strategy and challenged business leaders to join Labour in warning voters of the "threat to jobs and prosperity" posed by hardline Tory Europhobia.'

p17: 'A plague on these polls' (by Bernard Crick)

'Northern Ireland, EMU, Scotland: it seems we're being promised referendums all round, but Bernard Crick argues that they represent an abject surrender of responsible government'

p18: 'Germans back Italy to halt run on lira'

'The European Commission and Italian authorities, backed by the German government, yesterday moved swiftly to prevent a run on the lira amid reports Italy's entry into the single currency may be delayed'

Independent

p11: 'Rome moves to silence the Italy-sceptics'

'Besieged by reports that it would not be admitted into Europe's premier economic league, the Italian government insisted yesterday that it was on course to meet the criteria for monetary union in time for the launch date of 1 January 1999, and lashed out at what it called a character assassination being orchestrated by the international media.'

p11: 'Cook fears creation of "hard core" euro-zone'

'Robin Cook, the Shadow Foreign Secretary, said yesterday that a Labour government would not favour the emergence of a "hard core" of highly-integrated countries in the European Union that left other nations on the outside.'

p11: 'Date proposed for countries to join Emu second wave'

'Speculation intensified yesterday that countries which do not join the first wave of monetary union in 1999 may be offered informal guarantees of membership by 2002'

p21: 'Brussels "plan" to exclude Italy from EMU shakes lira'

'Rumours that plans were afoot in Brussels to keep Italy out of the first wave of the single currency led to volatile trading in the lira on foreign exchange markets yesterday. Italian government bonds also suffered'

p28: 'EU to protect top events from pay-TV'

'Television viewers throughout Europe will be guaranteed the right to watch live, and for free, the Olympics, the World Cup and other major sporting events, if proposals tabled by the European Commission yesterday are enacted as law.'

FEBRUARY 7

The Sun

p2: 'Tory's threat over £'

'A Tory MP helping to mastermind John Major's election fight piled pressure on the PM last night by saying he would rebel to save the pound.'

The Mirror

p11: 'Top Tory admits: Euro fights may cost us jobs'
'The Tories' in fighting over Europe could cost Britain jobs, a senior TORY admitted yesterday.'

Daily Mail

p11: 'German chapter of disaster, by Major'
'Germany's jobless crisis is fresh evidence that the Social Chapter is crippling European economies, John Major told MPs yesterday.'

Express

City p65: 'Euro sweet-talk leaves dubious taste'
'Fudge was the main delicacy on the menu yesterday at a delightful lunch at the European Commission's London Office.'
(Analysis of meeting with the Commissioner responsible for Economic and Financial Affairs)

Daily Telegraph

p2 'Door is open on a single currency, says Rifkind'
'The Conservatives struck a positive note on Europe yesterday as Malcolm Rifkind, the Foreign Secretary, sought to keep open Britain's options of joining a single currency after the General Election.'

The Times

p4 'Euroceptic new Militant marches back as the superior socialists'
'The Militant Tendency, the group of Trotskyist activists expelled from the Labour Party in 1992, is back.'

p12 'Britain "risks EU exclusion"...'The Commission President tells Charles Bremner that Britain, whether Tory or Labour led, will join EMU'...'Impatient continental partners may sidestep London by forging new treaties, says Santer'

p12 'Prodi to confront Kohl'
Romano Prodi, the Italian Prime Minister, stung by reports that Italy will be left out of the first wave of countries qualifying for the single currency, will ask Helmut Kohl at their meeting in Bonn today for assurances that there will be no delay for the southern Europeans.'

p13 'Turkey insists on EU entry as price for bigger Nato'
'Turkey yesterday renewed its threat to block any expansion of Nato as Western leaders tried to quell open disagreement over the issue.'

p24 'UK will not block the euro, says EU'
'Brussels yesterday warned Britain that no EU member country would stand in the way of the introduction of a single currency '

The Guardian

p15 'Turkey pressed to drop its veto'
'The Nato secretary general, Javier Solana, ended a 24-hour visit to Turkey last night saying he was still hopeful he could prevent Ankara using its veto to stop Nato enlargement...'

p18 Comment: 'Sotheby's under the hammer' (the situation - in which the auction house is being accused of smuggling art treasures to London from Italy - exists only because of the failure of the single market).

p20: Finance Guardian: 'EU chief heralds fudge-free euro'

'Delaying monetary union would threaten turmoil in the financial markets and undermine efforts to bring further countries into the community, the European Union monetary affairs commissioner, Yves Thibault de Silguy, said yesterday.'

The Independent

p6: 'EU to seek £1bn refund from Britain over BSE'

'Britain should be asked to repay more than £1bn in European Union payments to farmers as punishment for its handling of the BSE crisis, a European parliament committee of inquiry concluded last night.'

p11: 'Europe set for clash over Turkish question'

'Ankara said yesterday that it would block Nato's expansion if Turkey is excluded from the European Union.'

p17: 'A fair wind for President Kinnock' ... 'A politician who once backed British withdrawal from the Common Market is emerging as favourite to be Europe's next leader, says Nyta Mann'

FEBRUARY 8

The Sun

p2: 'Kinnock tipped as next Euro leader'

'Former Labour leader Neil Kinnock has become a front runner to be next President of the European Commission.'

p6: The Sun says... 'Rumbling on'

'The danger of replacing the pound with the euro is clear. It would make Britain an off-shore territory of a United States of Europe.'

Daily Mail

p8: Comment: 'Kinnock in charge' (about rumour that Kinnock might take over from Santer eventually)

p29: 'Kinnock lured to Santer's grotto'

'Neil Kinnock was being mooted yesterday as the next president of the EU Commission.'

The Express

p2: 'Labour's Left in huge protest at Euro job threat' exclusive

'The Labour Left is in the heart of a dramatic show of strength against the plans for a single European currency.'

Link in piece 'Kinnock hope for top post at last'

Daily Telegraph

p3: 'British instructors win EU backing in French ski-fight'

'British ski instructors received a further boost to their campaign for full recognition in France yesterday when a European Commission statement threatened legal action against France if it continued to impose "excessive obstacles" on foreign workers.'

p8: 'Italy determined to make deadline for joining EMU'

'Italy will be ready to join a single currency in 1999, it insisted yesterday, despite growing fears in Germany that its participation will undermine the euro's credibility.'

The Times

p14: 'German nerves show in Prodi euro talks'

'Germany and Italy tried yesterday to patch up their quarrel over Rome's early entry to economic and monetary union, but neither Helmut Kohl, the German Chancellor, nor Romano Prodi, the Italian Prime Minister, could quite bury their anxieties.'

The Guardian

p11: 'Our man in US to mastermind EU diplomacy'

'Sir John Kerr, Britain's ambassador to the United States, and an expert on the European Union, is leaving his post early to become head of the diplomatic service in London, it was announced yesterday.'

The Independent

p15 'Kohl admits the bad news is not just from Italy'

'Germany and Italy yesterday brushed aside differences over European Monetary Union, but conceded that the project might yet be sunk by the growing burden of mass unemployment.'

Linked piece

'That was the week that was for EMU'

(a day-by-day account of what happened in respect of EMU).

FEBRUARY 10

The Sun

p2. 'Tory civil war on £'

'Malcolm Rifkind yesterday sensationally challenged Chancellor Ken Clarke to PROVE why Britain must scrap the pound '

Daily Mail

p1 'Britain may have to leave EU, warns Maggie' exclusive

'Baroness Thatcher has told her closest allies that Britain must re-negotiate its relationship with Europe or pull out.'

The Telegraph

p2. 'Rifkind fails to see benefit of joining EMU'

'Tory hostility to a single European currency intensified yesterday when Malcolm Rifkind, the Foreign Secretary, put the onus on supporters of monetary union to prove the case for abandoning sovereignty.'

p14 (Euro debate section) 'Border millionaires beware the Euro-taxman'...'A single European currency is leading to pressure for a unified tax system, Toby Helm ...explains why'

p29 Business Monitor: 'Rules sprout out of Brussels'...'The EC's directives are signposted well enough, but can you keep up with them? asks Michael Becket'

The Times

p2: 'EMU would mean loss of sovereignty, Rifkind warns'

'Malcolm Rifkind hardened the Government's opposition to Britain's joining the European single currency yesterday with a warning that it would lead to a "crucial, permanent and significant" loss of national control.'

p14: 'Labour's soothsayers try to divine an appointment with euro destiny'

'Labour is "emphatically" not committed to joining a single currency in 2001, 2002 or 2003, Robin Cook, the Shadow Foreign Secretary, said the other day as he tried to efface a rash of headlines which suggested that he had pencilled in a deadline five years hence to take Britain into monetary union.'

p20: 'Time to pack up, Sir James'...'The Referendum Party has done its work, says Michael Gove'

The Guardian

p16: Single Currency: The Guardian Debate: 'Should Britain cross the great divide to Europe' (extract from book about the single currency by four Guardian writers - John Palmer, Larry Elliot, Victor Keegan, Martin Kettle. Double page spread)

The Independent

Election Briefing page

p7: 'Unemployment: is Major right?' (about the social chapter)

p7: 'Where Blair stands...Caution first in drive for minimum standards'

p7: 'The battle between dignity and profit' (social chapter)

p7: 'What's wrong with European Economies?....Failure to reform takes its toll'

p7: 'Europe v the world...American triumph gives food for thought'

p11: Comment: 'The vital message beneath the Euro waffle' (about the social chapter)

FEBRUARY 11

The Sun

p2: 'Euro threat to border curbs

'Britain was last night heading for a clash with the EU over immigration and border controls '

p6: The Sun says...'Doomed dream'

'It is the truth that politicians dare not speak out loud. The bottom line on Europe is not whether we join the single currency....it's whether we stay in the EU.'

Daily Mail

p2: 'Clarke forces Premier to go easy on the Euro' exclusive

'Kenneth Clarke has exacted a high price for giving ground to John Major over the single currency '

p8: Leader: 'Kohl comfort for the Tories' (lesson from German economy with reference to Europe)

p12: 'The British pit jobs undermined by German handouts' exclusive

'Miners who used their own cash to save pits are seeing their jobs put at risk by "illegally subsidised" coal imports from Germany.'

The Times

p17: Comment: 'The French front' ...'Maastricht makes fertile ground for the far Right' (fomenting racial

discord)

p27: 'Taxing the patience of Brussels' (Pennington Column in Business News)... 'Labour's windfall plans could fall foul of the EC'

FEBRUARY 12

The Sun

p6: 'I'll fight euro migrant laws to last breath... Minister's frontier vow'
'A minister last night pledged to "fight with every breath" EU demands for an end to border controls.'

p7: '"Insane" £11,000 euro trip to sun isle' (EU 'junket' to Guadeloupe 'to learn about equal opportunities for women')

Daily Telegraph

p15 'Eurocrat's resignation robs Britain of vital link'
'The most powerful civil servant in Brussels, David Williamson, is to take early retirement this summer after 10 years as Secretary General of the European Commission.'

p31. 'Germany divided over euro' (European notebook)
'Less than a quarter of Germans are in favour of a single currency - or is the figure more than 80pc? The answer depends very much on who you ask.'

The Times

p14 'Britain heads for row over EU fuel tax plan'
'Britain is heading for a new collision with the EU over proposals to impose taxes on electricity coal and natural gas'

p14 'Europe may offer opt-out in accord on open frontiers'
'Britain's European Union partners will probably agree to let it stay out of a new pact ensuring frontier-free travel among member states, thus removing one of the sticking points in negotiations to revamp the Maastricht treaty, EU ministers said yesterday.'

p15 'Troubled Kohl nails his colours to euro'
'With unemployment at a record high and plans to reform Germany's tax and pension systems in tatters, Helmut Kohl, the Chancellor, is pinning his political hopes on a new campaign to force through European monetary union'

Section 2

p25 'Sterling highest since leaving ERM'
'The pound surged to its highest level since the day it was ejected from the European exchange-rate mechanism in 1992, profiting from increasing dejection about the German economy which depressed the mark.'

p25 'Securities firms face £1bn EMU bill'
'European monetary union will cost City securities houses more than £1 billion to implement, bring widespread redundancies and could render billions of pounds of long-term debt issued and derivative deals null and void.'

The Guardian

p1 'New euro warning for Britain'... 'Staying out of EMU will risk jobs says Unilever chief'
'Unilever, the £12 billion consumer goods group, accelerated the debate over Europe last night after its chairman, Niall Fitzgerald, warned that the company would reconsider its future investments in this country if

Britain failed to take part in European Monetary Union.'

p10: 'EU gives way on border controls opt-out for Britain to win Blair backing for new treaty'
'Britain's European Union partners have reluctantly accepted that the UK will be free to maintain national border and passport controls for the foreseeable future, even under a Labour government.'

Independent

p9: 'Boston takes on EU over Burma trade'
'The US state of Massachusetts has pitted itself against both Japan and the European Union in a highly unusual international trade dispute. It has exercised what amounts to its own foreign policy by boycotting firms doing business with Burma, in protest at that regime's human rights abuses.'

p9: 'Tax battles stir up rebellion in the regions'
'Taxation is fast becoming the most important battleground in the fight by Europe's independently-minded regions for greater autonomy.'

FEBRUARY 13

The Sun

p6: 'The Sun says...'Sud's law is so much froth' ...'Unilever are world leaders at making soap powders But their chairman's views on Europe just won't wash.'

Daily Mail

p13: 'Bosses attack "wait and see" on Euro'
'Bosses yesterday questioned the Government's "wait and see" policy on the single currency and said most business chiefs want monetary union.'

The Express

p11: 'Single-minded Ken' (about the single currency) the Chris Buckland column

Daily Telegraph

p10: 'Currency caution is best, Clarke tells businessmen'
'Kenneth Clarke, the Chancellor, urged leading businessmen yesterday to accept the Government's "caution" towards a single currency.'

p16: 'Fischler is stripped of major food safety role'
'Franz Fischler, the EU agriculture minister, was stripped of much of his power over European food safety issues yesterday as Brussels moved to avoid further criticism over its handling of the BSE crisis '

p25: Comment: 'Double Dutch on EMU' (re the Unilever chief's comments)

p25: Comment: 'A dark day for drivers' (re European regulation about car lights)

The Times

p16: 'Bonino chosen as new BSE chief'
'In a move to quell continental anger over its handling of the "mad cow" epidemic, the European Commission yesterday invested Emma Bonino, one of Brussels' star members, with new authority as chief of consumer health and down-graded the powerful agriculture directorate.'

p20: 'Europhobia is bad for business'... 'There is no alternative to EMU' says Christopher Haskins (chairman of Northern Foods)

The Guardian

p10: 'EC shakes up watchdogs'

'The European Commission yesterday announced a shake-up of its expert scientific committees, in an attempt to stave off censure over its handling of the BSE crisis.'

p13: 'Ministers fight to save fishery talks' ... 'EU officials are threatening efforts to protect North Sea stocks.'
'A meeting next month of environment and fishery ministers from nine North Seas states to protect fish stocks from over-exploitation is being endangered by the fisheries department of the European Commission.'

p21: 'Ministers attack Unilever chief over EMU warning'

'Cabinet ministers yesterday lined up to attack Niall FitzGerland, the chairman of Unilever, after his warning that the consumer goods group would reconsider UK investments if EMU went ahead successfully without Britain.'

FEBRUARY 14

The Sun

p2 'Britain told Eu're the best'

'Britain's economic recovery was yesterday praised by Euro chiefs - whose policies could end it.'

p15 'Learn to arg-eu'

'Eurocrats have been sent on a course teaching them how to ARGUE.'

Daily Mail

p57 Red Tape Alert by Christopher Booker and Richard North

'Trouble at the British Mills (new EU duties on cotton imports)'

'Seeing red over green uniforms' (Council gardeners having to have expensive new uniforms)

Daily Telegraph

p1 'Brussels praises buoyant Britain'

'Brussels heaped praise on the Government yesterday for building a prolonged economic recovery that it said was based to a large extent on the Conservative's employment reforms of the 1980s.'

p2. 'EU "preparing to stop the clock" on money union'

'Sir Leon Brittan, the vice-president of the European Commission, has hinted that the launch of the euro may be delayed beyond the planned start date of January 1 1999.'

The Times

p16 'Brussels salutes health of British economy'

'Britain featured as a model of economic health yesterday in a report by the European Commission that called on member states to apply more reforms along British lines and said that budget "fudging" would not guarantee them a berth in monetary union.'

p17. 'Albright mission to back Nato and EU expansion'

'Madeleine Albright, the American Secretary of State, will arrive in Europe next week with a message that

America wants the enlargement of Nato to be accompanied by a rapid widening and deepening of the European Union.'

Business News p28: 'French deficit no bar to EMU says OECD'

'France should have no difficulty in cutting its budget deficit this year to a level needed to qualify for membership of the European single currency, according to a notably upbeat report from the Paris based Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.'

p32: Business Roundup: 'EU jobless total dips'

The Guardian

p3: 'A bridge too far sinks euro notes'

'Yves Thibault de Silguy, the European Commissioner for the single currency, described them as a "victory for Europe" - euro notes so "non-specific" about where they came from that they could not possibly upset any national sensibilities.'

p12: 'BSE report is absurd, says Britain'

'The Government has launched a pre-emptive strike against the European Parliament which next week votes on a highly critical report of Britain's handling of the BSE crisis, by claiming that it is a gratuitous misrepresentation of the facts.'

p13: 'Brussels sounds warning note on unemployment'

'The European Commission yesterday rebuffed suggestions that flagging economic growth is undermining the prospect of the single European currency being launched in two years' time.'

The Independent

p14: 'EU fails to block Burma's entry to Asean'

'The year-long diplomatic struggle between the European Union and the Association of South East Asian Nations (Asean) over Burma is over, with EU governments accepting that there is nothing they can do to stop the Rangoon junta joining Asean.'

p21: 'Flexible workforces are needed in Europe' ... 'Amid upbeat assessments for growth, the OECD and Brussels have focused on deregulation.'

EU STORIES IN DANISH NEWSPAPERS DURING THE SAMPLE PERIOD
JANUARY 14 1997 - FEBRUARY 14 1997
JANUARY 14

BT

p4: 'I give 200,000 kroner a year to handicapped children'

...'I don't hang on to a double salary' says Member of the Danish and European Parliaments, Bertel Haarder (Liberal) who believes he is able to do both jobs as an elected politician.'

p29. 'Ritt's fate hangs in the balance'...'Who has responsibility for mad cow disease: Ritt's fate still touch and go' ...'Ritt Bjerregaard's fate now depends on how the President of the EU Commission manages a decisive hearing of the Parliament's inspection committee'

Berlingske Tidende

p1: 'EU sues A P Møller'

'Yesterday, Industry Minister, Jan Trøjberg (Social Democrat) received a dramatic message from the EU Commission. AP Møller's Lindsø Shipyard, is the only Danish shipyard to have received more in grants than the EU allows '

Information

p1 'Ritt B Polluters of the environment must themselves pay'

'The EU is taking the first step towards compelling companies in all 15 member states of the EU to pay themselves for the pollution they create.'

p5 'Major seeks a European middle-way'

' The British Prime Minister will suggest a "compromise" to EU partners about the future of the Union'

'Great Britain is ready - in part - to accept a Europe of several speeds. But it must always be possible for individual countries to impose a veto in respect of all decisions that are deemed "dangerous or unsuitable" for the EU to become involved with.'

Jyllands-Posten

p1 'EU demands that shipyard subsidy is repaid'

'The long, drawn-out matter of illegal state subsidies to Danish shipyards reached a provisional conclusion on Monday To the surprise of the shipyard federation, part of the state subsidy is illegal and must be paid back.'

E&Ø p3 'Danish fishermen buy fishing rights in Eastern Europe'

'In extensive private deals with eastern countries, fishermen have been trying to secure compensation for lower quotas and reduced fishing opportunities in EU waters.'

Politiken

p3 'On the way to a new No?'(feature)

'If the Government does not change its strategy now, the coming EU election will be in the hands of the sceptics

p8 'EU election decided in advance'

'It would be one of the biggest sensations in the EU Parliament's short history if the Spanish Conservative, José María Gil Robles, lost the battle in the election today for the influential post of leader of the EU Parliament.'

BT

p28: 'Haarder is the last but one vice-president'...'The female protest candidate in the EU Parliament's mid term election for the post of President reveals that it is in reality Germany and France who reach agreements in corridors when it comes to decisions in the EU Parliament'

Berlingske Tidende

p11: 'Chaotic EU election'

(Short story about former Education Minister, Bertel Haarder, coming near the bottom of the election for the President of the European Parliament.)

p17: 'Small expectations for EU reforms'...'New Treaty: While negotiations about a replacement for the Maastricht Treaty enter a decisive phase, expectations are decreasing. Perhaps through yet another round of negotiations, the EU could clear the way to enlargement'

'The EU's expectations about a new treaty, wrapped in purple and edged in gold, are about to disappear for something more homespun.'

p19 'Modest Spaniard in the EU's top post'...'New President: Experienced - but unknown - Spaniard elected as President of the European Parliament until 1999'

'If you ask the EU's 370 million inhabitants if they know the European Parliament's new President, José-Maria Gil-Robles Gil Delgado, will most of them answer "Gil who??"'

Business, p7: 'Shipyards are left in peace'...'Full stop: The EU Commission's almost total acquittal of Denmark for breaching the EU ceiling on state subsidies for ship building, has caused the Government and Liberals and the Conservatives at last to call off a planned legal enquiry. But the Government will not be left in peace over the matter'

'The big commotion about state subsidies to Danish shipyards is now over - at least if it's up to the Government and the two big borgerlig (middle class) parties.'

Business, p8: 'Fierce attack on the EU Commission about mad cow disease'...'Report. Meat prices came before consumer safety in the EU Commission's handling, a sharply critical report about mad cow disease from the European Parliament says'

'The EU Commission emerged with a frayed image after a month-long hearing from the EU ombudsman and experts on mad cow disease that first broke out in 1988 '

Business, p8. 'Alliance in the sky is threatened by an EU No'...'Competition the world's biggest air alliance between British Airways and American Airlines has acquired a new enemy The Commission is ready for the merger to go to the European Court'

'For the British Government is was an affair solely between the USA and Great Britain - whether the world's biggest airline, British Airways, could forge an alliance with the world's second biggest, American Airlines But not for the EU's Commissioner for Competition, Karel Van Miert.'

Information

p3: 'Mad cow sinners go free'...'The EU Parliament is using mad cow disease to demand more power, while the Commission avoids a vote of no confidence'

'The 20 members of the European Commission will not be forced to go despite extensive criticism of the Commission's handling of the whole mad cow affair.'

p3: 'New Spanish President of the EU Parliament'... 'Almost 200 protest votes as Gil-Robles is elected as new President of the European Parliament'

'The small political groups protested vehemently when a new President of the European Parliament was elected yesterday.'

Jyllands-Posten

p10: 'NATO and the EU - each its own timetable'

'The leaders of the EU governing body have at last been presented with part of the bill for their years of foot-dragging in respect of the EU's expansion to the East. By only moving forward at a snail's pace, the EU has allowed NATO's train of expansion to take a leading position.'

Sektion 2, p2: 'Luxembourg prepares for a postponement of reforms'

'Luxembourg has given fresh indications of a delay in the EU's large-scale reforms. This also increases the risk of a delay in the expansion with the Eastern- and Central-European countries, who are seeking economic progress and political stability with the 15.'

E&Ø, p3: 'The EU seeks controls on lorries'

'Lorries impose expense in EU countries in the form of traffic jams, roadworks, traffic accidents and pollution to the tune of around 1665 million kroner annually.'

E&Ø, p6 'Air traffic alliance under the magnifying glass'

'The EU Commission is preparing for a battle with the British Government to safeguard free competition on the profitable cross- Atlantic routes.'

Politiken

p1 'The EU wants to question Danish ministers'

'More members of the EU Parliament will have the right to decide for themselves which EU Commissioners, ministers and officials from both the EU and member countries, they wish to question in connection with special inquiries '

p5 'Denmark holds on to its power in the EU'

'The assault against the preponderance of votes in the EU's Council of Ministers of Denmark and the other small countries has abated after an informal meeting during the IGC about the future of the EU. Big EU countries like France and Great Britain have been pressing for the bigger countries to have more votes in the Council, but Germany indicated at the meeting that it was open towards another solution.'

p7 'Parliament wants more influence'

'The EU Parliament wants more opportunities to keep a closer eye on the EU Commission and the governments of member states That's what many members of the EU Parliament think, and they particularly want a strengthening of the role of the committees of inquiry.'

p10 'Suggestion of mistrust towards the EU Commission'

'The EU Parliament's committee of enquiry into mad cow disease is divided over the question of the political implication of the committee's report which the President of the EU Commission, Jacques Santer, will be confronted with today in Brussels '

BT

p31: 'Ritt is saved'... 'The EU Commission escapes the parliamentary slaughter that threatened it in connection with the BSE scandal'

Berlingske Tidende

Business, p3: 'Haulage contractors: the environment is everyone's responsibility'... 'Transport: The EU's Green Book on the transport sector was the hot topic at a conference yesterday. But all the good principles about traffic and the environment should apply to all of industry, Danish haulage contractors think'

Business, p5: 'Top EU chief admits mistakes in BSE affair'... 'BSE: the EU will have a clear division between agriculture and health, promises Jacques Santer, who admits errors in the BSE affair. The Commission's President suggests that a new, independent food agency is set up like the American example'
'Jacques Santer, President of the EU Commission, rebuffed the harshest complaints against the EU Commission for having misled the public and put meat prices above safety.'

Business, p5: 'Brussels has the last word about airspace'

'Brussels is trying to pour oil on troubled waters in a new confrontation between the EU Commission and Great Britain about who has the last word in agreements about airspace'

Information

p1: 'Santer comes under fire in BSE affair'... 'EU Commission's President tries to ride out the storm by giving the Commissioner for Consumers the responsibility for food'

'Even though he tried with promises about reforms in the European Commission and about the supply of more internal documents - and held open the possibility of punishing more officials - the President of the European Commission, Jacques Santer, did not emerge unscathed from the hearing in Strasbourg about the handling of BSE.'

p1: 'Genetically modified food divides the EU Parliament'... 'Common EU regulations for new, genetically modified food are expected to be passed today. But on decisive points, the statutory instrument is unclear'
'The EU's common rules about genetically modified food - novel food - are expected to be approved in the European Parliament tomorrow.'

p8: 'Sweden will wait to go to the EMU-bowl'... 'A committee of Swedish experts has completely different answers to the question of benefits and drawbacks of participating in Europe's common economic construction than do both Danish and EU officials'

'Just two years ago, when Sweden became a member of the EU, no-one dreamt that Sweden could be a serious candidate for membership of EMU's third phase starting 1 January 1999'

Jyllands-Posten

p5: 'Danish EU politicians in the fight against tobacco'

'The Danish Social Democrat EU parliamentarians, Kirsten Jensen and Freddy Blak, are, with inspiration from the Danish (body dealing with the harmful effects of tobacco), taking up the fight against double standards in the EU's tobacco policy.'

p8: 'Propaganda year for open borders'

'For Pia Kjærsgaard the hidden agenda behind "the year against racism" is to open Danish borders for an absorption of foreigners, and she does not want to discuss racism, but Denmark's status as a land of

immigration.'

E&Ø p1: 'Industry misses out on millions'

'Every year, Danish companies are losing millions in payment because they are not aware of subsidy schemes in Denmark and the EU in, amongst others, the sphere of the environment.'

E&Ø, p2: 'EU plans passports for animals'

'In future, all cows in the EU will have a passport.'

E&Ø, p8: 'New controls for foodstuffs'

'The EU Commission is currently trying to regain consumer confidence about the Commission itself, and its control of foodstuffs.'

Politiken

p2. 'Pressure on Auken over (EU legal case concerning tin cans)'

'The possibility of an EU legal case about the Danish ban on tin cans has moved decisively closer after France, Great Britain and the EU Commission started making serious protests against Denmark.'

p3 'Border swindle is exploded'

'The Social Democrat member of the EU Parliament, Freddy Blak, has demanded that the Danish opt-outs about taking part in the EU's legal co-operation and co-operation of the police, be lifted. He is the first Social Democrat Member of Parliament to go so far.'

p3 'EU openness helps the press'

'Today the press - and other interested parties - have the chance to attend a very important committee meeting in the European Parliament in Strasbourg.'

p11 'Santer will learn from BSE'

'Members of the EU Parliament's special committee of inquiry into BSE put the President of the EU Commission, Jacques Santer, in the middle of fierce cross-fire during a committee meeting in Strasbourg yesterday'

JANUARY 17

Berlingske Tidende

p8 'Denmark wants to join in Nordic environmental labelling'...'The swan: The Folketing decided yesterday with the smallest possible majority that Denmark will have the Nordic environmental label, the Swan. The borgerlig (middle-class) parties think that efforts should be focused on the EU's label, the Flower'

p11 'Auken wants to change EU practice for genetically modified food'...'Genetically modified food: Minister of the Environment, Svend Auken, sets the scene for the EU Commission to have less power in matters relating to genetically modified food. Thirteen governments in the EU should not be able to be overruled by the Commission as happened in the matter of genetically modified food'

Erhverv, p5 'EMU can lead to a common EU tax'...'The consequences: it's beginning to become clear how much economic independence the participants in the EU's forthcoming economic and monetary union must surrender. Common tax policy is, for example, no longer a fata morgana (mirage). But it is not certain that all countries can join in, so monetary union needs to be flexible'

p6 'Industrial countries oppose their own carbon dioxide promises'...'Pessimism about the climate: The EU's policy about the climate after the year 2000 has broken down. Disagreement between countries about by how much - and how - carbon dioxide emissions in the Union shall be reduced, is simply too great. At the same time, there is an explosion in the consumption of global energy.'

Information

p1: 'EU veto under new pressure'... 'The Folketing is compelled to discuss how far Denmark will hang on to the right to block EU laws. At the moment, Denmark does not have a view'
'Moves concerning the power individual EU countries have to block decisions that EU countries make together, have gathered momentum.'

p3: 'Denmark's EU dilemma'... 'Denmark has great benefits from the EU handling agreements on its behalf in the WTO. The drawback is that the Folketing loses control of the substance of the agreements'

p4: 'EU majority for genetic modification'... 'New EU rules about genetically modified foods replace national ones'

p5: 'Bonn and Paris deny secret plan'... 'France and Germany deny being in the process of planning a harmonisation of tax and social policy in EU countries. But the Commission is not excluding it'

p13: 'Denmark is part of the EU hypocrisy'... 'With Danish support, the EU refuses rice and sugar from the poorest countries, despite promises to the contrary'

Jyllands-Posten

E&Ø, p4: 'Foxes caught in traps'

(about EU rules forbidding imports of fur from countries that use traps - never brought into force and look like being watered down)

E&Ø, p4: 'Confidential plan for harmonisation'

'Taxes and duties in EU countries who, from 1999, join the single currency, will in the fullness of time be compelled into tighter harmonisation. Experts believe it will be the same with substantial parts of social policy'

E&Ø, p4: 'Japan gives in in year-long copyright dispute with the EU'

'After a year's hard negotiating between Japan and the EU Commission, Japan has given in and brought in better copyright provisions for European songs and music from the 1950s and 1960s'

E&Ø, p5: 'EU subsidy can be achieved without shuffling paper'

'Many Danish companies give up in advance when it comes to getting money from the EU's supply of millions in subsidies because they see it as a hopeless fight against bureaucracy and acres of paper'

E&Ø, p5: 'Danish tin ban could end in court'

'It will be very difficult for Denmark to uphold the ban on steel cans for drink, the EU's Commissioner for the Environment, Ritt Bjerregaard, believes.'

Politiken

Sektion 2, p2: 'A good idea'... 'Open committee meetings, please'

p8: 'The ways of power are secret'... 'The committees in the EU do not want to disclose their work and members'

'The Liberal's Karin Rus-Jørgensen and the June Movement's Jens-Peter Bonde are demanding an opening up of the committees that are playing an important role in law-making.'

p16: 'Checks on slaughter pigs superfluous' 'EU delays on proposal that countries can be declared free of dangerous parasite'

'Danish slaughterers have, for more than 50 years, spent millions of kroner in completely superfluous examinations of pigs for trichina, which is a group of parasites that can be dangerous for humans. But not even a shadow of one has ever been found.'

p17: 'Stringent Danish demands about genetic modification'

'The confusion about what the EU's new, common rules for the marking of genetically modified foodstuffs really mean, will be revealed at the same time as permits are issued for the sale of "new foods" as they are called in the EU rules.'

JANUARY 18

Berlingske Tidende

Erhverv, p5: 'EU sets up a new agency for foodstuffs' '...Berlingske Erhverv focuses each Saturday on new initiatives and suggestions in the EU system that impinge on the everyday life of Danish firms'

Information

p4: 'Auken does not want to ban genetically modified maize'...'In the future, a simple majority will be enough for the Ministers to dismiss the EU Commission, says the Minister for the Environment. There was just such a majority against maize.'

Jyllands-Posten

E&Ø, p4 'Denmark seeks compensation for Japan's ban on pigmeat'

'Denmark must go around her EU partners, cap in hand, for there to be any hope of getting hundreds of millions of kroner in extraordinary compensation from the communal funds.'

JANUARY 20

Berlingske Tidende

p10: 'EU countries in group work or on the way to a split'...'Flexibility: in the future, the EU can be divided into different groups of countries that work together in respect of, for example, common taxes, asylum policy or foreign policy. The notion of a flexible EU looks most tempting in the areas where countries cannot agree, but it also risks splitting the current co-operation.'

p11 'EU - between the devil and the deep blue sea'

'In the debate about the EU, it seems impossible to establish an understanding between (what the pros and antis put forward as their points of view).'

Information

p7 'EU's agricultural subsidies: Eastern Europe must join in'...'The expansion of the EU with the Central and Eastern European countries will demand a change in, and liberalisation of, agricultural policy. But it demands transitional arrangements, and one industry alone cannot bear all the burdens'

Jyllands-Posten

E&Ø, p3 'Denmark acquitted in feta affair'...'The Danish state and Danish dairies have been acquitted by the EU Commission in the matter of the alleged million-fraud in respect of export subsidies for feta cheese'

E&Ø, p5: In section headed 'New from the EU' 'Trade agencies demand commission' (the newspaper, every other Monday, gets experts to go through relevant directives or rulings to explain them to readers)

Politiken

p10: 'Politicians without influence on the global "internal market"'

'The EU Commission has put forward a bold and visionary plan: the whole world will be turned into an enormous "internal" market - with the EU itself as the model.'

JANUARY 21

BT

p16: 'Fears a new EU No'...'Confused EU debate could lead to a massive No in the new EU referendum, politicians agree. But they are arguing about who should have the blame. The most important thing is certainly a speedy expansion of the EU to the east, they say.'

'Danes are deeply divided in respect of the EU. And a forthcoming referendum could easily end in a new No.'

Berlingske Tidende

p1: 'EU: free TV choice'...'Satellite dishes: An earlier EU ruling about citizens' rights to erect satellite dishes is at odds with Gentofte Kommune, which is forbidding its tenants to do this.'

p7: 'Political duel about EU fear'...'Debate: Three top politicians gave their opinions free rein at a meeting to debate Denmark's role in the EU'

p8: 'Ritt B. hopes for a more flexible EU'...'Majority: The Danish EU Commissioner, Ritt Bjerregaard, supports a majority decision in connection with the EU's forthcoming treaty alterations. This means that she is in disagreement with the Danish Government's official policy'

'Individual member countries in the EU should not be able to block the wishes of other countries for a deeper integration of the Union. That's what Ritt Bjerregaard thinks, thus creating a division with the Government's official position.'

p8: 'Doubt about the meaning of EU reform'...'New EU treaty: More majority decisions, a more effective EU Commission and other reforms of co-operation are considered normal for a pre-supposition that the EU will expand eastwards. But a source at the negotiations about these topics picks them off. The real problems in respect of expansion will only emerge later on.'

Erhverv, p7: 'Industry and ministers in Europe in disagreement about carbon dioxide'..' 'Policy on climate. It is necessary for the EU to set a goal for the reduction of carbon dioxide emissions for 2005 and 2010. So says the EU President, the Dutch Minister of the Environment, who yesterday in Copenhagen discussed policy on the climate with industrialists, researchers and colleagues'

Information

p1: 'France and Germany want to stop (those hesitating in the EU)'...'France and Germany will act in unison in respect of the treaty negotiations. No-one will be able to hinder them and their allies from continuing EU integration'

'Co-operation in the EU will be extended and it will no longer be possible for individual countries to block such an extension.'

p4: 'Alliance against carbon dioxide'...'Now it is necessary to get on with concrete and binding goals, say experts, industrialists and like-minded politicians from seven EU countries'

p5: 'Italy on the way with new EMU-reductions'...'Even with the Prodi-Government's harsh financial laws, Italy's economy is way behind the EMU demands - new reductions threaten the Government's life.'

'Less than a month after the Italian Government got its financial law agreed by Parliament, it has become clear that Italy will be excluded from the common currency if the Government does not make more cuts with the

surgeon's knife.'

Jyllands-Posten

p7: 'Massive support for Danish EU wishes'

'Denmark is well on the way to fulfilling one of its biggest wishes from the EU's year-long IGC conference. Much points to the fact that the demand to bind the core of 15 countries to co-operation on the same track and at the same tempo, is now receiving massive support.'

Politiken

p1: 'EU sharpens its approach to Serbia'

'The EU's Council of Ministers has had enough. The Government in Beograd has just one more chance not to be totally isolated, politically and economically.'

p3: 'Europhile Danes stamp like mice'

'In Politiken's chronicle (14 Jan) two young Radicals expressed their anxiety about the result of the forthcoming referendum about a new EU Treaty ('On the way to a new no?')
(piece from someone belonging to the June Movement with a contrary view)

p5 'Europe lacks water'

'If Europe does not reduce its water consumption, it will cause irreversible damage to nature. (about the EU's environmental agency)

p6 'No front runners in EU cooperation'

'The most comprehensive suggestion about flexibility in the EU, ie that a group of countries will be able to achieve closer co-operation than the others would wish to, has, generally speaking, been killed off at the IGC about the new EU Treaty.'

p11 'EU risks damages for BSE'

'Both farmers and slaughterhouses can demand compensation from the EU Commission for the loss they have suffered in connection with BSE.'

JANUARY 22

BT

p26 'We will be richer in an expanded EU'...'An expansion with 10 new EU countries will give Danes an economic gain, predicts economics minister, Marianne Jelved.'

Bertlingske Tidende

p6 'EU top negotiator falls from grace'...'Rebuke: The chief of the Danish delegation at the EU's IGC, Niels Ersbell, fell foul of the Government after putting a question mark against the meaning of the new Treaty that must be sorted out by the summer'

p12 'The fight over Europe's money'...'EMU: there is a seething and bubbling just below the surface among the countries who, in 1999, plan to establish Europe's Economic and Monetary Union. Before then, they must make a completely fundamental choice. Will EMU be effective, and led by bankers, or will politicians have the last word about the Union's monetary policy?'

p11: 'The EU wants to reform the UN - the USA wants to save (money)'...'Scaling down: the EU and the USA are clearly in disagreement about how far reforms of the UN system should go. The Northern countries and the EU have just put forward their ideas about changes to the organisation.'

Erhverv, p8: 'Increased scepticism about EMU among small firms'...'Report: German companies doubt the benefits of EMU. They question who will pay if the whole project is cancelled. In general, the EU business community's confidence is well on the way up, says a report from the EU's chamber of trade.'

'Bankers and insurance companies are not in doubt about the blessings of a single currency, but in the lower layers of German business life, there is great scepticism about the benefits of EMU. The same is true to a great extent in Holland.'

På Jobbet sektion, p5: 'The internal market with an obstacle race'...'The right to get established: One can easily become established on paper wherever one wants to in the single market. But in practice it is more difficult than one would think. The EU Commission has now set up an information system for citizens four years after the single market was established'

Information

p1: 'BSE report censured by the Commission'...'The EU Commission has hidden information from the committee that is looking into the EU's handling of the BSE affair'

p2: 'The European Dakar-Rally rules' (News analysis piece)

...'France and Germany again put themselves at the helm of work to build up EU co-operation.'

Jyllands-Posten

p4: 'Nyrup and Helveg overrule chief negotiator'

'Both Foreign Minister, Niels Helveg Petersen (Social Liberal), and Prime Minister, Poul Nyrup Rasmussen (Social Democrat), yesterday overruled Denmark's chief negotiator at the EU's IGC, Niels Ersbøll '

p8: Comment: 'The EU's two-stroke engine' (leader about the Government's shilly shallying about a 'flexible' Europe)

Erhverv, pp4 and 5 - feature about the 25 years of EU membership includes:

Background and history

The Economy - 'the goldmine in Brussels'

The future and 'powerful opportunities'

Explanation of what the current meeting to reform the treaty is all about

Agriculture - 'farmers on golden crutches'

Politiken

p1: 'No to the EU treaty will be the same as withdrawal'

'If a majority of Danes vote No to the forthcoming referendum about a new EU treaty, Denmark will in practice be resigning from membership of EU co-operation (in general).'

p9: 'Denmark on the way to EU defeat'

'A Danish EU defeat edged decisively closer yesterday when the Dutch presidency called the Danish position on flexibility in the EU illogical.'

p9: 'Cyprus conflict threatens EU expansion'

'The Cyprus conflict moved up the EU agenda for the coming six months because the unresolved conflict and the growing tension between Greece and Turkey threatens to block the planned expansion of the EU and NATO.'

p11: 'A better life for battery hens'...'The EU wants to introduce strict regulations for keeping hens. More and more Danish hens are set free.'

Sektion 2, p2: Comment: 'EU vote'...'What will a new No mean?'

Sektion 2, p3: 'The concealments of the EU debate'

Sektion 2, p4: 'Jens Otto Krag's unfulfilled wishes'...'It is 25 years ago today since Denmark entered the European Union. Ambassador, Jens Christensen, looks at the state of Danish European policy over the years. Were the wishes fulfilled? And how has Denmark contributed to the Union?'

JANUARY 23

BT

p10: Comment: 'Woolliness and concealment'

(Wondering why the Government is so secretive about just what is in store for the Danes in respect of the EU, and wondering what a No vote would really mean this time.)

Berlingske Tidende

p14: Comment: 'Reprimand in gift paper'(about the Niels Erbsøll situation and the Danish Government's response to his putting forward views that were not in tune with the Government position on the negotiations in respect of the new Treaty.)

Erhverv, p6 'Business school helps Kazakhstan'...'Danish help: the business school in Copenhagen is at the forefront of an EU project for 16 million kroner to help Kazakhstan establish MBA training'

Erhverv, p12 'The EU demands state subsidy paid back'...'Shipyard affair: EU Commissioner, Karel van Miert, talks for the first time after last week's meeting with Industry Minister, Jan Trøjborg. The Commissioner intimated strongly that subsidy must be paid back'

Erhverv, p12 'EU takes a tough line over rising subsidies'...'State subsidies: Germany and France are heavily implicated in state subsidies Denmark is also. The EU Commission calls the development disturbing'

Information

p1 'EU Commission threatened with the sack in the BSE affair'...'The committee of enquiry is not satisfied with the explanation of why the EU Commission held back information in respect of the handling of BSE'

Jyllands-Posten

p8 Comment 'Guests in uniform'

'The notion of a German policeman working in Denmark was among the bogeymen that caused the majority of Danes to say No to the Maastricht Treaty's section about increased co-operation between the police.'

E&Ø, p6 'Show-down over the EU bank'...'French ambitions in respect of the forthcoming common central bank in the EU were not realised. The Germans in particular were at odds and fought for an independent EU bank'

Politiken

p1 'The USA turns down EU defence'

'The USA's ambassador in the NATO HQ in Brussels, Robert Hunter, is warning EU countries against the illusion that the Western European Union or the EU in future will come to play a role in the military aspect of the security of Europe.'

p8 'EU denial of own initiative'...'Unbelievable save to avoid uproar in the negotiations about expansion'

'Yesterday, the EU Commission carried out an amazing save to avoid complications in the intricate matter of the accession of the new member countries. '

Sektion 2, p3: 'The June Movement's Molbo democracy'

'Since the June Movement was created, under great interest from the media, I have wondered about a whole series of completely fundamental questions' (Personal view from the President of the Europe Movement's business committee)

Sektion 2, p3: 'Keep the Danish Commissioner' (in the EU)

JANUARY 24

Berlingske Tidende

Erhverv, p4: '120 EU companies at communications meeting'...'EU meeting: 40 elected Danish companies, including those with high-tech products in the communications and IT field, have been invited to a meeting with 80 companies from seven other EU countries.'

Information

p2: (News Analysis): 'The Ersbell affair is the result of regard to domestic policy'.. 'Are Denmark's EU negotiators, Ersbell, Helveg and Nyrup, in complete disagreement, and if so, about what?'

Jyllands-Posten

p11: 'Estonia - the rehearsal for the EU's expansion'...'Estonia's traditions are European, and Estonia's entry into the EU will symbolise the country's home-coming after many years of unwilling exile. If Estonia is shut out, it will have serious repercussions, writes Estonia's Foreign Affairs Minister, Toomas Hendrik Ilves, who is today making an official visit to Denmark.'

Sektion 2, p2: 'EU scepticism on a circular tour'...'The British Foreign Minister will travel around Europe to drum up support for Britain's version of the Union'

Sektion 2, p2: 'The EU does not want to be the consolation prize'...'The EU Commission was obliged to withdraw a memo to say that expansion to the East could begin at the earliest in 2002'

'The EU does not want to be used as a consolation prize for the Eastern and Central European countries that do not join NATO before the turn of the century.'

Politiken

p1: 'EU sceptics change tactics'...'The charge is broadened ..'

'In an attempt to preserve the large-scale Supreme Court case against Prime Minister, Poul Nyrup Rasmussen (Social Democrat), a group of Euro-sceptic citizens have changed their tactics to get EU co-operation declared unconstitutional.'

p9: 'EU Parliament examines secret protocol'

'The EU Parliament will now try to abolish the secret protocols that influence the EU's legislation, against the background of a series of articles in *Politiken*.'

p10: 'EU and NATO sit on the fence'...'The EU is ready to break agreements about expansion to the East despite denials to the contrary'

'The EU Commission is trying at the moment to damp down a list of expectations from Central and Eastern European countries about speedy membership of the EU at the same time as others are getting the rubber stamp.'

p10: 'EMU "will be hard pushed to begin in 1999"'...'Great Britain does not believe in the project'

'Great Britain's Prime Minister, John Major, yesterday threw a political bomb into the long-drawn-out

discussions about EMU when he said that the Union would be hard pressed to begin in any kind of fashion on 1 January, 1999, as planned.'

p16: 'The EU stops the farmers' hemp fiddle'

'The EU's Agriculture Ministers are expected on Monday to agree regulations that will tighten up the administration of the Union's generous subsidies for the cultivation of hemp and flax.'

Sektion 2, p2: Comment: 'EU's expansion'...'A need for clear political signals'

JANUARY 25

Berlingske Tidende

p6. Leader: 'Ridiculous EU measurement'

'With a completely ridiculous piece of research, the monthly magazine, *Europa*, tries to tell the population that EU bureaucracy in Brussels is not as expensive as they believe.'

p10: 'The EU will have common defence'...'New EU treaty: France and Holland have put themselves at the helm of the development of a common defence policy in the EU. Sweden and Finland are put under pressure to give up their neutrality'

Erhverv, p6 'EU homes in on "supply sinners"...'Public suppliers: in a new move to ensure the observance of EU rules about public suppliers, the Commissioner for the Single Market, Mario Monti, is suing Great Britain in the European Court, and is sending last warnings in nine other cases'

Erhverv, p7. 'Competition rules threaten small firms' (regular piece discussing initiatives and suggestions in the EU of relevance to Danish companies) Includes the business of state subsidies, the confusion about expansion of the EU to the East, Denmark being let off in the feta fraud business, EU subsidies to compensate for the Japanese not buying Danish pigment, and the Commission's hidden documents.

Politiken

p4 'The Government refuses to deliver EU documents'...'Plaintiffs in case regarding the Constitution want access to secret papers'

'The Government will not supply secret EU documents in the so-called "Constitution case" even though the Euro-sceptic plaintiffs tried yesterday, with new tricks, to get the papers out of the Government.'

p7 'French-German offensive about EU defence'

'France and Germany are ready to put French atomic capability at the disposal of a future defence co-operation within the EU'

Sektion 2, p2. Comment 'The dilemma of opposition' (about the legal case being made that the Maastricht Treaty contravenes the Danish Constitution)

Information

p1 'Demand for power can save Santer in BSE affair'...'Majority in committee to have a vote of no confidence in the EU Commission Other sanctions are under consideration including greater influence for the Parliament'
'More power for the European Parliament could well be the price that Jacques Santer and his colleagues in the European Commission are obliged to pay if they are to avoid facing a vote of no confidence in respect of the entire handling of the BSE affair.'

Jyllands-Posten

Sektion 2, p1: 'Uproar in the street'...'Letter from Brussels'

'One often has need of some colour in one's existence when one works in or around the EU Commission in Brussels. The everyday is marked by solid and often monotonous work.'

JANUARY 27

BT

p17: 'Germany and France agreement about atomic weapons'...'If Clinton had not been so much in the pocket of the military leaders, we would not have needed to go so far, say French sources to *BT*, commenting on the now-revealed agreement that turns more than 40 years of defence policy in Europe upside down'

Berlingske Tidende

p8: 'Plans for a common EU nuclear defence'...'EU security: the EU should have a common defence capability, and it should have nuclear weapons. That's what France and Germany think, according to a document that makes the two countries' defence policy into a common matter and starts a debate about a European nuclear defence capability'

Erhverv, p1: 'Denmark hesitates over EU VAT'...'VAT: there are 1.5 million new jobs on offer if the EU's plan for a common VAT system gets off the blocks. Denmark has shot down the first pilot balloon with a No to putting a ceiling on VAT rates'

Erhverv, p3: 'EU VAT provides 1.5 million new jobs'...'Harmonisation: Now the EU has grasped the nettle to push through a common VAT system. The system will ensure that member countries have equal access to resources and a more uniform level for taxes, duties and other burdens. The main gain is masses of new jobs'

Erhverv, p7: 'French own goal'...'EU supply: the company that complained about the "buy Danish" clause on Storebælt has won an invitation to submit a tender in respect of a French World Masters' stadium. The EU is now criticising the invitation - amongst other things because of a "buy French" clause'

Information

p10: Comment: 'Madness and Eurocrats'

'For decades, many, especially in Great Britain and Denmark, have been busy ridiculing the European Parliament, its members and the work they do.'

Jyllands-Posten

p11: 'It's to do with combined interests'...'The EU was founded to create closer links between the peoples of Europe. Therefore, Danish policy within the EU should not be based on increasing Danish influence. So says a feature article that analyses the attitude of the Folketing and its Market Committee to the EU'

Politiken

p13: 'The battle over the euro'...'Should politicians or bankers decide Europe's financial policy?'

JANUARY 28

Berlingske Tidende

p15: 'Major lashes out at the euro'...'EU scepticism: Great Britain's Prime Minister, John Major, now voices in public his aversion to European Monetary Union and thereby risks internal divisions in his party'

Erhverv, p2: 'In a fight against EU VAT'...'No thanks: the Tax Ministry prepares itself quietly against pressure

from the EU for a harmonisation of VAT regulations'

Erhverv, p5: 'EU countries complain about unfair competition'...'Single market: business zones with particularly low taxes and differences in taxation levels around the EU, create unfair competition. That's what the EU's Economic and Finance Ministers were complaining about at their meeting yesterday'

Information

p3: 'EU looks after consumers'...'The handling of genetically modified maize prompts the EU to change its rules and there is backing for the proposal to give consumers the chance to choose'

p5: 'EU in fight against tax havens'...'The EU's Economic and Finance Ministers react with increasing irritation about unfair competition from tax oases in a number of member countries'

Jyllands-Posten

E&Ø, p7: 'PR costing millions will convince citizens'

'In Brussels, the fear is growing that the public's lack of knowledge about the EU's grand projects will sabotage both the forthcoming single currency and the current reforms.'

E&Ø, p7 'Ritt B. and Chirac in disagreement about maize'

'The Danish EU Commissioner, Ritt Bjerregaard, has begun a political ping-pong match with the French President, Jacques Chirac '

E&Ø, p7 'Tax havens must be eliminated'

'The EU's Finance Ministers have now made a firm decision to close the last tax havens in Europe.'

Politiken

p7 'VAT a means to control EU currency'...'French minister in Copenhagen with an appeal for flexibility'
'Yesterday, Denmark received a further shot across the bow when the French foreign minister, Hervé de Charette, during a visit to Copenhagen, cited VAT as a an obvious area where some EU countries can go further in respect of co-operation than the others.'

p7 'Denmark disappointed over EU promises to Eastern Europeans'

'In Brussels yesterday, Minister of the Economy, Marianne Jelved (Social Liberal), criticised various EU countries and EU Commissioners for breaking decisions about the EU's strategy for the accession of new members by naming dates for expansion and names of the new member countries.'

Erhvervslivet, p11 'EU will open for sale of private addresses'

'Danish consumers risk unwillingly ending up in all possible commercial archives both here and abroad when a new EU Directive about personal information is passed, perhaps as soon as next year'

p13 'Strife in the EU about genetically modified maize'

'It was with far from a light heart that the EU Commission at its meeting on 18 December last year gave permission for the importing of genetically modified maize from the USA to the EU.'

JANUARY 29

Berlingske Tidende

p8 'Danish EU opt-outs protected'...'Treaty: it looks as though Denmark's opt-outs in respect of surrendering sovereignty to the EU in questions about the police, asylum and the like, will not come under pressure. But new procedures can still undermine them'

p17: 'Greek-Turkish strife threatens expansion'...'EU and NATO: the thousand year-old state of aggression between Turkey and Greece threatens to take Europe's current biggest project - the expansion to the East - hostage. Whether it's in respect of NATO or the EU'

Erhverv, p9: 'Learn to love the EU's currency'

"How you will come to love the euro". That is the title of the programme to be sent out at peak viewing time if the EU Commission gets its way.'

Erhverv, p9: 'Hardly common EU VAT'

'It is possible that Danish politicians will turn off the debate about a common EU VAT almost before it really gets going, thinks Peter Versterdorf, chief of Handverksrådet.'

Erhverv, p9: 'Germany's EMU aspirations put under pressure by unemployment'...'Annual report: an expected economic growth of 2.5% this year will not be enough to stop rising unemployment, admits the German Economics Minister. Pressure on the German budget will rise, but EMU criteria will still be reached'

Erhverv, p9: 'Sorry German figures can threaten Denmark'...'Rubbing off: If the tendency towards rising unemployment and greater budget deficit in Germany persists, it will have a negative influence on Denmark'

Politiken

p3 'EMU is necessary' ...'The Socialist People's Party is always chasing its own tail'

'The EU has the chance to extend democracy to the economic sphere on an international scale '

6: 'Clear Danish No to EU police'

'Denmark is ready to find practical solutions to promote greater and stronger police co-operation in the EU But the Folketing and the Danish authorities must have the last word ..'

Information

p2: 'Unregulated market economy...'...'Financial speculator, George Soros, renounces laissez faire capitalism'

p8: 'They were such good friends...'...'One of the clear factors currently affecting EU co-operation is that, in the real world, there is a "hitch in transmission" between Germany and France.'

p9: 'Thoroughbred voting fodder? That's not us in the European Parliament' (By a member of the European Parliament)

'Perhaps it's not very nice being an EU analyst in the Danish press This is what Ole Vigant Ryborg's article in *Information* (17 1) "Parliament without opposition" suggests.'

Jyllands-Posten

p8: 'If it is a No'...'Denmark cannot achieve more opt-outs from the EU's IGC, maintains Ralf Pitelkow, who regards the Conference results as important with regard to the wished-for expansion to the East'

E&Ø, p4: 'An expansion of the EU will benefit Denmark's economy'

'Denmark can reap significant economic benefits if the EU is expanded with countries from East and Central Europe: welfare will increase, exports grow and employment will shoot up, thinks the Ministry for the Economy'

E&Ø, p4: 'The EU is formulating laws to govern take-overs'...'New EU laws will sharpen the rules for business take-overs'

JANUARY 30

BT

p10: Comment: 'Skiing in French'(complaining about French demanding French teachers on French slopes - this should not really be allowed under EU open-competition rules)

p20: 'Turkish No to Eastern countries in NATO'

'Turkey's Foreign Minister, Tansu Ciller, said yesterday that the country would block NATO taking in the Eastern European countries if the EU did not also take in Turkey.'

p22: 'Danish protest does not help one jot'...'France has introduced new regulations that make life even worse for Danish instructors than the law that was declared EU-unfriendly by the French courts last year. And now it applies to all types of sport, not just skiing'

Berlingske Tidende

p15: 'A European NATO in deadlock'...'Defence: the USA has said No to a French suggestion about dividing NATO's southern command in Napoli between an American and a European. The veto could mean, however, that France can turn back to NATO's military collaboration'

p17 'Refugee problem worsens'

'Bertel Haarder rightly advertises (25 January) the Government initiatives in connection with a common EU effort in the sphere of refugees with, among other things, the aim of helping refugees to go home as soon as possible '

Erhverv, p12: 'EU will put VAT on cheap telephone services'

Information

p1 'Fines of millions for EU's environmental offenders'...'Fines of millions for Germany and Italy for not keeping to the EU rules in respect of the environment. Cautious EU call for environmental taxes'

Jyllands-Posten

E&Ø, p6: 'Fines for naughty EU countries'...'The EU Commission has, with a dramatic initiative, demonstrated that it is ready to put concrete power behind demands to member countries' (about the environment)

E&Ø, p6 'No rules for duties'

'The EU Commission has had to accept that it can only give guidelines for environmental taxes in the 15 member states'

E&Ø, p6. 'EMU splits Sweden'

'The Swedish Ministers in the Government who are critical of EMU seem now to have taken the initiative in the debate which could end with the Government in two camps.'

E&Ø, p6 'An end to chatting without VAT'

'The EU is closing a loophole in its VAT legislation that in recent years has given both companies and individuals big savings on telephone conversations'

Politiken

p2: 'Reform of EU allowances introduced'

'The EU Parliament's presidium appointed a working group whose brief is to suggest reforms of MEPs' pay, travel expenses and allowances.'

p2: 'EU demands for stricter Danish Nazi laws'

'Denmark and other EU countries must beef up their laws so that they do not continue to function as havens for the spread of racist and Nazi propaganda'

p17: 'EU regulations for green taxes'

'The EU Commission yesterday asked member countries to bring in green taxes and it published a series of guidelines that will ensure that it happens in harmony with the EU's single market'

p17: 'The environment opens the way for a system of fines in the EU'

'Germany and Italy risk fines of millions if they do not immediately redeem themselves, after a ruling from the European Court in Luxembourg in respect of five cases (about the environment).'

p19: 'EU demands VAT for cheap telephone calls'...'VAT on cheap satellite calls - no duty on the Internet'

JANUARY 31

Ekstra Bladet

p2: Comment: 'Aristocracy on support'

(piece about the follies of the EU's agricultural policy which gives so much money to the big landowners)

p6: 'Earls on welfare'

Information

p4: 'Social Democrat Party tussle over boundaries for EU debate'...'Ole Stavad rejects criticism of the decision not to vote on the result of the IGC at the Party's EU congress'

p5: 'A recipe for disaster'

'Sweden's Government has taken a hesitant step towards a clear stance in respect of EMU In an article in *Dagens Nyheter* the Education Minister, Carl Tham, is the first Minister (to air his doubts)'

p16: Comment: 'Wait and see, perhaps' (in Swedish)

'After months of almost total silence among the leadership of the Swedish Social Democrats, it now looks as if the Party leadership, like the rest of the population, has a view on whether Sweden should join in EMU' (also looks at the differences between the Swedish and Danish situations)

Jyllands-Posten

Sektion 2, p3. 'Wry start to the year against racism'

'The European year against racism has had a skewed start, in which internal wrangling threatens to overshadow the worthy aims.'

E&Ø, p6: 'Victory for Danish Avoparcin in the EU'...'After heavy pressure from the Danes, the EU Commission has banned the use of the anti-biotic Avoparcin in animal feed'

E&Ø, p6: 'British uproar over Toyota chief'

'On Thursday, the British Government played down warnings from the Japanese car producer that the company might move its investments from Great Britain to the European Continent if the British did not join EMU from the start.'

E&Ø, p6: 'Researcher: Quotas can halt mass immigration in the EU'

'The Germans are scared that they will be swamped with Poles and other Eastern Europeans when the EU expands.'

E&Ø, p6: 'Denmark out of euro decisions'

'Denmark will not have any influence over what the euro currency will look like. It is the only country not to have a representative on the jury deciding what the money will look like and the composition of the metals.'

E&Ø, p7: 'EU approves subsidy for forest planting'

'The EU Commission has just given approval for the Danish state to give grants to farmers who want to turn some of their agricultural land into woods'

Politiken

p6: 'Stavad rejects criticism of Social Democrat Congress about EU'

'The Social Democrat Party has held the most comprehensive EU debate of any Party in Europe. Therefore, it can come as no surprise to find that the Social Democrat's special EU congress in September will not vote on the result of the EU's IGC.'

p13: 'The big take the initiative in the EU'...'EU Commission is angered by promises to Turkey from the EU's big countries'

'The EU Commission fears that the five big EU countries are about to take over foreign affairs policy in the EU, thereby rendering the monthly Foreign Affairs Ministers' meetings and the EU Commission's every effort (in terms of foreign policy) pointless.'

p14 'John Major shaken by Japanese EU enthusiasm'

'The big Japanese car company, Toyota, has thrown a political bomb into the British election campaign by threatening to halt its massive investments in the country, if Great Britain does not join EMU in 1999, which will introduce the euro as the common currency.'

FEBRUARY 1

Jyllands-Posten

p1 'EU timetable clear'

'The Government decided yesterday at its two-day seminar in Skuldelev in North Zealand to speed the EU debate up. This will follow a timetable that will involve a series of players'

Politiken

p2 'The Government wants more pep in the EU debate'

'The Government want to put more oomph into the domestic debate about the EU's IGC.'

p3 'Criticism of Danish EU will'...'Wish for more effective collaboration'

'It is empty talk when the Danish Government discusses effective legal collaboration in the EU.'

p11 'Insecure French-German alliance'

'The aim of the French-German military policy initiative, drawn up in Nuremburg, is to bind France and Germany together with one more mooring.'

FEBRUARY 3

Berlingske Tidende

p1: 'Danish opt-outs waver'...'Signal: Danish Refugee Help and the Danish Centre for Human Rights are wholeheartedly backing the Government's new, pioneering suggestions for a closer EU collaboration for a common European asylum and refugee policy'

Information

p4: 'Social Democrat chiefs fall out over opt-outs'

'Home Affairs Minister, Birte Weiss (Social Democrat), wants to talk about the Danish EU stance in respect of asylum seekers and visa policy. Not necessary says the party's Europe spokesman, Ove Fich.'

Jyllands-Posten

E&Ø, p3: 'EU praises Danish environmental handbook'

'A new handbook on the environment from the Danish transport trade, has been received as a far reaching initiative by the EU Commission'

E&Ø, p4: 'Green book of new competition rules' (in the 'New from the EU' regular column. This one discusses competition rules and what they mean in practice)

Politiken

p10: 'EU demand means less in pensions'...'New rules give less money to the elderly'

'Danes are not saving up as much for their old age as they think they are.'

p10: 'The EU functions - almost' (comment piece)

'To judge from the headlines - even *Politiken*'s - the EU is frequently beset by crises, pessimism about the euro, setbacks and endless discussions about its future. Therefore it's time to say that the Union does in fact, also function.'

FEBRUARY 4

Berlingske Tidende

p8: 'R: common policy on asylum in the EU'...'Opt-outs: Social Democrat Party is distancing itself from Home Affairs Minister, Birte Weiss' thoughts about getting rid of the Danish EU opt-outs concerning collaboration on asylum. The party fears that it will worsen the refugees conditions'

p10: Comment: 'On a child's ticket in the EU'

'It looks more and more likely that Denmark's footnote policy in respect of Europe is ripe for dumping '

p13: 'Growing German panic over BSE'...'Reaction: fierce attack from German politicians against the EU Commission following the first incident of a BSE-infected cow in the country'

Erhverv: p7: 'An end to EMU creativity in the EU'...'EMU demands. Number crunchers in Eurostat, the EU's statistics office, have put out a load of regulations for the calculation of budget deficits and debt, so that creative accounting cannot unfairly allow countries to slip into EMU.'

Information

p1: 'EU criticism: UN is letting Zaire down'...'EU Commissioner in harsh attack on the UN, which closed its eyes and left hundreds of thousands of refugees in the lurch'

'The international community has failed the hundreds of thousands of refugees who still find themselves in Zaire.'

Jyllands-Posten

p4: 'Borgerlig (bourgeois) joy over EU initiative'

'The Liberals and the Conservative People's Party are praising the very EU-friendly tones that at the weekend came from home affairs minister, Birte Weiss (Social Democrat).'

International section, p2: 'Harsh telling-off from EU Commissioner'

'"The international community ought to be ashamed of the way it has ignored almost 500,000 refugees in Zaïre's rain forest." (says the Commissioner)'

E&Ø, p6: 'Doubtful tax harmonisation'...'Hardly a week after the EU's Economic and Finance Ministers gave the impression that moves would be made against unfair tax competition between countries, enthusiasm seems to have waned'

E&Ø, p6: 'Accounts with EMU finery'

'The French state has been accused of creative accounting in connection with the sale of the telephone company, French Telecom.'

E&Ø, p6: 'The Cuba dispute escalates'

'The dispute between the EU and USA about trade with Cuba has blown up and threatens not only to make the relationship between the world's two greatest trading blocs more difficult, but risks at the same time undermining the international trade organisation, WTO.'

Politiken

p5 'No to common policy harms refugees'

'The Danish No to a common policy on asylum in the EU harms refugees in Europe. But the Government set the scene for a speedy shift in the EU opt-out when it is part of a "contract" with the Danish population.'

p8 'EU turns a blind eye to injustice'...'Respect for human rights ought to be a condition for EU agreements, thinks Human Rights Watch'

'Seven minutes. That was what it took a committee in the British Parliament to approve a agreement for cooperation between the EU and Tunisia last year.'

p10 'British EU attack'...'Demand clear message from the federalists'

'Great Britain's Conservative Government has yet again sharpened its tone towards its EU partners in advance of the decisive IGC conference in June in Amsterdam, with an attack on the federalist EU leaders for "hiding their intentions" '

p12 'Chancellor Kohl is dissatisfied with the EU'...'EU Parliament on the way to a soft landing on BSE'

'According to the German news magazine, *Focus*, the German Chancellor... is so dissatisfied with the EU Commission in Brussels that he will not support it actively if the EU Parliament on 19 February casts a conditional vote of no confidence because of its handling of the BSE affair.'

p13 'New row about euro'...'German economists warn about Italy'

Sektion 2 p2. Comment: 'Dumping'...'Refugees shut out of Europe'

'Home Affairs Minister, Birte Weiss, deserves praise for putting the Danish veto against a common asylum and refugee policy in Europe up for debate.'

FEBRUARY 5

BT

p10, Comment: 'Man in a tight spot'

(Includes stance on EU, but is a general piece about the problems the Danish Prime Minister is facing)

Berlingske Tidende

Erhverv, p6: 'shipyard scandal is buried'...'Ship subsidies: Denmark today has received a mild reprimand from the EU in the shipyard scandal.'

Erhverv, p7: 'EU angry about Burma sanctions'...'Angry letter: the EU's ambassador to the USA has sent a letter to the Governor of the state of Massachusetts and complained about the State's decision not to deal with businesses that also trade with Burma. The EU is now being accused of double standards.'

Information

p1: 'Swedish report: Danish opt-outs hamper Nordic co-operation'...'Swedish researcher says that Danish EU opt-outs hamper Nordic co-operation in the EU. Wrong, says Ole Stavad (Social Democrat), leader of Nordisk Råds Europaudvalg.'

p5: 'British take a tough line towards the EU'...'In the run up to the election, the British Conservatives have now pulled out the whole anti-EU vocabulary. Major is set against a social EU'

Jyllands-Posten

p8 Comment: 'Taboo-laden EU debate'
(More about the difficulties imposed by the Danish opt-outs to the Maastricht Treaty)

p12: 'EU putting religious leadership in Iran under pressure'
'After Danish pressure, the EU is pointing the finger of guilt at the religious leadership in Iran '

E&Ø, p6: 'Brittan's Cuba initiative has created a division'
'The EU's attempt to drag the USA before the international trade organisation, WTO, is well on the way to becoming the British Commissioner, Sir Leon Brittan's personal campaign.'

Politiken

p7: 'Genetically modified wares will be labelled'...'EU on the way towards consumer friendly rules - EU Commissioner threatened Denmark on the question of labelling'

FEBRUARY 6

BT

p10: Comment: 'Madness'
(about the muddle over BSE and how the EU has failed to address it properly)

p10: 'So we will drop the pension scheme...' 'Danish EU politicians do not want to pay tax'
'Danish Members of the European Parliament do not want to pay tax on their gilded pension schemes '

Berlingske Tidende

p4: 'Winding course in respect of EU opt-outs'...'Signal: the Prime Minister does not want to say it straight out, but many Social Democrat Members of Parliament support the Home Affairs Minister who has put a questionmark against the Danish opt-outs.'

p7: 'Danish Yes to EU police collaboration'...'Security: The Danish Government is now suggesting that people from the European police collaborative body, Europol, will be able to take an active part in, for example, enquiries into rocker crime in Denmark'

Erhverv, p1: 'EU fulsome praise for Denmark in the shipyard affair'...'Ship subsidies: the EU Commission

is now praising Denmark in the dockyard affair, even though Lindø shipyard has received a million kroner too much in subsidies for five ships.'

Erhverv, p12: 'Europe and the common currency will heal Italy'... 'Hope: Italy hopes that all its troubles will be cured by Brussels. The political leadership has degenerated and business life is dominated by old men. There is just one thing to do, according to the political commentator, Giuseppe Turani: become a part of Europe - and that can't happen fast enough'
(also section headed 'Italy gets special EMU offers')

Information

p3. 'Solar-electricity faces a shining international future'... 'In 10 years Europe can expect to produce electricity via solar cells that account for about a third of current use. Italy is way out in front with the development. (This written from an EU report).

p4: 'Finland: Eastern European countries will join EU in eight years' time'... 'The Eastern European countries will join the EU in eight years, says the leader of the Finnish European politicians, and he doesn't think that the EU should prepare for expansion now. That can be done in eight years' time.'

p5 'Rumours about EMU conspiracy shake Italy'... 'According to the *Financial Times*, EU economists have made a plan to keep Italy out of the common currency in the first year. The Danish Nationalbank has no knowledge of such a plan'

Jyllands-Posten

p1 'Ship loan is buried after EU criticism'

'The Audit Department is examining the affect of the over-subsidising of Danish ships, after the EU Commission yesterday decided that, in a number of aspects, too much had been dished out in subsidies.'

p5 'Nielson EU debate runs in the same groove'... 'Development Minister, Poul Nielson (Social Democrat) lashes out with unusually harsh criticism after the Social Democrat Party EU debate'

p12 'Danish openness in respect of Europol'

'Denmark is now ready to allow...Europol...to play a bigger role in the fight against narcotics gangs and other types of international criminals'

E&Ø, p6: 'Hobro grows - with EU help'

'Hobro is in the process of developing into a cosy little corner for Danish businesses who want to start new production, or to reestablish themselves.'

E&Ø, p8 'Subsidies for agriculture are cut'

'On 26 February, the EU Commission will put forward its recommendations for agriculture prices for the period July 1997 to June 1998.'

Politiken

p1 'More power for the European police corps'

'Denmark will give European police co-operation a bigger role in the fight against organised crime.'

p3 (Debate) 'The Danes cannot be frightened' (about the scare stories about what would happen with another No vote in the next referendum)

p11: 'Shipyards cleared by the EU'... 'Continued demand to have lenient administration examined'

'The Danish shipyards can breathe a sigh of relief now the EU Commission has cleared them of having breached the EU's ceiling for state subsidies of 9% of the building costs.'

p12: 'Southern Europe rages against new EU plan'

'Despite violent denials yesterday in the EU HQ in Brussels, it looks as though the EU Commission is about to arrange a waiting room for the countries that can't take part in the common EU currency, the euro, from the start in 1999.'

FEBRUARY 7

BT

p13: 'Kohl wants to get rid of Ritt and Santer'...'The whole lot must go' was the message yesterday when the EU Parliament's special committee of enquiry finished its examination of the part played by the EU Commission in the BSE scandal'

p36: 'MEPs must pay tax on insurance'...'Now that Danish MEPs' gilded pensions schemes have been taxed, the time has come to do the same to a raft of gilded insurance policies which the European Parliament each year pays for Members'

Berlingske Tidende

p4: 'Social Democrat balancing act'...'In recent days, the Social Democrat leadership has unfolded a hitherto unseen offensive in the EU debate. In it, the four Danish opt-outs are losing their status as national holy relics, and the Party is about to set the scene for the final internal EU showdown.'

p4: 'Ministers wobble in respect of the opt-outs'...'EU showdown: Justice Minister, Frank Jensen (Social Democrat), makes plans for closer judicial EU co-operation in respect of the extradition of criminals And the Home Affairs Minister will give the EU the power to deal with refugee agreements.'

p4: 'Nyrup No way round flexible EU'

'According to the Danish Government, there is no way round flexible co-operation in the future EU, so that the countries most keen on integration can pursue this aim.'

p15: 'No threat of no-confidence'...'BSE: The European Parliament's threatened vote of no-confidence against the EU Commission in the BSE affair was voted down because of disarray during the ballot.'

p18: 'Europe's one chance in the 21st century' (commentary by Vaclav Havel)... 'EU and NATO cannot constantly open their doors. But they must - before it is too late - say to all interested parties that they are not closed clubs, and thereby formulate a clear programme for expansion with a timetable - and then publicise this timetable.'

Erhverv, p2: 'EU report: Tele-liberalisation creates 10,000 new jobs'

Erhverv, p7: 'Europe or never'...'Italian position: In Europe, but how? One of Italy's foremost political observers, Sergio Romano, looks sceptically at the possibilities of achieving currency union's first round. The stringent financial laws have missed the mark. If Italy lives up to Maastricht, it will really hurt That's what the Government leader, Prodi, has not yet dared tell the electorate. In the meantime, time passes and with it a growing risk of an exclusion that could cause Italy to break in two.'

Information

p1: 'Nyrup: Yes to EU in two speeds'...'Prime Minister undergoes U-turn in EU policy and says Yes to a flexible EU, an EU of two speeds.'

p5: 'EU chaos over BSE'...'Tumult hinders the threat of firing the European Commission in the BSE affair'

p9: 'Pressure on Europe's book prices'...'In most EU countries there is one or another form of set-prices on books. But overall, the pricing system is under pressure.'

Jyllands-Posten

p1: 'Nyrup concentrates his efforts on flexible EU co-operation'

'The Prime Minister, Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, has declared himself an enthusiast for more flexible EU co-operation so that some countries can go further than others.'

p4: 'Young Social Democrats want done with the opt-outs'

'Young Social Democrats think the time has come to say goodbye to the four Danish EU opt-outs.'

p13: 'EU regulations cost millions'...'The Culture Minister will have to find extra millions for sport if new EU regulations are adopted which will assure all TV viewers access to big national and international events. That's what Denmark's Sport Federation thinks.'

Sektion 2 (International), p2: 'Major on the march through a European minefield'...'British election: Europe will be the battle field in the British election campaign in the coming weeks, when Major will desperately try to break down Labour's crushing advantage in the opinion polls - the election must be held on 1 May at the latest.'

E&Ø, p4 'No confidence headed off'

'The EU Commission avoided a vote of no confidence from the committee of enquiry in the EU Parliament, which for some months has been scrutinising the Commission's and Great Britain's handling of BSE.'

E&Ø, p4: 'Italy's participation increases euro-scepticism'

'The Germans are crazy about Italy. In their hundreds of thousands they traipse south to enjoy Italian life - sun and food - even so, there are a fair few who do not want Italy to join a common currency.'

Politiken

p2 'Denmark threatened with isolation'...'EU co-operation in respect of refugees and immigrants - the Government will speed up the debate'

p2 'Danish opening up towards EU demands'

'Home Affairs Minister, Børge Weiss (Social Democrat), will not rule out the possibility that Denmark will put forward concrete proposals in respect of refugees, at the inter-governmental conference about a new EU treaty.'

FEBRUARY 8

Berlingske Tidende

p8 'Desperation in Ankara'

(Talking about the plan of the Turks to block NATO's expansion if they don't get EU membership)

Erhverv, p4 'Rumours send Italy out in the EMU-cold' (this is the regular feature about EU matters. This one deals with Italy and EMU, creative accounting and EMU membership criteria, EU football regulations, Japan and duty on whisky, the shipyard scandal, and the survival of the EU Commission despite the BSE affair.)

Erhverv, p7: 'Common steps towards EMU admission'...'EMU meeting: the scepticism of recent times over Italy's chances of taking part in EMU were yesterday dismissed by the Prime Minister, Romano Prodi, and Chancellor Helmut Kohl at a joint meeting'

Information

p2: 'EU debate forces Nyrup to a showdown over the opt-outs'... 'Poul Nyrup Rasmussen is trying for good reasons to bring about a showdown over the Danish opt-outs. If it fails, can a flexible EU co-operation save the opt-out?'

p5: 'Kohl comforts Italy's Prodi'... 'The German Chancellor calls the rumours about keeping Italy out of EMU unacceptable'

Jyllands-Posten

p2: 'EU stresses equal rights for ski instructors'

'France must allow ski instructors from other EU countries to work on French pistes, the EU stressed yet again yesterday.'

p4: 'Social Democrat politicians fear new disagreement about the EU'

'For the Social Democrats, the EU debate is extremely painful. And it doesn't help that the pain has now persisted for 25 years.'

International sektion, p2: 'No understanding for Turkey'

'Political pressure on NATO is the means by which Turkey means to secure for itself one of the sought-after entry tickets to the EU.'

Politiken

Sektion 2, p2: Cartoon: 'End of the game?' (EU wants to introduce common standards for playground equipment.)

FEBRUARY 10

BT

p15: 'Kohl: I was thick at school' (about an interview Kohl gave to an American interviewer giving his views on EMU and a European superstate)

p23: 'Helveg (hinders things)'... 'The Liberal's Bertel Haarder today accuses the Foreign Affairs Minister of incompetence in the battle to tidy up MEPs' perks and tax-free income. Haarder can't pass it off onto others, says Helveg. The European Parliament has the final say.'

Berlingske Tidende

p1: 'Extra EU harmonisation on the way'... 'Link up: The Conservative Party leader, Hans Engell, is now taking the consequences of the debate of recent days about one of the Danish opt-outs - the judicial one. Engell suggests that next spring the Danes should vote on that opt-out - linked to the result of the EU's inter governmental conference. The Government does not want to turn the idea down.'

Erhverv, p3: 'British EMU doubt'

'Great Britain's Foreign Affairs Minister, Malcolm Rifkind, sowed doubt on Sunday about EMU's planned start in 1999.'

Jyllands-Posten

p8: Comment: 'EU subsidy for EBU' (about the European Broadcasting Union and how there has not been much co-operation in the past between the EU countries about this, despite the title.)

E&Ø, p7: 'EU report with optimism'... 'The EU's economic experts are holding fast to their positive predictions when they, this week, publish their eagerly anticipated annual report about the community's state of health'

Politiken

p13: 'Obvious Cuba nonsense'... 'If none of the parties - USA or EU - throw in the towel in the course of the coming days, the crisis will become a reality'

Sektion 2, p2, Comment: 'Chairmanship'... 'What's the point of it Niels Helveg?' (talking about the various presidencies of European bodies that the Danes have/will soon have and what the Danes are making of them to further their aims and beliefs)

FEBRUARY 11

Berlingske Tidende

p4. 'EU decision gets a lukewarm reception'... 'Opt-outs: One of the Folketing's most enthusiastic EU supporters, Centre Democrat's Peter Duetoft, objects to Hans Engell's proposal to put one of the Danish opt-outs to a referendum, along with the new Treaty.'

p10 'EU office gets a complaint'

'The EU's administration has come under the magnifying glass. The Finnish ombudsman, Jacob Söderman, has since 1995 handled more than a thousand complaints from citizens about everything from secrecy to slovenly work and delay in the EU system.'

p14 Comment: 'EU towards harmonisation'
(about the opt-outs, EMU etc)

Erhverv, p10 'Too expensive to seek EU funding'... 'IT subsidy: the EU's comprehensive application process for subsidies for IT scares companies away. In other instances, European companies spend just as much preparing applications as the EU gives in subsidies'

Information

p9 'Refugees - the question is too explosive'... 'Therefore a supra-national asylum policy is a bad idea' (view from an Socialist People's Party spokesman)

p9 'Long live the union of visions'... 'I believe in the United States of Europe as the one democratic future'

Jyllands-Posten

p4 'Danish fear about common asylum policy'

'A common policy on asylum in the EU would make work to do with asylum easier and quicker. But it wouldn't necessarily mean that refugees were better treated in the 15 EU countries - according to the Danish Centre for Human Rights.'

p4 'Political will for a debate about opt-outs'

'In Christiansborg there is broad political will to discuss a referendum about the lifting of at least one of the opt-outs - more precisely that relating to legal co-operation in the treatment of refugees and asylum seekers.'

p4: 'EU co-operation at a snail's pace'

'A common European policy on asylum would ensure a more just division of the burden between the 15 countries. It should also, according to a group of experts, guarantee a more uniform and fair treatment of asylum seekers.'

p4: 'Opt-out without meaning'

'The Danish opt-out in respect of a common asylum policy has, until now, had no legal or psychological consequences.'

p8: Comment: 'Honest EU strategy'

(says it is good that the EU debate has come to the fore again - and especially about the opt-outs)

p9: 'Bad times for the middle classes'...'In Italy and other European countries, the Maastricht Treaty is seen as a serious threat to the middle class, who otherwise are a symbol of certainty in an uncertain world. The threats to the middle class must be seen as general threats against society, writes Lord Dahrendorff in today's international article.'

Politiken

p6: 'Refugees: (there will be more help without the opt-out)'

'A supra-national policy on refugees in the EU will ensure clearer rules and promote more humane treatment of asylum seekers.'

p6: 'Long way to showdown in respect of EU opt-out'

'The Government has put a large questionmark against the Danish EU opt-out about a common policy on refugees. But leading ministers have far from made a firm commitment to when the EU opt-out will be abolished with a referendum.'

p6: 'Conservative EU U-turn'

'The Conservatives have taken a U-turn in their EU policy and now suggest linking a referendum about a new EU Treaty with the question about how far the opt-out in respect of legal co-operation should be lifted.'

2 Sektion, p2: Comment: 'Broken promises'

'The EU opt-out that stops Danish participation in supra-national co-operation in respect of refugees and immigrants can and should be put to a referendum at the same time as questions about the new Treaty'

FEBRUARY 12

BT

p25: 'Ritt will be Denmark's last EU Commissioner'...'Lone Dybkjær and her fellow party member, Foreign Affairs Minister, Niels Helveg Petersen, are in complete disagreement about whether or not Denmark should fight to keep a Commissioner post in Brussels.'

p25: 'British avoid EU passports'

'For the foreseeable future, the British can avoid carrying around the burgundy red passports which other EU citizens are already kitted out with. They can keep their own passports.'

Berlingske Tidende

p1: 'LO demands an offensive EU policy'...'Pressure: LO has come out with a large-scale EU offensive Internally in the union, they are preparing themselves for a "national compromise" about EU policy and externally they are trying to compel the Government to take a more active EU line, not least in respect of the opt-outs'

p6: 'New EU Treaty at a snail's pace'...'Co-operation: Denmark wants EU co-operation in respect of asylum, refugees and the police to be determined with complete unanimity among the 15 member countries. But we are in the minority.'

p6: 'Ellemann distances himself from Engell initiative'...'EU debate: the radical European Parliamentarian,

Lone Dybkjær, is ready for a showdown over the Danish EU opt-out to achieve closer co-operation in respect of refugees and immigrants. The Foreign Affairs Minister is more reserved, but the idea is not anathema to him'

Erhverv, p6: 'Danish pigs in WTO case'...'Trade dispute: Japanese customs regulations discriminate against Danish pig exports. Now the EU Commission is taking the first steps in a WTO court case against Japan to get the rules changed.'

Erhverv, p6: 'Political pressure in the case about calves'...'Demand: (the leader) of the Danish cattle breeders, Chr. Bjerregaard, is challenging the Minister for Food, Henrik Dam Kristensen, to treble the EU premium for slaughtering small calves. Otherwise there will be a deficit.'

Erhverv, p7: 'Swedish Minister attacks EMU in spite of gag'...'Integration: A majority of the Swedish population are against Swedish entry in 1999 in EMU. The Swedish Prime Minister and most of his Government remain silent.'

På Jobbet sektion, p5: 'Dane must trim EU bureaucracy'...'Pally time is over. There must be a rationalisation, decentralisation and a removal of privileges. Modern times have come to the EU's administration. Dane, Steffen Smidt's, new job as General Director for Personnel in the EU Commission is recognised as a dangerous post that will not make him new friends. Conversation with a man who does not want to be remembered as a slaughterer.'

Information

p8 'Size plays no role' (debate)... 'Things are not so bad when it comes to Danish influence on the Union' (looks at the various areas under debate in the inter-governmental conference)

Jyllands-Posten

p4 'Danish Europe movement is suddenly without a leader'

'The Århus Mayor, Thorkild Simonsen (Social Democrat), is "positively" considering accepting the invitation to become the new leader of the Danske Europabevægelse (Danish Europe Movement).'

p4 'Danish opt-out under pressure in the EU'

'The Danish opt-out in respect of an extension of the EU's refugee and asylum policy will, in the coming weeks, come under growing pressure. The pressure will culminate in June, if the negotiations about reform are, as planned, concluded at the summit in Amsterdam.'

p8 Comment 'Confusion about opt-out'

'Should a vote about the result of the EU inter-governmental conference be cobbled together with a new referendum about the Danish opt-out concerning refugees and police co-operation?'

E&Ø, p3 'EU agrees with Danish fishermen'

'The Danish fishermen's claims that they are dealt with more stringently by Norwegian fish inspectors than are Norwegian fishermen in Danish waters, have been supported by an internal report produced by the EU Commission.'

E&Ø, p4 'Danish pigs on the WTO's table'...'The EU comes to the rescue of the Danish million (kroner) export of pigmeat to Japan. Denmark is being forced out of the market because of Japanese restrictions.'

Politiken

p3: 'High Court refuses to deliver documents'

'Østre High Court refused yesterday to supply a number of confidential EU documents in connection with the case brought under the Constitution about how far Denmark has gone in giving up sovereignty to the EU.'

p7: 'Resistance to equal sharing of refugees'

'The thought of dividing refugees more equally between the 15 countries met with resistance in the negotiations about a new EU Treaty.'

2 sektion, p3: (the in-depth article) 'Four reasons for a flexible EU'... 'France, Germany and Ireland have put forward concrete suggestions to make co-operation in the EU more flexible. The Socialist People's Party's Deputy Chairman, Christine Antorini, and EU Secretary, Anders Andersen, welcome the debate and see it as a realistic solution of the EU's problems with new member countries.'

FEBRUARY 13

Berlingske Tidende

p1: 'EU policy splits trade union'... 'Rebuff: the belief of the LO leadership that the union should formulate its own "national compromise" about EU policy has split the movement in two. The Social Democrats and the LO have recently decided to form a committee to co-ordinate the EU campaign.'

p2: 'EU politician goes against her party'... 'Tactics: The Government ought now to demand more democracy in the EU's agricultural policy, thinks MEP Kirsten Jensen from the Social Democrats who here quarrels with her party's line'

p6 Section headed 'Movement against the EU'

'LO prepares for a heated congress about the EU'... 'Prelude: The Social Democrat leadership and the trade unions are trying to prepare the ground for a full blown Yes to Europe during the congress about the EU in September. But far from all are in agreement with this strategy.'

'Holker K: Absurd and unbelievable'... 'Wonder: Årtus Mayor, Thorkild Simonsen, is surprised that his own party and the trade unions are now apparently considering getting rid of the Danish EU opt-outs. And he doesn't think this is the right strategy.'

'We will ourselves decide'.. 'Opt-out. The man in the street wants a thorough Danish veto right in the Union, even if several of the Danish opt-outs are scrapped. But the LO and EU did not create debate in the workplace yesterday.'

'Friends in Brussels praise initiative'... 'EU trade unions: the question of being for or against the EU is a saga even in EFS, the European LO. Here the EU is a reality to which one can relate. A more far reaching EU policy from the Danish LO is welcomed'

'The committee can have significant meaning for harmonisation'.. 'EU opt-out election researchers predict that a committee made up of people from the trade unions and the Social Democrats could have a major impact on the forthcoming referendum'

Erhverv, p8: 'EU in dialogue with Asia about common trade'... 'Summit in the next three days, the EU's Foreign Ministers will meet their Asian colleagues. It will happen in Singapore in two different forums. In one, the EU will meet the South East Asian countries in ASEAN, in the other, it will meet the Asian group in ASEM.'

Erhverv, p8. 'Clear up after the cow affair in the EU is criticised'.. 'BSE Danish agriculture has put a questionmark against the sense in the EU's restructuring after BSE. The plan is meant to promote consumer safety.'

Information

p1: 'Businesses demand new VAT system in the EU'... 'Consumers should pay only mini VAT of 5% for manual work and services, say Danish and European organisations'

p2: (News analysis) 'German unemployment as a bogey'... 'Just as the European economies can drag each other

up by the hair, they can also (drag each other down). The coming months' European unemployment figures make uncomfortable reading.'

p5: 'Disagreement between ASEAN and EU'... 'Human rights divide EU and ASEAN'

Jyllands-Posten

p3: 'Danes will be forced to discuss the EU'

'The Social Democrats and the trade union will bombard Danes with debate and information about the EU up to the next referendum. Discussion about the EU's inter-governmental conference will be forced to the fore.'

p8 Comment: 'Debate without reservations'

(About the LO's decision to discuss the opt-outs in full)

p8 Comment: 'Too much medicine in EU meat'

'It is not the first time we consumers have been presented with research that shows that the meat we buy contains large amounts of antibiotics.'

E&Ø, p6 'Last attempt to avoid a Cuba crisis'

'The EU is making a last attempt to avoid a destructive showdown with the USA over trade links with Cuba.'

E&Ø, p6 'New veterinary controls will distance BSE criticism'

'The EU Commission is now trying to take the sting out of the EU Parliament's criticism of the handling of BSE'

Politiken

p1 'VAT case about millions is threatened'

'The state risks losing many millions of kroner because Denmark, contrary to EU rules, is denying Danish companies VAT relief for company cars with white plates (number plates), say two VAT experts'

p2 'Prospect of cheaper company cars'... 'EU ruling could have substantial consequences'

p3 'Strife about EU opt-outs'

'The leader of the Socialist People's Party is calling on trade union grassroots members to speak up against their leaders when they talk about getting rid of the Danish opt-outs.'

p1 'EU and ASEAN cross swords'... 'Showdown over human rights in Burma and East Timor'

Attempts to deepen the relationship between Europe and South East Asia ground to a halt yesterday over the question of what attitude should be adopted towards Burma and East Timor.'

Sektion 2, p2 Comment 'Blood money'... 'The EU ought to impose sanctions against Iran'

Sektion 2, p2, Comment 'A flexible Europe' (views of MP for Socialist People's Party, Steen Gade)

'The Prime Minister should be praised for the fact that, during a meeting with Nordisk Råd, he at last adopted a long term and overall view about flexibility in the EU.'

FEBRUARY 14

Ekstra Bladet

p22 'Bridge money'... 'The designer of the forthcoming euro notes has crept around on tip-toe in order not to offend EU countries'

Bertlingske Tidende

p12: Comment: 'State subsidy for tax' (about VAT levels and the minimum 5% etc)

p17: 'EU complains about Rushdie reward'... 'Critical dialogue: France and Great Britain want Iran to condemn the reward for the killing of Salman Rushdie. The Revolutionary guard stands fast on the death sentence'

p17: 'No agreement about Burma'... 'Summit: the situation in Burma was discussed unusually openheartedly in the EU ASEAN summit in Singapore yesterday. But ASEAN met, according to Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen, a completely united and critical EU front.'

Information

p12: Comment: 'The Eastern European card'... 'Who will dare to say No to poor Eastern Europe when they so much want to join? Can the anti-EU people? Can the left? No? Well, vote yes!

Jyllands-Posten

p1: 'A majority want police opt-out lifted'
'A big majority of voters now want one of Denmark's opt-outs lifted.'

p4: 'Landslide in Social Democrat voters position towards the opt-out'
'A large majority of voters are now ready to drop the Danish opt-out in respect of close EU co-operation over a common asylum and refugee policy.'

p4: 'Politicians are pleased about voters' Yes to legal co-operation'

p4: 'EU debate is being speeded up'
'The starting gun for the new Social Democrat openness about the EU opt-outs was fired in the closed government seminar in Skuldelev Kro, North Zealand, on 31 January '

p8: Comment: 'Opt-outs don't harm us'... 'The Danish policy on Europe and the debate is quite unnecessarily restricted if one focuses on the four opt-outs alone, thinks Steen Gade, and he stresses the broad Danish support for the most important subjects - Eastern Europe and the environment.'

International sektion, p1: (big splash about Salman Rushdie): 'EU close to giving up dialogue'
'The EU is reported to be on the brink of giving up its critical dialogue with Iran's religious leadership'

E&Ø, p4: 'Holland hit by swine fever'
'The feared swine fever has now also hit Holland. The EU Commission's veterinary committee has therefore decided to stop all export of live pigs from Holland to other EU countries '

E&Ø, p6: 'Bright prospects for Europe'... 'A rosy picture has been painted of Europe's economy by the EU Commission in the annual report about the economic welfare of the 15 member countries '

E&Ø, p6: 'Danish EU record'
'Denmark can boast about having the official EU record for bringing down unemployment.'

E&Ø, p6: 'Portugal blocks expanded agreement'
'At the current meeting between the EU and ASEAN, Portugal has blocked a new agreement to upgrade the relationship between the two economic blocs, say the Foreign Affairs Ministers from Indonesia and Portugal '

Politiken

p15: 'EU has begun to believe in growth'... 'The fall of the dollar has encouraged Brussels to take an optimistic view of growth for 1997 and 1998.'

2 sektion, p3: 'The priests' true face'...'The EU must take a stricter line towards Iran' (comment piece on Salman Rushdie and the fatwa)

2 sektion, p4: 'Europe and the fatwa' (translation of a feature article by Salman Rushdie)

**EU STORIES IN THE BUSINESS/INTERNATIONAL PRESS DURING THE SAMPLE PERIOD
(14 JANUARY - 14 FEBRUARY, 1997)**

JANUARY 14

Financial Times

p1: 'EU threatens BA alliance plan'

'The European Commission yesterday threatened to take the UK to the European Court of Justice if it approved the proposed alliance between British Airways and American Airlines.'

p1: 'Major facing fresh pressure to reject Emu'

'Ministers are expected to use an all-day cabinet meeting at Chequers later this month, at which the Tories' general election manifesto will be finalised, to make a final push to abandon the option to join a single European currency in the first wave.'

p3 'Volvo gears up for single currency challenge'

'For Volvo, the Swedish car and truck maker, the prospect of European monetary union amounts to a complex puzzle that three treasury staffers and "a huge workforce" in the information technology (IT) department have been assigned to piece together.'

p3 'Savings banks in Germany "sell" the euro'

'Persuading a sceptical German public to embrace the euro is not an easy task, but the banks are tackling it as best they can.'

p3 'British hand guides euro towards launch'

'If the euro goes ahead on schedule in 1999, much of the credit will go to a press-shy, self-effacing civil servant who happens to be neither French nor German.'

p17: Comment: 'Euro-takeovers'

'Among the areas of friction between Britain and its European partners, rules covering takeover bids may not rank as the sorest. But an argument is steadily gathering pace between London and some other capitals about proposed EU takeover legislation with potentially far-reaching effects on the City.'

Int. Herald Tribune (IHT)

p5: 'Europe: Upstart challenges power brokers in bid to head EU Parliament'

'As a former secretary-general of the Council of Europe, which seeks to extend democracy to Europe's Eastern frontiers, Catherine Lalumière has plenty of experience with parliaments that serve as window dressing for dictatorial regimes.'

p20: 'EU warns of suit over airline pact'... 'BA-American deal seen to stifle market'

'Brussels - The European Commission threatened Monday to take the British government to court if it cleared the planned alliance between British Airways and American Airlines on terms the commission considered too generous.'

Wall Street Journal Europe (WSJE)

p2: 'EU's inflation rate dropped in November'

'BRUSSELS - The European Union's annual inflation rate fell to 2.2% in November, the lowest level since the EU's statistics service began compiling the figures in 1983, Eurostat said.'

p2: 'Report says EU agency mishandled mad-cow crisis'

'STRASBOURG, France - The head of a European Parliament investigating committee accused the European

Commission of negligence and mismanagement of the "mad-cow disease" crisis.'

p4: 'European Court is to hear case about the use of "Mr"
(Small jokey piece about a weird complaint to the European Court)

p6: 'Turbulence hits BA-American Alliance'...'Van Miert may sue to ground planned accord..
'BRUSSELS - Setting the stage for a possible battle between European Union and British regulators, EU competition chief Karel Van Miert has warned the UK government of legal action if it proceeds with its proposed clearance of British Airways' alliance with AMR Corp.'s American Airlines.'

p10. Comment: 'Hang up on callback'
'The EU has its logic backward. Perhaps as early as this month the EU will adopt legislation allowing EU countries to introduce a VAT on non-EU phone services. France and Germany have already announced VATs of 20.6% and 15%, respectively.'

p13: 'EU to probe Creditanstalt deal for state aid'
'European Union antitrust investigators are examining the sale of Creditanstalt-Bankverein AG to Bank Austria AG to see if the deal contains illegal state aid.'

JANUARY 15

Bersen

p2 'SAS in uproar over support for Alitalia'
'Brussels SAS is demanding that the European Commission stops the Italian state's subsidy for the air transport company, Alitalia.'

p2 'EU threatens legal action against air alliance'
'The EU is threatening to take Great Britain to court if the British sanction the planned alliance between British Airways and American Airlines '

p3 'Danish company buys the house of the European Parliament'
'The Danish property company, Bastionen A/S, has become the landlord of the European Parliament in Brussels For 305 million kroner, Bastionen has bought the property from the Belgian state.'

p6 'Political undertones in the EU judgement about shipyards'
'Denmark got off very lightly in the EU's investigation of the subsidies to Danish shipyards.'

p6 'A P Møller as scapegoat'
'The Ministry for Industry has been overruled by the EU Commission after having acquitted itself. The whole problem of over subsidising is about to be forgotten.'

p6 'Linde will pay to work in peace'
'Even before the EU Commission's decision about the shipyards, A P Møller had decided to let the Linde shipyard pay 1,5 million kroner back - if the Commission demanded it - for the sake of working in peace.'

p12 'Leap in growth in Europe - but an unsure future'
'The European economy took a leap up in the third quarter of last year, according to new figures from the EU's office of statistics, Eurostat.'

p14 'Warning about a delayed start to EMU'
'One of the foremost financial institutions, Codan Bank, warns that the EU cannot introduce the planned common exchange rate in time. Thus, the Danish bank is not only going against the prevailing political position, but also against the European financial market's evaluation of EMU ambitions.'

p14 'French-German tussle over Euro-bank'

'Political influence on decisions governing the future European Central Bank is an increasingly controversial subject between France and Germany.'

p14: 'The Government does not take the EU seriously'

'Minister for Industry, Jan Trøjborg - and with him, the Government - is taking a risk if the new competition laws exclude public concerns from ordinary competition rules.'

p14: 'Spaniard leader of the EU Parliament'

Financial Times

p1: 'Brussels "warned BA" over American alliance'

'The European Commission has repeatedly warned European Union members not to wave through transatlantic airline alliances without seeking clearance from Brussels, Mr Karel Van Miert, competition commissioner, said yesterday.'

p2: 'UK defiant on transatlantic alliance'

'A row between the European Commission and the UK government was looming yesterday after the UK Department of Trade and Industry said it was for the UK alone to decide whether the proposed alliance between British Airways and American Airlines could proceed.'

p2: 'BA rivals point to Heathrow's strengths'

'While Mr Karel Van Miert, the European Union competition commissioner, and Mr Ian Lang, the UK trade and industry secretary, battle over who has the right to approve or veto the proposed British Airways-American Airlines alliance, BA is putting its faith in a businessman from Barcelona.'

p4: 'EU rice quotas decision attacked'

'The European Commission decision to impose quotas on rice from the Caribbean will harm several regional economies, including dependencies of EU states which mill rice for the European market.'

p4: 'South Africa to reject EU terms for trade deal'

'South Africa is to reject the terms of a trade agreement proposed by the European Union, and challenge its entire approach to the economic development of southern African states.'

p28: 'Santer to propose EU food safety changes'

'Mr Jacques Santer, president of the European Commission, is today expected to outline plans for radical changes in the way the EU copes with food safety.'

IHT

p5: Europe - picture caption of José Maria Gil Robles after the EU Parliament election.

WSJE

p2: 'Election draws flak in EU body from minorities'

'BRUSSELS - The European Parliament elected a Spanish Christian Democrat as its new president in a poll that angered minority political groups who said it was antidemocratic.'

p6: Comment: 'Belgian bookkeeping'

'"Everybody does it" was in essence, how Belgian officials explained away what may well be the most outlandish in an extraordinary series of accounting gimmicks we've seen across Europe in this pre-EMU era.'

JANUARY 16

Børsen

p14: 'EU discriminates against Danish firms'

'The Danish consultancy firms are paying for their success. While, a few years ago, orders flooded in from the EU's assistance programmes for Central and Eastern Europe, today there is distinctly longer between orders.'

p15: 'Analysts believe EMU will make it in time'... 'The possibilities that EMU will be on time are still good, according to a Reuter's analysis of EMU analysts' prognoses'

p15: 'Pöhl sees German EMU problems'

'It does not seem likely that Germany will meet the Maastricht Treaty's criteria about debt and deficit, and a serious problem will arise for the Government on the way to EMU, according to the former chief of the Bundesbank, Karl-Otto Pöhl.'

p20 'Euro is a spoke in the wheel for the golden boys'... 'Job fears for the day the common exchange rate is brought in and institutions in the new growth markets are scooping up some of Europe's business talents'

p26 'The ghost of Maastricht puts pressure on the D-mark'

'Doubt has recently been cast on Germany's chances of fulfilling the criteria of Maastricht for state debt and budget deficit.'

Financial Times

p1 'Blair opposes "flexible" European integration'

'A Labour government would oppose any new European Union arrangements which would allow an inner core of countries to press ahead with integration while others remained permanently on the sidelines.'

p2 'Britain accused of blackmail on beef'

'Mr Jacques Santer, European Commission president, yesterday accused the UK of "threats and blackmail" in its attempts to get the global ban on British beef exports lifted.'

p2 'Spanish inflation fall boosts bid to join Emu's "first wave"'

'Spanish inflation fell to its lowest level since 1968 last year, reinforcing Spain's bid to qualify in the first wave of countries entering European economic and monetary union in 1999.'

p27 Comment 'EMU Española'

'Mr José Maria Aznar has started the year as he means to continue - with another confident bet that Spain will make it into monetary union's first wave.'

IHT

p8 'Yes, America, a single currency for the coming superpower' 'London - Robert J Samuelson thinks that a single European currency is a "lunatic idea" that is "bad for Europe" and may be "bad for America and everyone else" (IHT Opinion, Jan 9)... There are certainly doubts in Europe about a single currency.'

p11: 'Officials deny deal on European Bank'

'Senior European monetary officials poured cold water Wednesday on a claim by a Bank of France official - made separately by a German business magazine - that a deal had been made by France and Germany to guarantee that the first president of the future European central bank would be a French national.'

p1: EU Notebook: A special background report on European Union Business and Politics.

Includes:

Van Miert and the BA affair

Church of Scientology in trouble with EU

Mad-cow fall-out

Apples and oranges (EU and South Africa in trade talks)

Getting serious - EU enlargement negotiators roll up their sleeves

Dear Boss - about workers suing their bosses in EU country where they are stationed

The Clock's ticking - Chirac telling Hungarians they can join in 2002

p2: 'EU is taking a close look at phone firms' cable reach'...'German, French monopolies may be affected if study recommends divestment'

'European Union regulators are studying whether EU-based telephone companies must divest their cable holdings, a conclusion that could deal a major blow to companies such as Germany's Deutsche Telekom AG and France Telecom SA.'

p2: 'Germany's budget deficit for '96 overshoots target'

'BONN - Germany's deficit for 1996 overshoot the target, making the job of qualifying for European Monetary Union even harder, according to Finance Minister Theo Waigel.'

The European (week 16-22 January)

p1: 'Santer backs market forces in jobs U-turn'

'Faced with Europe's lamentable failure on jobs, Commission President Jacques Santer has launched a new economic agenda, calling for thoroughgoing liberalisation to meet the challenges of globalisation and the advent of the information society.'

p1: 'Airline merger row reaches higher plane'

'European Union Competition Commissioner Karel van Miert has accused Bob Ayling, chief executive of British Airways, of choosing EU laws selectively amid an escalating dispute over whether Brussels has the right to veto its alliance with American Airlines.'

p1: 'Flexibility is the new key'

'The European Commission has launched a new debate on the thorny question of flexibility ahead of the ministerial meeting on 20 January which is meant to try to break the deadlock on the subject.'

p1: 'Mad cow "pardon" riles Parliament'

'The European Commission may face a vote of no confidence from MEPs following the European Parliament's inquiry into the handling of the crisis over mad cow disease.'

p2: 'Rebels urge election shake-up'

'Pressure is mounting for a change in the way the president of the European Parliament is elected after rebel candidate Catherine Lalumère dealt a heavy blow to the system.'

p4: 'Caution comes up from the street' (Vox pop.)

'Lead-in: Italian Prime Minister Romano Prodi has said that German public opinion would play a crucial role in determining whether the Italian lire takes part in the first wave of the single currency in 1999.' (Temperature 'tested on the street')

p8: Comment: 'Santer's entrepreneurial spirit'

'Jacques Santer, president of the European Commission, has shown real leadership to Europe's politicians by affirming the need for economic liberalisation, including more flexible markets, the encouragement of entrepreneurs, the reduction of subsidies and the end to protectionism.'

p8: Comment: 'Reform the presidential elections'
'Klaus Hansch has served the European Parliament well in his term as its president.'

The European Business Section

p15: 'Van Miert puts the blame on BA'
'European Union Competition Commissioner Karel Van Miert has blamed British Airways for causing the political row that has blown up over a decision to warn the UK not to approve its alliance with American Airlines before Brussels has completed a separate review.'

p16: Regular features: 'A week in the life of the EU' and 'EMU watch'. Plus report from the European Parliament, 'The week ahead' diary of forthcoming events and a 'Business week' column.

p17: 'US wins out in battle for open skies'
'As the distant cousins of an often dysfunctional European family, the Americans understand how best to get their way in Europe.'

p18: 'Airbus is the model which could set Europe flying high'...'The Rome and Maastricht treaties are the legal tools of a unified Europe, but we have a lot to learn from the co-operation shown by an aircraft consortium...'

p18 'A balance for the bankers'...'France has won its battle for a "stability council"'. (About the European Central Bank)

p18: 'How the house of euro will be built' 'Money supply targets are back in fashion for the single currency'

p19 'Still dreaming of a single financial market'...'Janet Lewis reports on EC efforts to create a genuine internal market in insurance and retail banking.'

p26 'Training stays central to the EU's vision'...'Peter Matthews on the Socrates and Leonardo schemes.'

JANUARY 17

Borsen

p2 'EU rules for genetically modified foods are in place'
'EU countries now have common rules for the labelling of genetically modified foodstuffs that mean that a long list of foodstuffs, which include genetically modified materials, will not be labelled.'

p12: 'EU discrimination will be examined'
'AI Rådet, which is the trade organisation for the Danish consultancy firms, wants an enquiry into the reasons for the dramatic fall in Danish firms' market share of the EU's assistance programmes in respect of Eastern Europe.'

p13 'The Government does not recognise any proposal for a common EU tax'...'Strasbourg - the Danish Government has never seen the German-French report about a common European tax policy that was discussed in *The Independent* yesterday.'

Financial Times

p2: 'Brussels rebuked over pensions'
'The European Commission acted illegally by publishing rules aimed at opening up cross-border investment in the European Union pensions market, an advocate-general of the European Court of Justice said yesterday.'

p2 'Tax links in euro zone studied'

'The European Commission is preparing a study on how countries in the planned single currency zone could co-operate more closely on tax harmonisation and social security.'

p2: 'EU food label rules approved'

'The European Parliament yesterday approved controversial rules on labelling genetically modified foods, despite protests from environmentalists that the regulations will not protect European consumers.'

p2: 'Interest rate cut spurs Spain's EMU ambitions'

'The Bank of Spain yesterday responded quickly to falling domestic inflation by cutting its benchmark interest rate by a quarter point to 6 per cent, the lowest on record.'

p5: 'Brussels tax proposal alarms telecoms group' 'Telecommunications companies in Europe are alarmed by European Commission proposals to close a tax loophole which benefits telecoms suppliers outside the EU.'

p20: Comment 'Siren call of flexibility'

'Allowing EU member states to vary the speed of their integration looks an attractive option to several governments but risks fracturing the union'

p21: Comment: 'Much ado about taxes'

'Some participants in the UK debate on the European Union now see muggers behind every bush.'

IHT

p6: 'Bonn and EU deny report on common income tax'

'BRUSSELS - A British newspaper report that a group of countries led by France and Germany were secretly planning to impose a common income and social-security tax regime in countries adopting a single currency was roundly dismissed Thursday.'

p17: 'EU sings praises of Japan's music move'

'BRUSSELS - The European Commission on Thursday welcomed a decision by Japan to extend copyright protection to recorded music from the 1950s and 1960s, signaling an imminent end to a long running trade dispute.'

WSJE

p2: 'French anxiety is clouding WTO Telecom negotiations' ... 'Apprehension about inflow of US content is said to alter stance of EU.'

'France is injecting its fears about US cultural dominance in the audiovisual sector into trade talks on liberalizing telecommunications, according to people involved in the discussions '

p2: 'EU mulls effect of integration on tax policies within group' 'BRUSSELS - European Commission officials are exploring what could happen to tax policies after the current constitutional review - in particular, the question of whether some countries would coordinate certain tax rates.'

p2: 'European Parliament clears legislation on "novel foods"' 'Overriding opposition from environmentalists, the European Parliament approved long-delayed and controversial legislation on the labeling and marketing of genetically modified foods.'

p4: Europe in Transition column by Almar Latour

Section: 'The clock is ticking for accession to the EU, and candidate countries need to attract the best possible lawyers who can help implement EU law and develop whole sections of domestic corporate law from scratch '

JANUARY 18

Financial Times

p4: 'Brittan says do not scapegoat EU'

'Sir Leon Brittan, the European Union trade commissioner, yesterday criticised the Conservatives and Labour for using Brussels as a scapegoat in the general election campaign.'

JANUARY 20

Financial Times

p1. 'Germans hit at Paris bid to curb EU bank'

'German monetary officials, including Mr Hans Tietmeyer, the Bundesbank president, have hit back at French attempts to impose political control over monetary policy in Europe's planned economic and monetary union.'

p2 'Brussels set to intervene in German bank dispute'

'The European Commission is expected to enter the long-running dispute between Germany's private and public sector banks by launching an investigation into the way state-owned regional banks received capital injections through integration of housing development funds.'

p7 'Rifkind presses France and Germany over EU'

'Mr Malcolm Rifkind, the foreign secretary, yesterday stepped up pressure on Germany and France to define their policy on future European Union integration, calling on them to spell out the kind of EU they would like to see in the next century '

p12 'One Europe, two targets' Stephanie Flanders col.

Intro 'Economists are divided on the best monetary strategy after Emu'

21 'Acceptable price of recovery'

Intro 'EU governments are searching for a balance between the benefits of recycling legislation and the cost to business'

IHT

p1 'Bundesbank chief is blunt. Europe too slow to adapt to change'

FRANKFURT - Many European countries, including Germany, have faltered economically because they have been too slow to realize the need to introduce sweeping reforms in order to match the rising power of Asia, the growth of Eastern Europe as a productive base and the dynamic revival of the United States in the world economy, the president of the Bundesbank said in an interview.'

p5 'The EU this week' (Small list of major EU events - the state of the IGC on EU reform - deepening integration for some - and the possibility of using welfare reform to buttress employment.)

WSJE

p2. 'EU jobless rate remains 10.9% for 7th month in a row'

'LUXEMBOURG - The European Union's average seasonally adjusted unemployment rate was stuck at 10.9% for the seventh consecutive month in November, representing 18.2 million jobless, the EU statistics agency said.'

p2. 'Italian Minister to seek higher EU milk quotas'

'MILAN As dairy farmers kept up their blockades of highways in Milan, Italy's agriculture minister was

quoted Sunday as saying he'll ask Brussels to raise milk production quotas.'

p3: 'EU Commission plans to review exclusive distribution agreements'

'BRUSSELS - The European Commission is expected this week to launch a broad review of exclusive deals between producers and distributors to decide which arrangements to prohibit and which to allow under EU antitrust law.'

p4: The European Economist: An interview on Regional Economic Issues (With Martin Weale, Director of Britain's National Institute of Economic and Social Research) His views on EMU.

JANUARY 21

Bersen

p6: 'Danish environmental policy gets help from an unexpected quarter'

'After the ideological privatisation of the energy sector, England is (particularly attentive about the environment)'

'The liberalisation of the British electricity and gas market has brought England to the vanguard of the environmentally progressive EU countries, who, compared with 1990, have managed to scale down carbon dioxide emissions.' (piece on John Gummer)

p10: 'Over-borrowing strangles Svendborg shipyard'...'The threat from the EU about repayment of state support, and a catastrophic market for repairs, make continued working impossible'

p15: 'Flexibility in the EU on slippery ice'

'Brussels - the French-German vision of a flexible Europe is about to disintegrate. A source close to the negotiations about the new Maastricht Treaty says that flexibility is unlikely in respect of the European Union's most vital aspect - economic co-operation.'

p15: 'Ritt: We will be driven out to a siding'

'Denmark risks being driven further out to a siding in the EU as a result of negotiations about greater flexibility in co-operation.'

Financial Times

p2: 'Paris, Bonn sidestep Emu rift'

'France and Germany yesterday papered over divisions on monetary union and pledged to remain the engine driving political integration in Europe.'

p3: 'Brussels bangs drum louder for euro'

Intro: 'Commission's sales campaign is about to shift into higher gear'

p8: 'Backing given to social chapter'

(Review of the 'employment' section of a report from the Institute of Public Policy Research)

p32: 'Investors warming to Ecu offerings'

'A survey of international fixed-income investors shows that rising sentiment in favour of European monetary union is fuelling increased investment in Ecu-denominated bonds.'

IHT

p1: 'At Europe's Bank, independence will be the word'

'AMSTERDAM - Europe's future central bank must be free of any political interference by governments that join in the launch of the single currency, according to the man who is widely expected to become the central

bank's first head.'

p5: 'London assails Paris-Bonn initiative on cooperation'

'BRUSSELS - Intensifying their campaign to reform the European Union's decision-making, France and Germany appealed Monday for new flexibility to allow some members to deepen cooperation without risking a veto from reluctant partners.'

p11: 'A bigger EU should take in Turkey'

'WASHINGTON - As the European Union struggles to redraw the politico-economic map of Europe, one vital piece is in danger of being left out. That piece is Turkey...'

WSJE

p2: 'French and German ministers perform a deft Pas de Deux' (A Wall Street Journal Europe Roundup) ... 'A united front is displayed on European integration; differences are shrouded'

'BRUSSELS - The French and German foreign ministers sidestepped their countries' differences over the central bank envisioned in plans for European monetary union, and put forward a united front on the question of political integration'

p12 'Van Miert plans to back offer by INA and BNL for Banco di Napoli' (A WSJE roundup)

'BRUSSELS - A new plan by the Italian government to sell 60% of ailing Banco di Napoli has gained the crucial backing of European Union Competition Commissioner Karel Van Miert.'

JANUARY 22

Financial Times

p2 'Easing the pain of "vertical restraints"'

'It may not have the scintillating title, but the European Commission's Green Paper on Vertical Restraints in EU Competition Policy will be anything but dull for businesses in the single market.'

p8 'Rifkind dashes hopes of Euroceptics'

'Mr Malcolm Rifkind, the foreign secretary, has dashed the last-remaining hopes of cabinet Euroceptics that the government will drop its wait-and-see policy on monetary union, demanding that the UK retains the option of joining the first wave of entrants.'

WSJE

p2 'EU's Bonino prepares to sample food safety'

'BRUSSELS - The European Union's consumer chief is about to sip from a poisoned chalice. That's how some people describe Emma Bonino's possible appointment as the new food czar - and she herself says it's a fair analysis'

p17 'Proposed EU chocolate standard draws broad range of criticism'

'BRUSSELS - It's supposed to be a source of delight, but chocolate is the font of much discord in Brussels. The problem is a proposal by the European Commission to impose a uniform definition of the popular sweet throughout the 15-nation European Union.'

JANUARY 23

Bersen

p15: 'New EU competition rules hit small countries'...'Brussels: The European Commission are preparing two changes to the EU's competition rules which involve a more lenient course in respect of agreements between producers and traders. But at the same time a harsh assault is made on Danish niche-production'

Financial Times

p2: 'Brussels clears sale of bottler to Coca-Cola'

'The European Commission yesterday approved the sale by Cadbury Schweppes and Coca-Cola of their UK bottling joint venture to Coca-Cola Enterprises, the Coca-Cola Companies part-owned bottling arm.'

p2: 'Van Miert keeps up the pressure over BA deal'

'Rival airlines could challenge British Airways and American Airlines in their national courts if the UK approves the planned alliance between the two airlines against the advice of the European Commission, Mr Karel Van Miert, competition commissioner, said yesterday.'

p19: 'A big hand in Europe' interview with Hervé de Charette, France's Foreign Minister
(He talks about his vision for the EU and NATO.)

IHT

p1: 'EU's real target to move East: 2002'...'Even that date is optimistic, and not for all 10 candidates'

'BRUSSELS - In a misstep that sparked concern across Eastern Europe, the European Commission let slip its belief Wednesday that the European Union would not include former Warsaw Pact members before 2002 at the earliest and that only some of the 10 candidate countries would qualify.'

p8: 'NATO expansion as a crafty consolation prize'

'WASHINGTON - Sometimes the news is in the noise and sometimes in the silence. If you want to understand what is wrong with NATO expansion, the new Clinton administration's first major foreign policy challenge, listen to the silence, the silence of Europeans on this subject.'

p13: 'EU to open Boeing inquiry'

'BRUSSELS - The European Commission's top competition official said Wednesday that it would open an antitrust inquiry into Boeing Co's \$13.9 billion acquisition of McDonnell Douglas Corp amid concern that the alliance would strangle competition.'

WSJE

p1: EU Notebook column

Includes:

Mad-cow row

Big Spenders - about national subsidies up

Oops: Commission goofs on EU enlargement - the hoo-hah over the entry dates for new members

On hold: plans for VAT on call-back telephone services

Van Mierlo applauds Franco-German push for European integration

And they're off - French tax break for national horse-racing holdings

Making waves - steelmakers ask Commission to challenge decades-old US anti-dumping legislation

Where is everybody? Failure of promotion of employee ownership or profit-sharing schemes

p2: 'Van Miert warns Britain on BA-American linkup' (roundup)

'BRUSSELS - European Union Competition Commissioner Karel Van Miert warned that if the British Airways alliance with AMR Corp.'s American Airlines is cleared by the UK as planned, the merged carrier would

become illegal within the EU.'

p2: 'Irish budget sets scene for EMU, election'

'DUBLIN - The 1997 budget presented Wednesday by Irish Finance Minister Ruairi Quinn sets the stage for a general election this year and virtually guarantees that Ireland will qualify for European monetary union.'

p2: 'EU approves plan to acquire UK bottler'

'The European Commission formally approved Coca-Cola Enterprises Inc.'s proposed \$1.95 billion acquisition of a British bottler. The plan had faced intense scrutiny from antitrust regulators amid protests from smaller competitors.'

p2: 'Phone accord ignored in Italy, Van Miert says'

'BRUSSELS - European Union competition chief Karel Van Miert lambasted the Italian government for failing to respect the terms of a 1995 agreement aimed at creating a level playing field in the country's cellular-phone market.'

The European (week January 23 - 29)

p1 'President to seek cash for "poorer" MEPs'

'The European Parliament will look at practical ways to improve the salaries of its lowest paid MEPs, its newly elected President has told *The European*.'

p1 'Kohl and Chirac "deal" riles Dutch'

'Speculation that Paris and Bonn have stitched up a deal to place a Frenchman as head of the powerful new European Central Bank is putting fresh strain on relations with the Dutch European Union Presidency.'

p1 'Bad starter for slimline lunch'

'European Union ministers this week were to have sampled their first taste of politics à la hollandaise after the Dutch presidency informed them that their days of long lunches were over.'

p2 'Citizens First rings up the phone calls'

'Nearly a quarter of a million people across Europe have responded to the Citizens First information initiative, launched two months ago in Brussels to inform citizens of their rights in the single market.'

p2 'Not so smart card'

'Forget bulky wallets, the slimline smartcard could prove to be the ID equivalent of the single currency...'

p5 'Genetic foods face trial by shopping'

'Measures to label genetically modified food clearly have been pushed through by the European Parliament.'

p8 Comment: 'A vehicle for fifteen'

'What possible motive lay behind the high-handed comments of the French and German foreign ministers, Hervé de Charette and Klaus Kinkel, following the Council of Ministers' meeting on 20 January? Whatever it was, the effect has been to re-emphasise the feeling of other member states that their voices carry less weight.'

p9 'Gil Robles faces a stormy ride at the European Parliament's helm'.... 'The new president wants MEPs to spend more time in their constituencies.'

p10: 'Slippery mantra for Europe' ... 'Flexibility is the new buzzword. So vague a concept might enhance diversity but could promote an elitist core...' (Plus a 'Layman's Guide' - tongue-in cheek explanation of 'flexibility'.)

p11: 'French high fliers put women at Europe's heart'

'On the face of it the two French female politicians both re-elected as vice presidents of the European Parliament have little in common, apart from their first name - Nicole.'

The European Business Section

p16: Usual EU roundup

p18: Comment and analysis: 'Resisting the euro from left, right, north and south'... 'Euroseptics, eurocynics, eurocritics and europhobes. Call them what you like, the growing number of intellectual opponents to monetary union are a mixed bag.'

p26: 'Eureka comes of age with new initiatives' ... 'Peter Matthews on the EU research arm's tenth birthday...'

JANUARY 24

Børsen

p8: 'Big is beautiful in the retail trade'

'The future for the retail trade belongs to the chains, and political curbs on shop sizes and opening times will be pushed aside by the EU's and consumers' demands.'

p13: 'Competition green book inspires joy in Danish industry'... 'Danish Industry content with flexibility'

p13: 'Danish fight for Norwegian salmon'

'Danish smokehouses are going into battle to secure free entry to the EU's markets for Norwegian salmon '

p16: 'Great Britain more negative towards EMU'

'It is now extremely unlikely that Great Britain will join EMU from the start - 1 January 1999 '

Financial Times

p1: 'Major takes tougher Emu line'

'The prime minister yesterday persuaded his cabinet colleagues to unite around a new and more hostile approach to European monetary union, saying it was "very unlikely" sterling would join a single currency at the official launch date of 1999.'

p2: 'MEPs set to censure Brussels over BSE'

'Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) are preparing to vote on an unprecedented motion of censure against the European Commission over its management of BSE, or "mad cow" disease '

p21: Comment: 'A dismal Emu compromise'

'Mr John Major's government has now issued what it says is its final word on possible British participation in a single European currency during the lifetime of the next parliament.'

p21: 'Seeds of discontent'

'A quiet revolution is taking place in Brussels. The European Commission is fashioning a new agricultural policy for the next millennium which will pay people to stay on the land, but not necessarily to farm.'

IHT

p5: 'Scots' haggis, EU decrees, gang aft a-gley'

'LONDON - Scottish expatriates got a shock Thursday when the European Union announced that its ban on British beef exports also applied to haggis, the delicacy traditionally consumed at Burns Night suppers this weekend.'

p14: 'Bundesbank chief takes wary stance on money union'

'FRANKFURT - Tensions that have erupted in the last month between Germany and France over monetary

union were only the "initial skirmishes," Hans Tietmeyer, the president of the Bundesbank, said in a newspaper interview.'

WSJE

p2: 'Britain reaffirms doubt about a 1999 EMU launch'

'LONDON - After studying a Treasury paper on progress by European countries to meet criteria for the single European currency, the British cabinet reaffirmed that "it is very unlikely" European economic and monetary union can be launched as planned on January 1, 1999.'

p2: 'Alitalia chairman expects EU to back Italy's Bailout plan'

'BRUSSELS - The chairman of Alitalia SpA said he's confident European Union regulators will back the planned three trillion lire (\$1.88 billion) bailout of the Italian flag carrier, despite concerns that the subsidy breaches EU rules.'

p2: 'EU praises Czech bid'

'BRUSSELS - The European Union Foreign Relations Commissioner Hans van den Broek lauded the Czech Republic's bid to qualify for EU membership yet urged Prague to do more.'

p2 'EU Telecom changes could add up to 1.3 million jobs, study finds'

'BRUSSELS - The European Union could add as many as 1.3 million jobs by 2005 through liberalization and technological change in the telecommunications sector, according to a study for the European Commission.'

JANUARY 25

Financial Times

p5 'Brussels threatens action on auditors'

'The European Commission has threatened to take the UK to the European Court of Justice for breaching EU rules that require all public contracts to be put out to competitive tender.'

Weekend Money section

p1 'Alliances are in the air'...'Michael Skapinker reports on British Airways controversial plan to link with a US rival'

IHT

p2 'EU's carrot not good enough to heal the Cyprus split'

'BRUSSELS - Just a few months ago, senior European and US officials expressed hope that the prospect of Cyprus's entering into membership negotiations with the European Union would provide the carrot to make this the year to resolve the island's bitter political divide.'

p2 'Bonn and Paris weigh atomic force'

'PARIS - France and Germany have agreed to open discussions on adding a nuclear dimension to European defense policy, according to a secret joint strategy paper signed by leaders of the two countries last month that was published Friday by the newspaper *Le Monde*.'

p5. 'A green light for Burma to join ASEAN's ranks'

'SINGAPORE - The Association of South East Asian Nations has decided to include Burma as a new member this year, even though the presence of the Burmese military regime could cause a rift in relations with the West and disrupt plans to hold a summit meeting between European and Asian leaders, officials and analysts say.'

p8 'Europe has 17 months to get serious on Bosnia'

'PARIS - The first important decision of the second Clinton administration was made known on Wednesday. President Bill Clinton's newly confirmed secretary of defense, William Cohen, said that American forces will

definitely quit Bosnia in June 1998. Bosnia thenceforth, according to Mr Cohen is "a European problem".

JANUARY 27

Bersen

p13: 'The Swiss hope for a strong euro'...'Even though the Swiss are outside the EU, it is in the country's interests that economic and monetary co-operation in the EU is a success, and that the euro becomes just as strong a currency as the D-mark. However, the Swiss do not want the strong Swiss Franc to be bound to the euro'

p14: 'Fight against violence will sell the EU to the Social Democrats'...'The fight against crime is not just picked out as the leitmotif in the Social Democrats attempt to regain a foothold among electors, but also to get a Yes to the EU in the forthcoming referendum'

Financial Times

p1 'Germany may qualify only narrowly for monetary union. Bonn revises deficit to 2.9%'
'The German government has revised upwards its forecast of this year's public sector deficit, suggesting that the country will qualify only narrowly for European economic and monetary union.'

p2: 'Franco-German pact stresses reform of Nato'
'France is planning to step up negotiations with the US on reform of Nato, which a new Franco-German defence document hails as the key to European defence.'

p10: 'Lobbyists in search of a fast Ecu'...'Dateline: Brussels: Today's launch of the European Policy Centre shows how the city is now a magnet for think-tanks'

p18: 'Out in Europe' Peter Stephen column. 'Britain will sooner or later have to choose between giving up the pound or leaving the European Union'

IHT

p1: 'Let Britain worry about liberties, EU says'
'PARIS - Despite protests by Britain and the United States over China's intention to dilute civil liberties in Hong Kong, the response of the European Union about the developments in its seventh largest trading partner has remained muted.'

p8: Comment: 'NATO helps Europe'
'NATO's proposed expansion eastward has stirred debate, particularly with regard to the impact on the West's relations with Russia. But the reintegration of traditional Central European democracies into European organizations is not only about Russia...'

p11: 'Currency criteria "an arduous task"'...'Italy is determined to meet goals for euro, treasury minister says'
'MILAN - Italy is ready to take further steps to cut its deficit to join a single European currency but it would be an "arduous task" to meet the criteria this year, the treasury minister said Sunday.'

WSJE

p2: 'Italy is determined to meet EMU goals, Ciampi says'
'MILAN - Italian Treasury Minister Carlo Azeglio Ciampi reiterated Sunday that the government is ready to enact additional measures to meet the Maastricht requirement for economic and monetary union of attaining a 3% deficit-to-gross domestic product ratio in 1997.'

p2: 'France, Germany consider sharing nuclear deterrent'

'PARIS - Declaring their security needs "inseparable", French and German leaders last month secretly agreed to discuss sharing France's nuclear deterrent for the first time, a French official confirmed.'

p14: 'Belgian banks square off over tax breaks for euro'

'BRUSSELS - Belgian banks gave themselves a Christmas present in December, but the Finance Ministry may ask for all or some of it back. Rather than await the ministry's stamp of approval, many banks last month deducted from their tax bills funds they'd set aside for the transition to the euro, the future single European currency.'

p21: 'Low wheat-export award signals EU won't undercut US price'

'BRUSSELS - The relatively low wheat export award by the European Commission last week was meant to warn traders that EU export refunds won't undercut US wheat prices in the second half of the 1996-97 marketing year, a European Union agricultural source said.'

JANUARY 28

Børsen

p8 'EU hinders electricity law'

'Environment and Energy Minister, Svend Auken, has big problems in getting the Danish electricity liberalisation laws recognised by the EU.'

p12: 'Jelved suggests common EU corporation tax'

'Brussels Finance Minister, Marianne Jelved, is trying to get agreement in the European Union for minimum rates for corporation tax and tax on interest.'

p19 'Fines for Danish banks outside the euro'

'Brussels Danish banks will be penalised in order to stop them benefiting from being outside the euro-zone.'

Financial Times

p3 'Spain faces extra hurdle in Emu race'... 'Madrid should meet the economic criteria, but politics has tied its fate inextricably to Italy's'

p3 'Euro will mean huge upheaval for coin-handling machines'

'Early next century, if all goes to plan, the 70 or so different coins circulating throughout the nations of the European Union will be replaced by just eight new euro coins of different denominations - a prospect to focus the mind of any manager involved with automatic coin handling.'

p3. 'Japan adopts UK's wait and see stance'

'Japanese businessmen and bankers are for the first time taking the prospect of European monetary union seriously.'

p6 'The virtue of virtual warehousing'... 'Accountants dream up scheme to short-cut EU customs red tape'

p6 World Trade news digest

'EU-SA talks deadlocked'

p20: 'France and Germany seek "tax poaching" crackdown'

'France and Germany yesterday called for a code of conduct to stop unfair tax competition in the EU.'

IHT

p1 'EU tensions show over call to make taxes more uniform' ... 'Ministers raise objections to German-French proposal..'

'BRUSSELS - Tensions over Europe's planned single currency shifted from the central bank to taxes Monday

as Germany and France called for more uniform tax rates across the European Union to prevent countries such as Luxembourg and Ireland from luring jobs and potential economic growth away from other EU members through fiscal incentives.'

p6: 'EC to finance TV shows that promote the euro'

'BRUSSELS - The European Commission, seeking better understanding of the European Union's single-currency and integration plans, will offer to finance suitable television programs from a fund equivalent to \$23.7 million.'

p11: Thinking Ahead/Commentary 'Britain can't stop EU "flexibility"'

'WASHINGTON - The plan sounds deceptively simple - the logical answer to one of the thorniest problems dogging the drive to European unity since World War II. It goes by the seemingly harmless name of "flexibility".'

WSJE

p2: 'EU move to harmonize tax policies initially sounds a discordant note'

'BRUSSELS - European Union finance ministers led by Germany, launched what promises to be a controversial debate on the long-taboo subject of coordinating tax policies among the 15 member states.'

p2: 'EU offers more flexibility on antidumping-law use'

'BRUSSELS - The European Union's trade commissioner, Sir Leon Brittan, offered a more flexible application of EU antidumping laws in the face of strong criticism from Central and Eastern European countries '

p2: 'EMI chief advocates new group to consult with central bankers'

'FRANKFURT - The head of the European Monetary Institute said he favors creating a new group of finance ministers representing countries participating in Europe's future unified currency, saying it would give central bank officials a way to privately voice the disapproval of government policy.'

p4: 'Rules of the Game' col by Martin du Bois

Section headed: 'Van Miert proposes change to current cartel rules'

p11: 'How do you qualify for the Euro club? By cheating' Global View by George Melloan)

'A group of European academics and other light-hearted sorts have devised a trophy, called a Fudgie, for the finance minister finding the most imaginative ways to make budget deficits look smaller than serious accountancy would require.'

p13: 'Fluctuation bands take the spotlight in race for EMU'

'FRANKFURT - With qualification for European economic and monetary union at the top of many nation's political and monetary agendas for 1997, the issue of exchange rate fluctuations has taken on added importance '

p14: 'EU aims to limit range of appeals to force majeure'

'LONDON - European Commission officials have confirmed that draft legislation dealing with the treatment of financial contracts after the introduction of a single European currency has been amended to close a loophole on the use of force majeure clauses.'

p28: 'EU Green-rate changes reawaken questions on farmer protections'

'LONDON - A recent slew of changes in the green rates used to calculate European Union farm subsidies has reawakened questions about how they cosset farmers already protected by the Common Agricultural Policy, or CAP.'

Børsen

p6: 'Swelling EU coffers waiting for small biotechnology companies'

'There are millions of ecu to be got from the EU's research and technology development programme for Danish biotechnology companies - who are complaining about lack of capital.'

p10: 'EU prepares common levels of taxation'... 'The European Commission will work out a proposal about how taxation policy in the EU countries can be co-ordinated. The Commissioner for Taxation, Mario Monti, promised yesterday that he will publish a text that can be put into practice without further negotiation'

p10: 'Monetary union will grow rapidly'

'Frankfurt: The second wave of countries joining the single European currency will, in all probability, come as soon as a year after the start that is planned for 1 January, 1999.'

p10 'Ritt rubber stamps green taxes'

'Brussels Commissioner for the Environment, Ritt Bjerregaard, put forward yesterday a list of green taxes which, she believes, member states can introduce without fear that they would be in conflict with the single market.'

p11: 'Denmark can become a Baltic superpower'

'As the only Nordic country to be a member of both the EU and NATO, Denmark has glowing prospects of taking over the leading role in an active and dynamic Baltic policy. But the Swedes have seized the initiative and are in the process of taking the role of the big power in the Baltic region'

p11 'German fight to meet Maastricht criteria'... 'Germany's tussle to meet the Maastricht criteria is becoming nerve-wracking'

p14: 'Denmark in the second EMU wave'

'The President of the European Monetary Institute, Alexandre Lamfalussy, predicts that there will be a new wave of participants in the common currency as soon as a year after the start.'

Financial Times

p1 'Clarke reaffirms Emu stance'... 'Chancellor challenges Eurosceptics, saying UK could still be in "first wave"'

'Mr Kenneth Clarke, the chancellor, threw down the gauntlet yesterday to Tory Eurosceptics by insisting that during the next parliament Britain could still be among the first wave of countries joining a single European currency.'

p1 'Labour unlikely to opt for entry at launch'

'Labour is preparing EU member states for a UK decision not to join the first wave of European monetary union in 1999.'

p6 'Japan plans Emu-style deficit curbs'

'The Japanese government is planning legislation this year to bring its growing budget deficit under control over the next decade, using targets similar to those used by the European Union for its planned single currency.'

p9: 'Use of EU funds for childcare attacked'

'Britain's record on providing childcare was yesterday attacked by a European Commissioner who said Brussels was being asked to provide basic social services in deprived areas.'

p9. 'Cook prepares to play crucial role in Europe' ... 'Shadow foreign secretary stresses "willingness to engage with the international community"'

p22: 'Personal View' David Marsh. 'Call for a reality check'...'Financial markets seem oblivious to the possibility of the EU missing its Emu timetable'

p23: Comment: 'Hoping for the best'

'Most of the German cabinet would dearly love to put European monetary union behind them.'

p24: 'UK exports to non-EU countries show steepest fall for 9 years'

'The UK's exports to countries outside the European Union recorded the biggest fall for at least nine years last month, underscoring the difficulties faced by companies coping with a strong pound.'

WSJE

p2: 'EU to launch probe of the BT-MCI merger'

'The European Commission is expected to launch an in-depth investigation into British Telecommunications PLC's acquisition of MCI Communications Corp.'

p2: 'German states' budgets said to be critical for EMU entry'

(Roundup)

'Germany will have difficulty meeting the fiscal criteria for entering European monetary union unless the federal states further consolidate their budgets, a senior official of Germany's central bank said.'

p3: 'US, UK near "open skies" but airline deal delayed'

'US negotiators said an open-skies deal with Britain is nearly complete, but regulatory delays have forced British Airways and American Airlines, a unit of AMR Corp., to push back to next winter the timetable for fully implementing their controversial alliance.'

JANUARY 30

Bersen

p10: 'EU ought to allow local reductions in VAT'...'Although Danish politicians, generally without exception, are against any kind of VAT differentiation, in the rest of the EU pressure has mounted for more opportunities for graduation'

p11: 'Auken fights a lost battle in the tin can affair'

'The Environment and Energy Minister, Svend Auken, is fighting a losing battle in upholding the Danish ban on tins for beer and soda water.'

p12: 'EU on the attack against the Irish tax haven'...'Ireland must learn to live without the EU's regional subsidies which have made the country a magnet for foreign investment.'

p12: 'Common economic government'...'The EU countries' future common currency is threatened by "explosion" a few years after it is established unless the euro countries establish an "economic government" - not to counterbalance the planned European Central Bank, but to formulate these countries' economic policy'

p12: 'EU VAT on call-back'...'Telephone companies outside the EU will from now on have to pay VAT in one of the 15 European countries. The aim is to limit the so-called "call back services" from the USA which offer cheap international calls and which have up until now avoided European taxes.'

Financial Times

p1: 'Toyota chief in warning on Emu'

'Toyota Motor, one of the biggest inward investors in the UK, warned yesterday that the company's European investment strategy might change if the UK stayed out of European monetary union.'

p2: 'Brussels to probe BT-MCI deal'

'The European Commission is unlikely to raise any serious objections to the merger between British Telecommunications, the UK telecom company, and MCI, the US long-distance carrier, but is expected to open a full scale investigation into the \$20bn (£12bn) deal today.'

p2: 'Brittan blocks EU rules on waste'

'Sir Leon Brittan, the European Union's chief trade negotiator, is blocking plans for tough new rules on waste management under which EU countries would be forced to incinerate rubbish or introduce strict regimes for sorting household waste.'

p7: 'EU closes VAT loophole'

'Telecoms operators based outside the European Union will have to add value-added tax on services they offer to consumers within the EU, under European Commission proposals backed yesterday by the member states.'

p7: 'French clash with Brittan on dumping'

'France is resisting a move by Sir Leon Brittan, Europe's trade commissioner, to reorientate the European Union's anti-dumping regime by requiring it to take into account a broader range of economic criteria and business interests.'

p13: 'Party takes its jobs ideas to Europe'

'Flexibility, responsibility, efficiency. New Labour is proselytising its vision for corporate success in the capitals of Europe as it prepares for what it hopes will be a government led by Tony Blair and a British Presidency of the EU in less than a year.'

p20 'A yen for the euro' - Lex column

IHT

p1 'Toyota raises UK stakes on single-currency issue'

'LONDON - Toyota Motor Corp. shifted the debate over Europe's single currency from the theoretical to the practical Wednesday, reportedly threatening to limit its future investments in Europe to countries that are part of the European Union's planned single currency.'

p8 Comment. 'Let's hope France and Germany get it right'

'WASHINGTON - Two centuries of bitter conflict and proud diversity have produced a modern Europe in which the Germans control the money and the French have the bomb. Imagine the world's dilemma if it were the other way round '

p11. 'The lines of battle: EU targets US callback services with tax'

'BRUSSELS - The European Union moved Wednesday to close a tax loophole that helps US companies make billions by offering Europeans cheap international phone calls.'

p13 'Europe to widen inquiry into BT's takeover of MCI'

'LONDON - The European Commission will intensify its scrutiny of British Telecommunications PLC's proposed \$25 billion acquisition of MCI Communications Corp., BT said Wednesday.'

WSJE

p1: 'Power broker: Luxembourg's Juncker takes a pivotal role in EU's top projects'... 'Mediator in Paris-Bonn rows, he also gives small states clout in voting disputes....But "junior" has tax problem'

'LUXEMBOURG - In the ongoing road show of EU integration, expansion and monetary union, star players like Kohl, Chirac and Major hog the limelight. But increasingly it's a man named Juncker who draws applause for deft stage management.' (PM of Luxembourg)

p1: EU Notebook Includes:

Taxing call - EU moves to slap VAT on all phone services
Green fines - penalties against Germany and Italy
Spare a dime - shape and nature of the euro-coin
Rocky road - Polish Gov.'s strategy for joining EU in trouble
Open the vault - finance ministers agree to lend more to Eastern Europe
Polluter pays - Bjerregaard's white paper on liability for environmental damage
No tea party - Commission threatens to take the Spanish Gov. to court for banning the sale of loose tea

p2: 'World telecom pact may require US and EU to lower expectations'

'GENEVA - The US and Europe may have to lower their sights now if they want to conclude a world telecommunications pact by the Feb 15 deadline.'

p2: 'Toyota links more UK investments to EMU' (Roundup)

'LONDON - The president of Toyota Motor Corp. drew a strong reaction from the British government after he appeared to rule out building new factories in Britain and said the company's future investments in Europe could shift to the Continent if London opts out of a single European currency.'

p6: Comment: 'Europe's new bogeyman'

'When European finance ministers suddenly start speaking with one voice, it's probably a good time for suspicion. (About so-called 'fiscal dumping' - but WS/E is not sure exactly what 'unfair competition' is in this context.)

The European (week 30 January - 5 February)

p1: 'Ombudsman acts to slash EU secrecy'

'Fourteen European Union institutions were told to open up to public scrutiny or face charges of maladministration as part of a campaign by the European ombudsman to make the Union more transparent.'

p1: 'Ciller holds Nato to ransom'

'Turkish Foreign Minister Tansu Ciller has raised the possibility of Ankara vetoing the expansion of Nato if her country is not allowed into the European Union.'

p2: 'Gibraltar demands EU voting rights'

'The government of Gibraltar, a British Dependent Territory with self governing status, is demanding that the European Commission ensures that its 30,000 citizens be granted the right to vote in European elections '

p2: 'Kohl faces economic backlash'

'Chancellor Helmut Kohl is preparing to ride out a storm of domestic criticism over his plans for economic and monetary union (EMU) following a backlash against his tax reform programme and a series of grim budget forecasts.'

p7: 'Major plays for time as Europe seeks new start'... 'The British Premier is determined to remain at the helm until May...'

p8: Comment: 'Right to public information'

'Every public body has a dinosaur in its basement, guarding its secret files, Jacob Söderman, the European ombudsman, wrote in a recent column in this newspaper.'

p9: 'Euro designs score an own goal on style'

(About 'famous' Europeans to go on the new euro notes.)

p10: 'Quoting out of turn and turning round in a succession of quotes'

(Critical piece about Sir Leon Brittan's comments - he is 'only a civil servant'. Piece focuses in general on 'advice' from British politicians about the EU.)

p15: 'Hagi leads charge for non-EU players' rights'

'A legal challenge by Romanian World Cup star Gheorghe Hagi, described as "the Bosnian case for non-EU players", is threatening to throw European football into further chaos.'

The European Business Section

p17: 'EMI chief floats stability council compromise'

'Alexandre Lamfalussy, president of the European Monetary Institute (EMI), has conceded that the future European Central Bank will need political "input" from a body made up of national representatives of EMU members after the euro's launch.'

p17: 'Tax haven fears over EU attack'

'Offshore tax havens could lose up to \$500 billion in investments if renewed efforts to stop unfair tax competition in the European Union are successful.'

p18: Usual EU Roundup

p19 'EU directive delays "could hurt banks"'

'European banks have warned that delays in passing an updated version of the European Union's Capital Adequacy Directive (CAD) could put them at a competitive disadvantage to non-EU banks in their capital markets trading operations.'

p20. 'The waiting may not be so bad for central Europe'

'In an unguarded moment last week the European Commission admitted what many have long known. The countries of central Europe will not be admitted to the EU before 2002, and some may have to wait considerably longer.'

p27 'Is Europe ready to dump the CAP?'... 'Many farmers are facing up to the possibility that fat EU subsidies will eventually come to an end...'

(About the increasing likelihood of a free market in agricultural products.)

p27. 'Seeds of discontent grow in Portugal'... 'EU agriculture reforms have fallen on stony ground as farmers slam late payments and complex rules...'

JANUARY 31

Børsen

p2 'Auken's NESA law is contrary to EU regulations'

'The European Commission has branded Energy Minister, Svend Auken's NESA law a breach of EU regulations. A spokesman for Mario Monti, the EU Commissioner for the Single Market, told Børsen that the Danish Government may not hinder the sale of Danish electricity companies to foreign companies.'

p16: 'Eurostat will put a stop to EMU cheating'... 'The European statistics office, Eurostat, will put a stop to member countries fiddling their budget figures.'

p18: 'The EU lags behind in the IT race'... 'Europe lags further and further behind in the competition for market share in the field of information technology'

p20: 'Europe can be pleased about stable growth'... 'The run-up to European currency union will take place in an environment of stable growth where particularly the monetary policies in the Western European countries are having a favourable influence on the economy'

p20: 'Toyota create a British storm'... 'Toyota's top boss, Hiroshi Okuda, has created a political storm in Great Britain with warnings about the consequences of staying outside of EMU'

p20: 'Denmark without euro influence (exactly the same story as was in *Jyllands Posten*)

p28: 'Nine months to EMU time'... 'Citibank: both banks and companies are preparing much too inadequately for EMU'

p28: 'Euromoney is a challenge for London's derivative exchange'

Financial Times

p2: 'EU ministers open fire on tax poachers' ... 'France and Germany believe it is time for Europe to curb beggar-my-neighbour tax rivalries'

p2: 'Spain presses home ambitions on Emu'

'Spain yesterday pressed home its ambitions to be in the first wave of European economic and monetary union members.'

p7: 'Toyota chief acts to calm Emu row'

'Mr Hiroshi Okuda, president of Toyota, Japan's largest carmaker, yesterday sought to calm the UK political row sparked by his warning that Toyota's European investment strategy might change if Britain stayed out of European monetary union.'

p7: 'Alarm over an off-the-cuff comment'... 'Mawhinney assures Eurosceptics of no censorship in run-up to election'

p7: 'Sense of unease over a Britain out in the cold'

'Toyota's warning that its UK investment strategy might change if Britain stays out of European monetary union reflects an ill-defined sense of unease among Japanese policymakers and top executives'

p7: 'Overseas investors at record level' (linked to stories above)

p15: Comment: 'Whispered warning'

'Mr Hiroshi Okuda, the president of Toyota Motor, has delivered an oblique but unmistakable warning of the dangers inherent in the UK's ambivalence to European Monetary union.'

p16: 'Retired mandarins help Blair on Europe'

'Labour is reviewing the position of senior civil servants involved in European policy making, with the spot light falling on Sir Stephen Wall, the UK's permanent representative in Brussels and a friend of Mr John Major.'

p16: 'Brussels in move to break air slot deadlock'

'The European Commission is considering a compromise on the thorny issue of airport take-off and landing slots by limiting the time airlines can hold such slots in return for allowing them to be bought and sold'

pX: 'Emu concentrates career minds' ... 'Leading banks have set up working groups to examine the effect of monetary union'

IHT

p13: 'Toyota chief eases threat to UK'

'LONDON - The president of Toyotapulled back Thursday from threats the previous day to stop all future investment in Britain if it remained outside of Europe's planned single currency.'

WSJE

p2: 'It's official: EU to probe BT-MCI merger'

'The European commission, as expected, is launching an in-depth investigation into British Telecommunications'

PLC's proposed acquisition of MCI Communications Corp., citing concerns about the merger's impact on competition in the trans-Atlantic telecom market.'

p8: 'Why Europe's silicon valley is in a rut'

'Last September the US and the European Union agreed to eliminate tariffs on electronic products, including semiconductors, computers and telecommunications equipment. But the EU continues to drag its feet on establishing a timetable for the phase-out.'

FEBRUARY 1

Financial Times

p1: 'Euro makes City debut in bond'...'Success of issue eases concerns over London's role if UK stays out of Emu.'

p2 'Commission to delay hours ruling'

'The European Commission is set to delay publishing details on extending the 48-hour week to 9m workers until after the British general election, to avoid a fresh row between London and Brussels over the sensitive issue of EU social policy.'

p2 'Brussels to clarify stance on deficits'

'The European Commission will publish guidelines on Monday attempting to clarify when governments can use creative accounting to reduce their public deficits in order to qualify for economic and monetary union.'

IHT

p6. 'Europe provides a guide to shrinking world's rich-poor gap'

'NEW YORK - The other day, I opened my newspaper and thought I must be dreaming. A front-page headline read "Gap closes between rich and poor nations"'. (On closer inspection it was referring to countries within the EU)

FEBRUARY 3

Børsen

p7. 'Electricity giants distances themselves from NESA law'...'Europe's leading power producers are not inclined to challenge the Environment and Energy Minister, Svend Auken, (following on from the ruling by the EU Commission that the Danes could not legislate against foreign concerns buying Danish electricity companies).

p16 Comment: 'The shift in the stance towards the EU' (About the new moves for greater collaboration.)

p16 - 17: 'A common registered pattern, with exceptions'...'There is a difference between the patenting of a design of a car and the patenting of its parts. Therefore the EU wants to safeguard competition in the car industry, but member countries are wavering'

'Although it's not normally something you hear the EU praised for - the EU is, of course, something you criticise - but one of the EU's strengths is in safeguarding effective competition.'

Financial Times

p1: 'Labour would join "stable" Emu'...'Cook cites fears over inward investment if Britain shuns single currency in long term'

'A Labour government would take sterling into a European single currency by 2002 if it proves to be "stable", the party said yesterday.'

p1: 'German business leaders doubt 1999 start date'

'German business leaders expressed doubts at the weekend over whether European single currency would start on its January 1999 target date, and held out the prospect of market turmoil if Italy were among the first members.'

p2: 'EU raps "predatory" German Post office'

'European Commission officials have accused Deutsche Post, the German post office, of trying to put rival private parcel services out of business by unlawfully undercutting their prices since 1984.'

p3: 'Poland tightens up on Daewoo under EU pressure'

'Poland has bowed to intense pressure from the European Union and agreed to tighten tariffs on car imports by Daewoo, the South Korean industrial conglomerate, which is committed to a \$1.4bn investment in Poland's car manufacturing.'

p8: 'EU report rejects social chapter fears'

'The UK government's assertion that the European Union's employment policies would threaten the country's competitiveness if it signed the social chapter is strongly challenged today in an EU-commissioned report on the UK labour market.'

p8: 'Cook sets a course of "wait and join"...' 'Labour now accepts that it would be damaging to stay out of monetary union.'

'There was a mixture of joy and bemusement yesterday among Labour's pro-Europeans after Mr Robin Cook conceded that it would be in Britain's interest to join a successful European single currency by 2002, within the lifetime of the next parliament.'

p8: 'Japanese play down Emu controversy'

'Senior Japanese businessmen and bankers warned this weekend that Britain should not drift apart from its European neighbours. But they added, at the private meeting with UK counterparts, that they understood UK scepticism over monetary union.'

p11: 'Brussels warns on windfall tax'

'Labour's plans to impose a windfall tax on privatised companies could fall foul of European Union competition law, officials in Brussels said yesterday.'

p22: 'Europe turns to WTO on US anti-Cuba law'

'The European Union is heading for a showdown with the US over its Helms-Burton anti-Cuba legislation, which trade diplomats fear could impose serious strains on relations and provoke a crisis in the World Trade Organisation.'

p22: 'European action urged to catch up on technology'

'Urgent political and economic action by all EU member countries is needed to help Europe's information and communication technology (ICT) industries close a "disturbing" competitiveness gap with the US and Japan, according to a report prepared for the EU Council of Ministers.'

IHT

p11: 'Toward a European Declaration of Interdependence' (Question and Answer piece with George Soros)

p11: 'Europe's future central bank: more than an inflation-fighter'

'BRUSSELS - To hear Europe's politicians talk, the debate about the future European central bank involves a stark choice between an independent body along the lines of Germany's Bundesbank, which resolutely defends sound money, and a submissive bank controlled by politicians that tolerates rising prices and a falling euro.'

p16: 'Broad EMU is "Time bomb" top German bankers warn'

'DAVOS, Switzerland - Leading German bankers held out the prospect Sunday of turmoil on financial markets if Italy and "certain other countries" were allowed to help launch Europe's single currency in 1999.'

WSJE

p1: The Outlook. 'Can 15 tax systems coexist with EMU?'

'An unwelcome realization is beginning to overshadow the European Union's plan for economic and monetary union: The project could come apart at the seams unless participating countries adopt a common tax and welfare system.'

p4: The European Economist col - this week with John Llewellyn global chief economist at Lehman Brothers. (Talks about the probability of EMU starting on time, then its long-term prospects.)

p5: 'Waigel and Trichet call for independent bank'

'German finance minister Theo Waigel and Bank of France Governor Jean-Claude Trichet Saturday stressed the need for a politically independent European central bank and the usefulness of an "informal" stability council.'

p14: 'EU panel to serve up plan for free airing of sports events'

'BRUSSELS - The European Commission this week will call for guarantees that major sporting events are televised free of charge to all viewers.'

FEBRUARY 4

Bersen

p12, 'Germany yields to French EMU demands'... 'Accepts stability council as Central Bank superstructure'

'The German Government has now accepted the proposal for a stability council for EMU. The stability council has long been a French wish, but the Germans have fought against it for fear that the Central Bank's independence would be lost.'

p13 'Blunt rejection of more power to the big EU countries'... 'First Belgium and now also Holland have taken great exception to the EU Commissioner Hans van den Broek's suggestion that the small EU countries should surrender authority to France, Germany and Great Britain to further the decision-making process in the EU'

p18 'Euro loans in mortgage credit and banks from 1999'

'Euro loans will stream in over Danish borders from 1 January 1999, even though Denmark stands outside EMU Building societies and banks will offer loans in euros, initially to export companies.'

Financial Times

p1 'Major to intensify attack on EU policies'... 'Juppé denies link between social chapter and high European unemployment'

'Mr John Major is set today to make his most withering attack yet on the European Union's approach to economic management and employment, saying the "European model is fundamentally flawed".'

p3: 'Boost for Italy's bid to be in first Emu wave'

'Italy's bid to qualify for economic and monetary union (Emu) received a boost yesterday after the EU's statistical watchdog approved budget measures trimming the Italian public deficit by 0.26 per cent in 1997.'

p3. 'Right rate for euro is fraught with difficulty' ... 'Make the wrong decision and the ensuing currency speculation could jeopardise the chances of a smooth start to Emu'

p3: 'Banks "slow in preparing for Emu"'

'Only one bank in four has yet begun to change its computer systems to handle monetary union, according to a survey of European financial institutions by Gemini Consulting, the management consultancy arm of the Cap Gemini computer services group.'

p11: 'UBS says Emu entry not key to drawing investors'
'One of Europe's biggest banks waded into the single currency debate yesterday, claiming that foreign companies' decisions to invest in Britain would not be influenced by monetary union.'

p21: Comment: 'A slow train to Europe' (about social chapter, Emu etc)

p21: 'Unfair advantage'...'Brussels is under pressure not to question privileges enjoyed by German's Landesbanks...'

IHT

p4: 'ASEAN to keep East Timor off agenda of EU talks'
'SINGAPORE - The Association of South East Asian Nations will block any attempt by the European Union to discuss East Timor at a joint ministerial meeting next week, but it is ready to talk about Burma, Singapore Foreign Ministry officials said Monday.'

p8: 'Back in the difficult present, will the euro ever materialize?'
'DAVOS, Switzerland - A year ago there was virtual unanimity in Western Europe on the inevitability of the common European currency...Today this is no longer the case.'

p11: 'Statistical ruling aids Italy's bid to join EMU'
'BRUSSELS - Italy's long-shot attempt to join the European Union's single currency in 1999 got a modest assist Monday when EU statistical analysts endorsed an accounting change that would reduce the Italian budget deficit by 0.26 percent of gross domestic product this year.'

WSJE

p2: 'Eurostat's budget rulings aid Italy and give a luster to gold prices'
'BRUSSELS - European Union budget experts have issued a series of technical judgements that provide welcome assistance to Italy's budget-cutting efforts and a strong fillip for the gold market '

p2: 'EU asks Ruggiero to name panel on dispute with US'
'BRUSSELS - The European Union asked the head of the World Trade Organization Renato Ruggiero to personally appoint a panel to hear its complaint of US legislation that punishes Europeans for doing business with Cuba.'

p2: 'EU begins hearings on BA-American plan'
'BRUSSELS - European Union regulators opened two days of hearings into the competitive implications of the proposed British Airways-American Airlines alliance, as US-British aviation talks were postponed for two weeks.'

p17: 'EMU woes hit bonds in Italy, Spain'
'Investors unloaded Italian and Spanish bonds, increasingly fearing that Germany could block those countries' early participation in the single currency.'

p27: 'Shift in EMU expectations weighs on Spain's peseta' (Emu Focus)
'MADRID - The heady hope that somehow Spain would be among the first countries forming Europe's single currency - even if Italy wasn't - had to end sooner or later, economists say.'

p28: 'EMU is seen as seed for municipal bonds'
'LONDON - The European municipal bond market is expected to expand with the establishment of a unified European currency, while the debt of European central governments is likely to trade more like that of US states, analysts say.'

FEBRUARY 5

Børsen

p6: 'EU misinformed about ship prices'...'Since 1986, Denmark has hindered Commission attempts to check that regulations concerning subsidies for ship building were being upheld.'

p10: 'EU expansion will give extra growth'...'Denmark will gain from expansion with Central and Eastern European countries'

p10: 'Denmark further isolated'

'Denmark risks becoming further isolated in the EU through the expansion of the EU with a raft of Central and Eastern European countries that will be linked with EMU, and with other central areas within the judicial system and defence, where Denmark has opt-outs'

p10. 'EU becomes the main topic in the British election battle'

'Prime Minister, John Major, signaled yesterday that the Conservative British Government will make Europe a central theme in the British election campaign.'

p13: 'The single market must be sorted out'

'The most important task for the new Industry Minister is to get the single market to function.'

p7 'Special treatment for Italy in EMU'...'Speculation is denied by Germany, France, the European Commission, and Italy'

Financial Times

p1: 'Italy will be offered delayed entry to Emu'

'Italy will be offered a deal that would delay its entry into economic and monetary union until 2000 or 2001 under a face-saving compromise designed by senior European Union central bankers and monetary officials.'

p9 'Major takes confrontational line on EU'

'Mr John Major was last night accused of demeaning the office of prime minister after a speech in Brussels in which he urged EU partners to learn from Britain's "enterprise" example.'

p15 Comment. 'Letting Italy down gently'

(. in not allowing that country to join EMU in the first wave)

IHT

p9 'What Labour promises in Europe and jobs'

(the Labour party manifesto, including some reference to the EU)

p11. 'Major fires new salvo at EU and Labour'

'LONDON - In a new assault on the European Union, Prime Minister John Major said Tuesday that European employment policies were too cosseted for workers and stifling to business, and he pledged that his Conservative Party would keep Britain out of the so-called EU social chapter, which concerns the protection and welfare of workers.'

p13: 'EU aims to ensure TV sports coverage for all'

'BRUSSELS - The European Commission will propose on Wednesday changing EU law to ensure that everyone can see live television coverage of major sporting events like the soccer World Cup and the Olympic Games.'

WSJE

p1: European Report

Includes:

Making tracks - Britain's Labour Party outlines blueprint for transport

Pension provisioning... 'hogs the political limelight in Germany'

Remote control - Spain's digital TV wars continue

(etc. - little included about EU)

p1: 'Long distance call: Rise of "Tele-business" in Ireland gives jobless in EU new prospects'... 'For a stay-put work force, service sector may offer lesson on mobilizing labor'

'DUBLIN - As you wander through the maze of tidy cubicles, the voices sound like the drifting signal of a short-wave radio; here's French, there's Swedish, and now Dutch and German and English.'

p9: 'Duisenberg declares he wants to head ECB'

'BONN - Dutch central bank chief Wim Duisenberg officially declared his candidacy to head Europe's future central bank - a move that could fuel Franco-German differences about who should get the job.'

p17: 'Gold market grows more jittery as countries push to enter EMU'

'LONDON - The approach of the planned European single currency may prompt European Union member governments to reduce their gold holdings significantly as part of the push to meet economic and monetary union qualification criteria, said analysts.'

FEBRUARY 6

Borsen

p10 - 11 'Denmark gets away with it'... 'Denmark has been criticised by the EU Commission for over riding the EU's shipyard directives and for withholding vital information. EU subsidy regulations have, however, only been over-ridden in a modest way, and the Linde shipyard must pay a million kroner back. But the matter puts Denmark in a bad political light in the EU. And here at home there has been a renewed blast of interest in the shipyard matter. Mimi Jakobsen now wants the matter buried.'

Financial Times

p1: 'Prodi rules out Emu delay for Italy'

'Mr Romano Prodi, Italian prime minister, yesterday reaffirmed Italy's "solemn commitment" to being among the founder members of economic and monetary union on January 1, 1999.'

p10: 'Rifkind takes hard line on Emu terms'... 'Foreign Secretary attacks Labour's stance as "naïve and incompetent"'

'The government yesterday hardened its terms for participation in economic and monetary union, arguing that the UK might choose not to join even if the system proved economically viable.'

IHT

p11: 'Prodi rebuffs Bonn on monetary union'... 'Rome is "committed" to the euro'

'BRUSSELS - The political jockeying over Europe's planned single currency intensified sharply Wednesday as Prime Minister Romano Prodi of Italy rejected Germany's suggestion that Italy should be excluded from the launching of the euro in 1999.'

p13: 'EU ends "time out" on Cuba'... 'Brittan raises stakes by seeking ruling on US law...'

'The European Union has asked for an international trade panel to be appointed to rule on its complaint that

a US law tightening an embargo on Cuba violates global trade agreements.'

WSJE

p1: EU Notebook Includes:

Prodi blasts talk of delaying Italy's entry into monetary union
Science project - labelling of genetically modified food
Scorecard - Major sporting events to be generally televised
Show of support...for Romania's 'bold reforms'
French snub - about keeping Parliament in Strasbourg for 12 sessions a year
Dear John - Santer wants Major to cut the EU bashing
Docked - the Danish dockyard business
The good life - list of countries' GDP from EU statistics office.

p11: 'Italy markets rise, ignoring report of EMU exclusion'

'MILAN - Italian markets rose, shrugging off a report that Germany and other European Union members plan to keep Italy out of Europe's single currency when it kicks off in 1999.'

The European (week 6-12 February)

p1. 'Italy "will be EMU pioneer"

'Italy will be among the founders of a European single currency in 1999, despite all rumours to the contrary, according to Romano Prodi, the country's prime minister.'

p1. 'Santer ambush spoils Major's charm offensive'

'British Prime Minister John Major has applauded a shift in thinking among Europe's leaders away from heavy-handed state regulation. But he warned that their words were not yet matched by deeds.'

p1 'Kohl will do deal on taxes'

'Chancellor Helmut Kohl is to seek a compromise with Germany's opposition Social Democratic Party (SDP) over his coalition's controversial tax and rent reform package that aims to make the economy fit for EMU.'

p1 'Bureaucracy is a science'

'A European Commission directive proposing draconian new water quality regulations was unworkable and unacceptable, the committee of civil servants said.'

p2 'European unity unpopular with young'

'A united Europe could be a lot further off than politicians in Brussels hope if younger Europeans have anything to do with it. A majority of them think that European countries are too diverse for a federal Europe to work, and most also object to the power of Brussels.'

p2. 'Call for Commission dismissal over BSE'

'Splits are emerging among MEPs who must decide how strongly to censure the European Commission for alleged negligence over the mad cow disease affair.'

p2: 'We can't fight fraud, say judges'

'Senior European judges and public prosecutors have accused EU member states of inertia in tackling fraud, corruption and money laundering.'

p4. 'Bill of rights for workers or a paper tiger?'

(...on what the social chapter means to Europe)

'When Europe ushered in the Maastricht treaty's social chapter four years ago, it was heralded as a gift from Brussels to workers, who would flourish under a warm glow of rights and social protection.'

p5: 'Turkey talks tough as Union shies from Islam' ... 'Ankara is frustrated as east European states overtake

it in quest for EU membership and Cyprus crisis lingers...'

p6: 'Europe's Jekyll and Hyde diplomats'

'Europe's attitudes to the crises in Serbia and Algeria could not be more at odds.'

p6: 'Fears grow for Union's lost children'

'The plight of children who fall through the net of social protection afforded to European Union citizens is worrying campaigners, MEPs and groups dealing with problems of the young.'

p6: 'People unite to conquer evil of racism'

'Europe is pledging an assault on racism this year, with a campaign to combat prejudice, educate its citizens and set up a framework to fight xenophobia.'

p8: Comment: 'Interference in the workplace'

'A growing number of European leaders accept the need to create an environment in which companies can operate flexibly and from a cost base that enables them to take on their Far East and US competitors. (About social chapter etc)

p9: 'Major's "Trojan horse" warning' ... 'Britain's Tory Prime Minister has declared war on the social chapter and taken his message to the business community in Brussels...'

p11: 'Lone German voice against the euro' ... 'Tony Paterson interviews Gerhard Schröder, the Social Democrat who aims to unseat Helmut Kohl and derail the proposed single currency.'

p11: 'Our historic role in Europe is to prevent a superstate' ... 'Conservative eurosceptic MP Bill Cash argues that the euro is the slippery slope to a total loss of sovereignty'

The European Business Section

p15: 'Bundesbank chief's stability pact warning'

'A member of Germany's Bundesbank council has warned that the stability pact agreement to stop government spending sprees after the single currency has come into place will be credible only if the criteria for entry into monetary union are applied vigorously.'

p15: 'Red light on Korean car deals'

'The European Union is stepping up pressure on Poland and Romania to modify import agreements with South Korean car maker Daewoo, amid indications that Korea is preparing to use east Europe as a manufacturing base for a major export drive into the EU.'

p16: Usual EU roundup

p17: 'Clearer rules on debt ease way to monetary union'

'Plans for monetary union made further progress earlier this week as two European agencies took action that will clarify critical aspects of public and private finance ahead of the 1999 deadline.'

p18: 'Triumph for the scriptwriters but "euro pact" loses the plot' ... 'Reimut Jochimsen says that the delight shown at Dublin when the Stability and Growth Pact was confirmed was too good to be true' (Also small box detailing how the pact will operate)

p25: 'Brussels helps Iceland stay on the hot line' ... 'Peter Matthews on funding to improve communications'

FEBRUARY 7

Børsen

p2: 'Risk for overborrowing in 58 subsidiaries'...'Commission is not bothered as long as just the shipyard subsidy as a whole does not exceed the EU's ceiling.'

p9: 'Focus on training in another EU country'

'For EU citizens, there are masses of opportunities to study and to train in another EU country - with the same rights as the country's own citizens.'

p14: 'Want more flexibility in EU work'

'There is, according to the Danish Government, no way out of flexible working in future EU co-operation, so that the countries most keen on integration are able to go further than others (who are not).'

p14: 'Voters stand firm on EU opt-outs'

'The message is clear. The Danish opt-outs should not be picked off. An overwhelming majority want to hang on to the opt-outs in respect of EMU, citizenship, defence and police and legal co-operation.'

p15: 'Danish standard of living at the top of the EU'

'The Danes have the second highest living standards in the EU. That's what has come out of a welfare (study) which the EU's statistics office, Eurostat, has published.'

Financial Times

p2: 'EU tries to sweeten Emu medicine'

'Officially, the subject is taboo; unofficially, work is under way to find a compromise which would allow weaker European economies to miss out gracefully on becoming founder members of economic and monetary union in 1999 '

p4 'EU envoy builds a Mideast role'

(About his meeting with Israelis)

p7 Political Notebook by Robert Peston: 'Executive despair at anti-EU antics' (despair of businessmen who need a more balanced approach to EU)

p14 'Theatre of the absurd' Philip Stephens column

...'Malcolm Rifkind's election stunt of promising to raise the flag of scepticism in European capitals obscures the serious questions which can be asked'

p16: 'Euro conversion costs "negligible"'...'Institutions could switch to single currency for as little as Ecu110,000'.

IHT

p13. 'Bundesbank under siege on single-currency road'...'European investment bank says Germany hopes Italy and others won't make the cut'

'BRUSSELS - The European Investment Bank waded Thursday into a growing political debate over the European Union's planned single currency, charging the Bundesbank with maneuvering to bar Italy and its neighbors from joining.'

p13: Comment: 'The EU's Latins need a reality check'

'WASHINGTON - The official launch of the European Union's single currency, the euro, is still more than a year way. But one thing has long been clear: The euro will be introduced on German terms or not at all.'

WSJE

p2: 'At summit with Kohl, Prodi aims to quash speculation about Italy's EMU candidacy'
'Italian Prime Minister Romano Prodi will use a summit meeting with German Chancellor Kohl Friday to rebuff a series of reports questioning Italy's fitness for European monetary union.'

p2: 'EU warns the Netherlands on Technolease Pact Issues' (Roundup)
'BRUSSELS - European Union antitrust authorities are warning the Dutch government that it must be more forthcoming about a fiscal plan that resulted in enormous tax breaks for a group of Dutch companies, including electronics giant Philips Electronics NV.'

p3: 'BA-American Alliance dares to cross EU line in sand'
'BRUSSELS - The British Airways-American Airlines alliance is prepared to defy openly European Union objections by selling slots at Heathrow Airport if told by British regulators to surrender a given number of slots, a senior American Airlines official said.'

p11: 'Currencies to top Kohl-Prodi, G-7 meetings'
'FRANKFURT - Politicking and pacification will be the name of the game in the coming days, analysts said, with world leaders and officials eager to put overt political tensions and currency volatility to rest.'

p21: 'EIB plans to strengthen liquidity in Eurobonds denominated in euros'
'BRUSSELS - The European Investment Bank, the first borrower to launch a Eurobond denominated in euros, will introduce similar issues in various European Union currencies over the coming years, the bank's president said.'

FEBRUARY 8

Financial Times

p1: 'Germany at risk of missing Emu goals, says Kohl'
'Germany could fail to meet the Maastricht criteria for European economic and monetary union if measures to tackle its high unemployment are unsuccessful, Chancellor Helmut Kohl warned yesterday '

IHT

p1: 'Kohl assures Italy on euro plan'...'No nation excluded in advance from monetary union'
'BONN - Attempting to allay doubts about German support for Italy's participation in a single European currency, Chancellor Helmut Kohl on Friday praised the Italian government's efforts to quash its deficit and insisted that no country would be precluded in advance from monetary union.'

p8: "Have the central bankers decided to give Europe some help?"
'FRANKFURT - The rapid rise of the US dollar against the Deutsche mark in recent weeks gives us pause to think about what is really at work here.'

FEBRUARY 10

Børsen

p10: 'Overwhelming Yes to EU police co-operation'
'Despite the fact that a large majority of voters... who were referred to in Friday's edition of *Børsen*, want to keep the four Danish opt-outs to the Maastricht Treaty, there is an overwhelming wish that police and judicial co-operation is extended with regard to a tougher fight against crime'

p10: 'Majority want more Eastern European countries in the EU'

'Almost half the voters want the EU expanded to the East. A significant minority are against such an expansion.'

p12: 'Germany accepts a stability council'

'The Germans will accept a stability council for EMU. The demand is for the council to be informal, and without influence on the forthcoming European Central Bank.'

Financial Times

p4: 'Euro's creation raises money laundering fears'

'The creation of a single European currency may increase significantly the scope for money laundering, according to an international financial task force.'

p18: 'Pitfalls on the euro road' col by Samuel Brittan... 'If the planned 1999 start for Emu runs into too many difficulties, a firm warning signal is likely to be given to the markets this year'

IHT

p1: 'EU and Japan breathe easier but keep eyes fixed on dollar' (two stories under one heading)

1) 'BERLIN - Partly shell-shocked and partly delighted by the dollar's extraordinary surge in value in recent months, finance ministers and central bankers from the world's seven largest industrial countries voiced relief over the weekend after signals from the United States that a pause was in order.'

2) 'PARIS - Wary, but still upbeat, is the sentiment on the dollar after the weekend meeting in Berlin of financial policymakers from the Group of Seven.'

p1: 'Jobs crisis imperils Europe's agenda'

'PARIS - What a difference a week makes. Seven days ago, German bankers were wandering the halls of the convention center in Davos, Switzerland, worrying out loud that Europe's single currency project might risk instability if Italy were permitted to be among the first members to join it.'

WSJE

p2: 'Kohl's critics question German EMU bid'

'BONN - A wave of domestic criticism is adding to Chancellor Helmut Kohl's woes as Germany and other European nations struggle to qualify for European monetary union.'

p4. The European Economist col (This week's interview with Krzysztof Bledowski, Chief Economist at WoodCommerz AS in Warsaw)

About Poland joining the EU and then EMU.

p12 Comment: 'Santer's "Olive branch"'

'The president of the European Commission responded to British Prime Minister John Major's attacks on the European Social Chapter last week by holding out an olive branch of sorts. "Let us stop the caricatures," he said.'

FEBRUARY 11

Bersen

p10 - 11: 'Duty shop for energy and fuels in the EU'... 'The Environment Commissioner Ritt Bjerregaard and the Taxation Commissioner Mario Monti will put forward today a proposal for a directive that will fix minimum rates for energy duties in the whole of the EU. But Ritt Bjerregaard wants to go further, and in addition to higher energy taxes, she wants more fines for those who breach regulations in respect of the environment and the principle that businesses will themselves pay for tidying up (the mess they've made)'

additional stories in feature

'Competitiveness is safeguarded despite strict environmental regulations'

'We are morally obliged to have national carbon dioxide taxes'

p12: 'Towards EU harmonisation'... 'But it could be fatal to use policy over asylum as a battering ram'

'There is no longer any political hindrance to the Danes - if they wish it - coming to a decision about the four Danish opt-outs with four different referendums.'

p16: Comment: 'Avoid Russian roulette' (about the opt-outs and a new referendum - the Russian roulette is in whether or not Danish membership of the EU would survive another No, although including a vote on the opt-outs might look like a good idea...)

Financial Times

p3: 'More companies switch on to euro'... 'Germans best prepared for single currency followed by British, says survey.'

p3: 'Little recovery seen in Italy's Emu prospects'

'Market professionals have marked down significantly in the last two weeks Italy's prospects of being among the first members of Europe's planned single currency in 1999.'

IHT

p7: 'Britain could be barred from EU border vote'

'BRUSSELS - Britain and Ireland could be left out of the decision-making process in a future border free European Union, while non-EU members could be allowed an active role, the Dutch EU presidency suggested Monday.'

WSJE

p2: 'Kohl ties re-election bid to summit on EU reform' (Roundup)

'German Chancellor Helmut Kohl said he will decide whether to run for another term based on the success of a June summit meeting in Amsterdam on European Union reform.'

FEBRUARY 12

Børsen

p8: 'Late payment costs EU companies millions'... 'Delayed payments are becoming a growing problem for businesses across the EU. As a result, the European business community is losing millions in income'

p13: 'Job crisis threatens the euro'

'Growing unemployment in Europe is threatening the single currency. The combined unemployment figure is close to 20m and new figures from the European Commission show that the population expects growing unemployment in the next 12 months.'

p16: Comment: 'Low interest rates can save EMU'

(discussion of comparison between Danish and German economies, interest rates etc.)

p19: 'Safe conduct for pensions on the EMU market'... 'Pensions funds and insurance companies want better opportunities to invest in EMU countries after '99.'

Financial Times

p3: 'EU and Asean face a testing encounter'

'Foreign ministers from the European Union and Asia will this week engage in a testing diplomatic encounter: to add substance to the vague optimism of a new dawn in relations between the two regions.'

p7: 'Debate on Europe begins to fire the public imagination'

'Something extraordinary is happening to the public's view of the debate on Europe. For the past 20 years, the evidence suggests people have been bored by it.'

IHT

p11: 'EMU worry gives dollar added lift' ... 'German economy overshadows G-7'

'NEW YORK - The dollar resumed its climb against most other major currencies Tuesday, rising strongly against the Deutsche Mark, amid growing concern about Germany's economic troubles, just days after major industrial nations indicated the US currency had risen far enough.'

WSJE

p2: 'Michelin's sales practices attract interest of EU panel'

'BRUSSELS - The European Commission is investigating whether the sales practices of tire maker Cie Generale des Etablissements Michelin breach European Union antitrust law, a commission source said.'

p2 'European Commission prepares to revamp food safety monitoring' (Roundup)

'BRUSSELS - The European Commission will move today to reorganize its monitoring of food safety, in response to criticism of its handling of so-called mad-cow disease in Europe, commission sources said.'

p10. 'Labour Party aims to boost the City's role'

'LONDON - Over tea and a fruit scone in Britain's House of Commons lounge, the Labour Party's Mike O'Brien voices high hopes for one of the country's greatest assets: the City of London.' (Contains some info on EU)

p19 'UK Government lauds sterling rally, analysts fear return to old ERM band'

'LONDON - Sterling's recent rally, particularly against the mark, got a new lease on life Tuesday as British Prime Minister John Major indicated that he remains comfortable with the currency's strength.'

FEBRUARY 13

Borsen

p11: 'EU puts off energy tax'

'The European Commission yesterday could not agree about putting forward a proposal about a minimum tax on energy. A number of Commissioners were afraid that the proposal would increase tax pressures in member countries.'

p12 'Denmark could give a new EU crisis'

'A crisis in the EU would be the consequence of Denmark, in a referendum, rejecting a treaty that was the result of the EU countries' inter-governmental conference. That unambiguous view comes from the French EU minister, Michel Barnier.'

p12: 'Germany must wait many years for EMU benefits' ... 'In the period 1996-99, European common currency is acting as a brake on growth in Germany's economy. Only after that will the benefits outweigh the disadvantages, and in the long term there are many significant benefits for growth in EMU membership.'

Financial Times

p1: 'Unilever chief slated by Redwood over Emu'

'Conservative Eurosceptics were last night embroiled in a row with Unilever, the Anglo-Dutch group, after Mr John Redwood suggested shareholders should confront the company chairman over his support for European economic and monetary union.'

p5: 'EU delays clash on US anti-Cuba law'

'The European Union yesterday asked the World Trade Organisation to postpone by a week the nomination of a disputes panel to rule on its complaint against the US Helms Burton anti-Cuba law.'

p5: 'EU-Japan pigmeat row goes to WTO'

'The European Union has complained to the World Trade Organisation over what it says are unfair practices by Japan relating to pigmeat imports.'

IHT

p1: 'Giscard on the euro: include Italy and Spain'

'PARIS - Former President Valery Giscard d'Estaing's call for a "lower level" for the franc against the dollar broke a taboo here last autumn and preceded a 10 percent appreciation of the US currency.'

p4: 'Two issues block EU-ASEAN pact'

'SINGAPORE - Moves to deepen ties between Europe and Southeast Asia stalled Wednesday over Burma and East Timor, delegates said, as officials from the European Union and (ASEAN) could not agree on wording for a final declaration that indirectly deals with the two issues.'

p12: 'A stay in EU-US trade spat'

'Seeking to prevent the trans-Atlantic dispute over Cuba from undermining the World Trade Organization, the European Union on Wednesday requested a one-week delay in forming a WTO dispute panel in order to pursue a negotiated settlement of US trade sanctions with President Bill Clinton's administration.'

WSJE

p1: EU Notebook

Includes:

Olive branch - the EU allows more time for resolving Cuba dispute

Musical chairs - the mad-cow crisis prompts changes in Brussels

Culture gap - forthcoming meeting with ASEAN

Sowing confusion - approach to genetically modified corn

Passports, please - EU heads for British opt-out on border controls

Food fight - EU files complaint against Japan's rules on importing pork

Car clash - dispute with Poland on imports of car parts

Tree census - re counting of olive trees (fraud in respect of olive oil subsidies)

p1: 'Air battle: Two upstarts challenge Canal Plus for piece of digital pay TV: Price is key as France becomes first EU market to have monopoly confront rivals'

The European (week 13 - 19 February)

p1: 'Superstate is not our target - Santer'

'Jacques Santer, the European Commission president has rejected the cherished vision of a united states of Europe, arguing that the continent's precious national diversity must be fostered.'

p1: 'Mad cow funds backed'

'Jacques Santer is to defy angry demands from the European Parliament to withhold EU funds pledged to Britain for the eradication of BSE.'

p2: 'Swine fever halts exports'

'The European Union is considering tough measures to contain an outbreak of swine fever, a highly contagious disease threatening the pig populations of Germany and the Netherlands, Europe's biggest pork exporters.'

p8: Comment: 'Less is more for Santer'

'There is much to praise as Jacques Santer approaches the mid-point of his five-year term as president of the European Commission.'

pp10-11 "I cannot accept an a la carte Europe"... 'While President Santer wants the Commission to do less, but better, he is against pick 'n' mix, describing it as an unacceptable dilution of the Union...'

pp10-11 'From De Gaulle's "non" to the El Dorado of a single currency'... 'Veteran Correspondent, Philippe Lemaitre, summarises the ups and downs on the long march from the Common Market to closer European integration...'

The European Business Section

p16: Usual EU roundup

p17 'What a difference four years makes' ... 'The ERM almost died, but can anything stop it now?'

p18 'Problems at home are worse than misbehaving neighbours'... 'Economics editor, Thierry Naudin, examines an influential report which suggests that Germany must put its own house in order before worrying about others in the run up to EMU.'

P22. 'Brussels to back fans of TV sport' ... 'Should we be able to view key sporting events for free?'

p22 'EC's patent improvement'

'The European Commission is always seeking new ways of improving the efficiency of its work, writes Tony Snape Its latest tool is a software program, designed in conjunction with the European Patent Office, called Quick Scan, which effectively replaces a panel of experts scrutinising new designs for commercial potential and EU funding '

p25. 'EC offers firm foundation for training funds' ... 'Peter Matthews on training schemes in eastern Europe'

FEBRUARY 14

Bersen

p2. 'Slow work with EU trademark'... 'Approval in respect of the EU trade mark proceeds at a snail's pace in preliminary investigation department in Alicante, Spain. Out of the 44,000 applications submitted in 1996, only 100 have been looked at.'

p12: 'Danish ability to compete is in danger'... 'The European Commission warns against inflation, but otherwise praises the Government's economic policy'

p12 'New growth in Europe'... 'the European Commission expects stronger growth this year and next'

p12 'Investors around Denmark'

'Americans, Swiss and Japanese do not care to invest in Denmark, whereas Danish businesses receive lots of money from the other EU countries '

Financial Times

p2. 'Spain's monetary union hopes raised'

'Spanish inflation has fallen below 3 per cent for the first time since the late 1960s.'

p2: 'UK casts scorn on BSE report'

'The UK has accused the European parliament's special inquiry into the "mad cow" crisis of "gratuitously misrepresenting the facts" in its highly critical final report on the affair.'

p2: 'Brussels likely to disappoint Alitalia'

'Higher than expected losses at Alitalia, the Italian state airline, will make it difficult for the European Commission to approve unamended a government plan to restructure the loss-making flag carrier with L3,000bn (£1.13bn).'

p3: 'A bridge too near for euro banknote'

'There are plenty of obstacles on the road to European monetary union, but it was never thought that the design on the back of the new euro notes would be among them.'

p4: 'Rights row hampers EU-Ascan talks'

'Differences over human rights in Burma and Indonesia have seriously damaged the prospect of achieving a wide-ranging treaty between the European Union and the economically powerful members of the Association of South East Asian Nations (Ascan).'

IHT

p8: 'Will Britain be the Hong Kong of Europe? Not at this rate' 'LONDON - A constant theme of British ministers for some time now, has been the contrast between the sputtering German and French economies, burdened by a rigid, high-cost labor market and the red tape of social regulation, and the deregulated, lower wage British economy, now forging ahead.'

WSJE

p2: 'France can hit EMU targets, OECD says' (Roundup)

'PARIS - French economic growth should pick up steam this year and next, but the country will need special budgetary measures to meet deficit targets required to join Europe's single currency, the OECD said '

p2: 'EU Commission Report urges continued fiscal vigilance'

'BRUSSELS - The European Commission said economic growth in Europe is "back on a more favorable track" but urged governments to continue slashing budgets ahead of monetary union.'

NEWSPAPER CIRCULATION FIGURES

UK NEWSPAPERS (Official ABC figures)

	1997 (March)	1993
Tabloids (popular)		
The Sun	4,046,067	3,737,188
The Mirror	2,366,480	2,424,366
Tabloids (Mid-market)		
The Daily Mail	2,145,449	1,700,734
The Express	1,232,558	1,358,958
Broadsheets		
The Daily Telegraph	1,136,857	1,008,480
The Times	747,099	439,327
The Guardian	402,489	389,327
The Independent	257,589	301,987

DANISH NEWSPAPERS

Figures from Dansk Oplagskontrol (ABC equivalent)

Tabloids		
Ekstra Bladet	162,265	179,617
BT	136,060	175,648
Broadsheets		
Jyllands-Posten	179,814	146,521
Berlingske Tidende	155,066	133,590
Politiken	145,536	150,614
Information	22,217	23,975

INTERNATIONAL AND BUSINESS NEWSPAPERS

Circulation figures during the sample period

Børsen	42,277	(Dansk Oplagskontrol)
The European	155,024	(ABC)
The Financial Times	311,257	(ABC)
The International Herald Tribune	210, 140	(paper's own figures)
The Wall Street Journal Europe	65,657	(paper's own figures)

THE European Commission yesterday moved to put as much distance as possible between itself and a controversial report urging the Community to sell itself and the ideal of unity like "a branded product".

Although the report was drawn up at the commission's request, the new information commissioner, Joao de Deus Pinheiro, publicly washed his hands of some of its key conclusions, aware that it could backfire politically.

The report was drawn up by a committee headed by a leading MEP and former commissioner, Willy De Clercq, and including several advertising and media executives.

Much of it focusses on the need for the EC to explain the relevance of European union to the public in clear language. But it aroused an angry response from the foreign press corps in Brussels yesterday by referring to the need to "target" sceptical media.

"It is crucial to change their opinions first, so that they subsequently become enthusiastic supporters of the cause," it stated.

The extent to which this message fell on deaf ears became apparent during a press conference to launch the report. The president of the Brussels International Press Association, Costas Verros, walked out over a section which said the media should be persuaded to present EC achievements in a positive way. "Why don't you just suggest that we all wear uniforms?" he said.

EC officials and many journalists agreed, in the words of one functionary yesterday, that the presentation was a "communications disaster".

Mr Pinheiro made it clear that, while accepting the analysis of the problems facing the Community, he would be looking at a different approach.

"My intention is to tell the truth," he said, adding that the commission is to make its own proposals.

Attempt to spread the Community message
leads to breakdown in communications

EC press plan angers media

THE European Community yesterday scored an extraordinary new goal, appearing to lead support to an largely document that promotes curbs on press freedom and the establishment of a new all-powerful communications office.

It takes quite a lot to produce a walk-out from a Brussels briefing, but the Expert Group on Information and Communications Policy managed it. The plan was to produce some ideas on how to improve communication of the European idea. But the report's stance of weird symbolism and militarism caused outrage.

Costas Verros, the president of the International Press Association, said that he suggested that perhaps journalists should wear uniforms. "We're not living in the time of the colonies," he said, and stormed out.

The report says that "the media must be persuaded to present its achievements, the benefits, its opportunities [of Europe] in a positive, optimistic way, and at the same time, it should be able to deliver criticism and failure". It adds that the media that "it is crucial to change their attitude first, so that they subsequently become enthusiastic supporters of the cause".

At times it lapses into the surreal, saying that in December 1999 should be declared a "real date" for the EC. This is only because it is the end of the millennium and partly because seven years from now not only

ANDREW MARSHALL
in Brussels

has mystical connotations of its own, but it also coincides with the lifespan of the current Commission plus the lifespan of the next (five-year) Commission and parliament.

It proposes allowing the Commission a special symbol — a two-like 12-pointed star — and giving the EC a motto: *In Uno Plures* (May in one). A new communications office would be set up with special powers, including the right to seek "a change in the undisciplined behaviour of the transmitters".

Commission officials were privately very disparaging about the paper. "It's trying to sell the EC like cornflakes," said one. But Joao de Deus Pinheiro, the EC's Communications Commissioner, briefly made an appearance, dodging the verbal lark and smiling serenely.

The document was masterminded by Willy De Clercq, a member of the European Parliament. He referred to "this evolutionary, unstoppable process of European Union", a theme that the Commission is currently trying to play down to say the least.

Coming only days before the Danish referendum takes place, the timing is appalling. "That's a couple of percentage points off the 'yes' vote," said one Dane yesterday.

Independent 1/4/93 p.10

Daily Telegraph 1/4/93 p.13

114/93 p13

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Image-builders hit by a walkout

By Boris Johnson, EC Correspondent, in Brussels

THE European Commission was overwhelmed by a public relations disaster yesterday after it unveiled a report designed to make Brussels more popular — journalists called to the ceremony walked out.

Denmark is still capable of dealing a death blow to the Maastricht Treaty in their May 18 referendum and British support is still far from guaranteed. So officials and journalists were stunned to hear proposals to re-write history textbooks to reflect the "European Dimension", to use taxpayers' money to pay for regular pan-European television broadcasts by M. Jacques Delors, Commission president, and to set 1999 as the new deadline for full-scale European union.

Amid a cacophony of protest in the EC commission's briefing room, Senhor Joao Deus de Pinheiro, the commissioner responsible for



Delors: TV appeal to Danish women

improving the EC's image, said he would be using suggestions from the report.

He refused to distance himself from its findings, leaving some officials with the impression that the commission was still bent on fed-

eralism and out of touch with reality. "This stuff is bizarre," said one diplomat. "It is demented."

The report was drawn up by five "wise men", including a former EC commissioner, and advertising executives. They were paid hotel and travel expenses for four months while they drew up proposals to rebuild Europe's image after last year's revolts against Maastricht and Brussels.

The committee, led by M. Willy De Clercq, a Belgian member of the Euro-parliament, caused a walkout of journalists by suggesting that EC money be spent trying to persuade the print and broadcast media to take a more positive line.

Mr Costas Verros, Greek president of the Brussels association of journalists, accused the commission of behaving like a military junta.

Among its recommendations are:

- Mr Delors should make a televised appeal to women voters in Denmark and elsewhere who have been so suspicious of the EC. "This will probably be the first time a statesman makes a direct appeal to women," the report says.
- Europe should be treated as a "branded product" to be sold with the slogan "Together for Europe to the Benefit of Us All." "Mother Europe must protect her children," says the report.
- The EC should be called the "European Union" systematically, and should have a new banner, flag and motto. "In Uno Plures," while the commission should take the emblem of a 12-pointed star "reaching out to the member states, but binding them together".
- Mr Major and other leaders should attend a special summit next spring to discuss how to present Europe "for a better tomorrow".
- There should be more multilingual European schools, a European Order of Merit, and broadcasters should be paid to introduce the "European dimension" into fiction, games and shows.

Daily Telegraph 2/4/93 p.18 - Leader

Orwellian and corrupt

IT IS difficult to judge whether the European Commission's press conference on Wednesday was more comic or sinister. Called to launch an independent report on promoting the European idea to a sceptical public, its sheer battiness and megalomania provoked a walkout by the journalists present. The Commission saw fit to publicise a set of proposals on, for example, the issue of European birth certificates and the dissemination of a European slant to history textbooks at a moment when two member states are in the throes of a highly sensitive debate on ratification of the Maastricht treaty.

The timing of the press conference and the contents of the report betray a cavalier disregard for reality. Before coining phrases such as the "unstoppable process of European Union", or dismissing Maastricht as "unexplainable", the authors might have reflected that ratification of the treaty is by no means assured in Britain and Denmark, and that there is a large body of opinion throughout the Community which recoils from economic and political union. Recent revelations of chronic corruption in Italy and Greece, together with the behaviour of French fishermen, suggest that moral convergence among EC members is even more remote than economic and political.

The proposals set out in the report

spring from an arrogant assumption that the public should not be bothered with the details of Maastricht, despite the fact that this could profoundly change the nature of member states. They are couched in Wardour Street asides, as if persuading people of the benefits of Community membership was a mere variation on selling washing-powder. An example was the reference to "targeting" sceptical journalists, "so that they subsequently become enthusiastic supporters of the cause". Orwellian overtones such as these caused the media walkout.

The press conference coincided with the revelation that huge sums of money had been illicitly transferred to Italy and Greece by the former head of the Commission's tobacco division. This is, of course, not the first instance of large-scale fraud, but it is likely to prove only the overture to a series of such scandals.

The Common Agricultural Policy's centralised price-setting mechanism is notoriously open to abuse, most of which is perpetrated in member states, with those of southern Europe to the fore. The prospect of further integration with countries which view the Community primarily as a milch-cow is unlikely to reassure either the Danish electorate or the British House of Commons as they consider the future of Maastricht.

Delors scores own goal

From JACKIE DAVIS
in Brussels

THE EC's latest bid to overcome a hostile public to European unity is prompted by a backlash among Danish voters.

An opinion poll shows waning support for Maastricht has prompted still further in the EC of a report suggesting Delors and his cohorts to launch a massive campaign to revive their image.

A poll, published yesterday, five months before next month's crucial referendum, indicates that only 45 per cent of Danes now intend to vote 'Yes' in next year's vote. No and 55 per cent are still undecided.

In the latest in a series of surveys in December's Edinburgh summit, EC leaders decided Denmark's opt-out of key treaty provisions, along a single currency and a common defence policy.

Immediately after the summit showed 75 per cent of Danes would vote 'Yes' in the referendum. By the second time around, by February, the 'Yes' vote had fallen to 45 per cent. A week ago it was 48 per

His new
image
sends
Denmark
Yes vote
tumbling



Delors: Opt-out warning

HESELTINE ATTACKS 'CRAZY' EURO-REBELS

A VIOCENT attack on "crazy" Euro-rebels by Michael Heseltine deepened the Tory civil war over Maastricht last night.

The Trade President ridiculed the sceptics for playing games with their endless delaying tactics in the Commons. And he bluntly warned them not to flirt with the idea of backing a Labour "timebomb" amendment to cancel Britain's opt-out from the Social Chapter.

The Prime Minister's achievement of the opt-out was a considerable diplomatic achievement, he said. "It would be crazy to throw that

Daily Mail Reporter

advantage away."

His outburst intensified the conflict as MPs prepare to resume the "war of attrition" over the treaty when they return to Parliament on Wednesday.

It incensed both the Euro sceptics and a group of Right-wingers, including Lady Thatcher, called Conservative Way Forward.

The group warned that Maastricht was "draining the lifeblood" from the demoralised "almost broke" party and declared election defeat was

looming if Mr Major did not concede a referendum.

Mr Heseltine's remarks reveal increasing Cabinet nervousness that the rebels could inflict a disastrous defeat on the Government. That would trigger a crisis in Mr Major's premiership, since he has vowed not to ratify the treaty if it is lost.

But Euro-rebel leaders hit back at Mr Heseltine's remarks. Their unofficial "whip", Tory MP James Cran, was uncompromising. "We have not come this far and had the kitchen sink thrown at us continuously, just to chicken out now," he said.

Britain and plunge the EC into the biggest crisis of its 36-year history.

The new drop in support is being blamed on a report by advertising and media experts — commissioned by M. Delors, the EC president — to look at ways of overcoming public hostility to Brussels following the Danish rejection of the treaty last June.

British officials dismiss many of its recommendations as "nonsense". Others regard as "laughable" suggestions that Brussels portray a "sympathetic, warm and caring image" with a new name, motto and symbol, and issues birth certificates to all new-born

babies declaring them citizens of Europe.

But Danish voters have reacted angrily to the implicit suggestion that everyone is ready to accept union, if only Brussels could get its message across more effectively.

They are also alarmed by the report's more sinister proposals, such as a review of school books to include a "European dimension", and a centralised Office of Communication to ensure the Community "speaks with one voice", combating "undisciplined behaviour" by national governments.

M. Delors was blamed for last June's

No vote after it was revealed that he was apparently hatching plans to give himself and his Eurocrats stronger powers.

The Commission has stressed it will not necessarily adopt any of the report's recommendations. But the appearance of Joao de Deus Pinheiro, the EC Commissioner in charge of improving the Eurocrat's image, with the report's authors at its launch, has dragged M. Delors into the row.

"With every hour that there is doubt about the Commission's opinion of the report, the No vote will grow — and with good reason," said one

Danish analyst. "If such opinions really exist among top people inside EC headquarters, then this is a development even the most ardent EC enthusiasts in Denmark feel bound to reject."

Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd has made it clear Britain will not be party to any attempt to press ahead with closer union without the Danes.

A second Danish No could leave the British Government facing a stark choice between going along with the other ten, leaving Denmark behind, or quitting the Community altogether.

EXTENT OF EU COVERAGE

Individual breakdown of each newspaper in the project

UK newspapers

The Sun

Volume: 38 news stories, 18 leaders and 10 other features.

Regularity: Relevant material appeared on every day during the sample period. There was, however, only one front-page story, and that was not the lead.

The Mirror

Volume: eight news stories, four leaders and one other feature.

Regularity: Relevant material appeared on only ten of the 28 days in the sample period. There were no front page stories.

The Daily Mail

Volume: 35 news stories, seven leaders and ten other features. **Regularity:** Relevant material appeared on all but five of the 28 days. There were five front-page stories, of which two were the lead.

The Express

Volume: 16 news stories, five leaders and eight other features.

Regularity: Relevant material appeared on all but eight of the 28 days. There were two front-page stories, both the lead.

The Daily Telegraph

Volume: 57 news stories, seven leaders and 11 other features.

Regularity: Relevant material appeared on all but two days in the sample period. There were ten front-page stories, of which four were the lead, or joint lead.

The Times

Volume: 70 news stories, seven leaders and 20 other features.

Regularity: Relevant material appeared on all but one of the 28 days. There were six front-page stories, of which two were the lead.

The Guardian

Volume: 43 news stories, seven leaders and 12 other features.

Regularity: Relevant material appeared on all but two of the 28 days. There were three front-page stories, two of the leads.

The Independent

Volume: 49 news stories, three leaders and 14 other features.

Regularity: Relevant material appeared on all but four of the 28 days. There were six front-page stories, of which four were leads.

Danish newspapers

BT

Volume: 16 news stories and four leaders.

Regularity: Relevant material appeared on 14 of the 28 days. There were no front-page stories.

Ekstra Bladet

Volume: Two news stories and one leader.

Regularity: Relevant material appeared on only three of the days in the sample period. There were no front-page stories.

Berlingske Tidende

Volume: 76 news stories, six leaders and 16 other features.

Regularity: Relevant material appeared on all of the days in the sample period, with the exception of 31 January and 1 February, when a journalists' strike prevented publication. There were six front page stories, five of them the lead.

Politiken

Volume: 65 news stories, eight leaders and 17 other features.

Regularity: Relevant material appeared on all but two of the 28 days. There were seven front-page stories, of which two were the lead.

Jyllands-Posten

Volume: 79 news stories, six leaders and 16 other features.

Regularity: Relevant material appeared on all 28 days. There were five front-page stories, of which one was the lead.

Information

Volume: 32 news stories, two leaders and 17 other features.

Regularity: Relevant material appeared on all but two of the 28 days. There were 13 front-page stories, of which five were leads or joint leads.

Business and International newspapers

The Financial Times

Volume: 101 news stories, eight leaders and 16 other features.

Regularity: Relevant material appeared on each of the 28 days. There were 19 front page stories, eight of them leads.

Børsen

Volume: 78 news stories, four leaders and seven other features.

Regularity: This newspaper is published from Monday to Friday only. Relevant material appeared on all but two days. There were no front page stories, but the design of the paper - tabloid, with a front page generally flagging inside stories - means that this is unsurprising. There were six page two stories.

International Herald Tribune

Volume: 44 news stories, one leader and ten other features.

Regularity: Relevant material appeared on all but three of the 28 days. There were nine front-page stories, three of them leads.

Wall Street Journal, Europe

Volume: The style of this newspaper - with its emphasis on single column stories and proliferation of roundups, reviews, outlooks and notebooks - means that the difference between news and features is often not as clearly defined as it is in other newspapers. There were 88 individual pieces in total, including one leader and five front-page 'roundups' of EU news, along with four other front-page stories.

Regularity: This newspaper is published from Monday to Friday only. Relevant material appeared on all 24 days in the sample period.

The European

Volume: 37 news stories, six leaders and 36 other features.

Regularity: This newspaper is published weekly, and there were five issues during the sample period. Relevant material appeared in all five issues, and was the lead in each. There were ten other front-page stories.

INTERNATIONAL AND BUSINESS NEWSPAPERS

The Financial Times

Formed in 1945 from the merger of the *Financial News* (founded in 1884) and the *Financial Times* (founded in 1888), this paper began to print in Frankfurt in 1979. In 1985 it set up in New York, too.

In the past two decades - and despite the arrival on the European scene in 1982 of the rich and technically-advanced *Wall Street Journal Europe* - the paper's circulation figure has risen steadily. Even so, it has faced turmoil in recent years, not least in 1996, when many staff were sacked in the first compulsory redundancies in 100 years. The aim was to slim the paper down so that it could continue to meet increasing international competition. However, according to Valley (p16) this bout of unrest has not dimmed the paper's reputation as an outstanding newspaper, specifically in terms of 'accuracy and authority', and, he adds, 'as the rest of the British press becomes more little Englander, it is ever more international'. That said, the paper's coverage has tended at times to be worthy but dull. As Kynaston says (p517), it has been criticised for being 'bland, uninspiring, lacking a certain identity, a certain personality'. Nevertheless, it has been praised for its 'general authority and weight; its factual accuracy; its objective reporting and its international dimension' and it is reckoned to benefit from a lack of 'proprietary interference in editorial matters'.

In tune with its business and international readership, the *Financial Times* is committed to the EU. Indeed, its stance - and that of the business community at large - was crystallised in a pre-General Election leader on 29 April, 1997, (p23):

'The UK needs Europe, and Europe needs the UK. The fortunes of British business are inextricably linked with the preservation and extension of the single market, which rests in turn on continued UK participation in the political structures of the EU. More broadly, the UK's influence in the world is increasingly a function of its membership of the EU. Disengagement is not an option any government could responsibly contemplate.'

Børsen

Established in 1896, *Børsen* ('the stock exchange') is the Danish equivalent of the *Financial Times*, and although tabloid in size, it is printed on similar peach-coloured paper. Although politically independent, it is 'bourgeois and liberal' in tone (Søllinge and Thomsen, 1991, p192) and it 'supports the capitalist system out of a fundamental belief that this is what gives Danish business life the best working conditions and opportunities for growth, for the benefit of the development of Danish society as a whole' (Behrens, p34). It is written exclusively for the Danish business and financial community, has a positive approach to the EU and is in favour of European integration (Søllinge and Thomsen, 1991, p192). It also supports the development of business links worldwide.

In competition with the country's leading broadsheets - specifically *Berlingske Tidende* and *Jyllands-Posten*, which both feature substantial business and financial sections - *Børsen* stays afloat on account of the depth and breadth of its reporting of matters of concern to Danish

trade and industry. This is largely thanks to a relaunch in 1970, when the paper used capital from the Swedish publishers, Bonniers, to redesign its pages, and to sharpen and refocus its reporting to give it greater relevance to its target readership within the Danish business community (Søllinge and Thomsen, 1991, p192). It now claims to outstrip its rivals in the number of company directors and senior managers among its readership.

The International Herald Tribune

The *International Herald Tribune* started life in 1887 as the *New York Herald's* European edition and, from the start, was extensive in its coverage of world news¹. After a merger with the *New York Tribune* - which resulted in the creation of the *New York Herald Tribune* - the paper and its European edition were sold in 1959 to John Hay Whitney, then US Ambassador to Britain.

After the New York paper closed in 1966, Whitney was determined to keep the Paris paper alive, and to this end, the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* joined the paper's ownership. In 1967, the paper's name was changed to the *International Herald Tribune*, and in 1991, the *Post* and *Times* bought Whitney's interests to become joint owners.

Although the paper draws heavily on the news resources of its parent papers - and has a US focus to its reporting - non-Americans are now said to be a growing majority of the paper's readership. The *International Herald Tribune* sees its role as 'the world's daily newspaper' and is thus edited with a perspective that reflects the international nature of its readers, as well as their senior positions. According to a readership survey conducted by the paper² in 1996, 74 per cent of its employed readers 'have international responsibilities' and of those in commerce or industry, 82 per cent are senior managers. Around 63 per cent of its readers live in Europe and its total circulation at the end of 1996 was 195,185.

The paper has a Business and Finance section and claims to devote almost 40 per cent of its space each day to international business coverage.

The Wall Street Journal Europe

America's equivalent of the *Financial Times*, the *Wall Street Journal's* first European edition was published in Brussels in 1983. Heralding its arrival, Alex Brummer described it as 'America's only truly national paper' adding that 'its inside knowledge of the way Wall Street works will be a real plus in Europe. In these days of increasingly international financial markets, what happens in New York is more often or not the controlling factor which governs events on the markets in London, Frankfurt, Hong Kong and Tokyo'. According to John Huxley, in making this European move, the paper was entering a 'three-cornered fight' with the *International Herald Tribune* and the *Financial Time*. All three remain in battle for international sales, although each boasts a unique style.

Part of the Dow Jones publishing empire, the paper has around 50 dedicated reporters and editors based in 20 news bureaux throughout Europe, who are supported by an additional 1,400 Dow Jones journalists worldwide. Renowned for its purposely staid design and lack of illustrations, the paper emulates its parent *WSJ*, which 'carries enormous clout' in the US (Huxley) for its authoritative and independent reporting. In common with the *IHT*, the *WSJ's*

European edition has also benefited from slick management and investment in modern technology, against which, the *Financial Times* has, at least until recently, found it difficult to compete (Wintour).

Again in common with its international competitors, *WSJE*'s readers hold high executive positions. According to figures produced by the 1996 Wall Street Journal Europe Subscriber Study (which appear in the paper's press pack), 66 per cent of its readers are senior managers, around 73 per cent are European citizens and 78 per cent are involved in international business.

The European

The weekly *European* - in broadsheet format during the sample period - ceased publication on December 14, 1998. Launched in 1990 by Robert Maxwell, and published in London, it was initially aimed at a market of 'pan Europeans' that many commentators at the time reckoned was still 'very tiny' (Langsam). It was also accused of being 'a nebulous concept' (Wavell), that had been bludgeoned into life by a determined Maxwell. He wanted to produce a paper that 'will support all those in favour of European unity and oppose all those who are against'. Throughout its short life it had mixed reviews - for instance, some observers were amazed that a paper so 'economically unviable and journalistically unfocused' could have survived as long as it did (Hollidge). Although the paper was thought worth a relaunch in the summer of 1997, this did not eventually save it.

During the sample period, the paper boasted a worldwide circulation of 155,024, of which 78,395 sales were in continental Europe, and a further 47,367 in the UK. In common with the other 'international' papers, most of *The European*'s readership of the time were top or middle management, 81 per cent involved in companies with international business activities³.

Despite its subsequent demise, the paper is still valid as a further tool of comparison in this research project. Its particular emphasis on internal EU politics and politicians - seen from the generally Euro-friendly standpoint that formed part of Maxwell original blueprint for the paper - provides an enlightening contrast to the main, nationally-orientated newspapers in this study.

Circulation figures for the international and business newspapers in this study appear in Appendix 2.

End Notes

1. This information appears in the newspaper's own press pack, acquired from its London office, 63 Long Acre, London WC2E 9JH.

2. Also quoted in its press pack.

3. These figures emanated from *The European* itself.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR JOURNALISTS: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

BRITISH JOURNALISTS:

Michael Binyon	- Diplomatic Editor, The Times
Michael Hornsby	- Countryside Correspondent, The Times
David Brown	- Agriculture Editor, The Daily Telegraph
Jon Hibbs	- Political Correspondent, The Daily Telegraph
Richard Northedge	- Deputy City Editor, The Daily Telegraph
David Hughes	- Political Editor, The Daily Mail
Sheree Dodds	- Political Correspondent, The Mirror
Chris Godsmark	- Business Correspondent, The Independent
Colin Brown	- Chief Political Correspondent, The Independent
Clare Dyer	- Legal Correspondent, The Guardian
Mark Milner	- Deputy Financial Editor, The Guardian
Ian Black	- Diplomatic Editor, The Guardian
John Ingham	- Environment Correspondent, The Express

DANISH JOURNALISTS

Niels Christensen	- UK Correspondent, Morgenavisen Jyllands-Posten
Ole Ryborg	- Brussels Correspondent, Information
Lene Frøslev	- UK Correspondent, Berlingske Tidende
John Frølich	- Journalist and lecturer (with specific EU interests) at Danmarks Journalisthøjskole
Martin Krasnik	- UK Correspondent, Weekendavisen
Heidi Amsinck	- UK Correspondent, Børsen
Tøger Seidenfaden	- Editor in Chief, Politiken

QUESTIONNAIRE

Section one

The importance of the EU in journalists' spheres of activity; how EU stories emerge including the influence of sources; the current most important EU issues; elements of a good EU story; and the influence of a newspaper's 'line' on the EU. Also the influence, if any, of the newspaper's commercial interests, and its approach in general to way the Union is handled.

- Does the EU often come into your general sphere of activity? If so, is this a growing trend?
- Generally speaking, where do your EU story leads come from?
- How easy is it to get the information you need from official EU sources?
- Are you aware of any instances where official EU sources - or other sources who are pro- or anti-EU - have attempted to 'manage' the news?
- What would you identify as the current major EU issues?
- Make makes a good EU story for your newspaper - what elements does it need to have?
- Does your newspaper have an official 'line' on the EU? And, if so, how are its journalists made aware of this? Does it dictate the way stories are chosen and handled?
- When writing about the EU, do you ever feel constrained by the commercial interests of your newspaper?
- In your newspaper, is the EU handled differently to anything else?

Section two

General views about the relationship between the EU and the newspaper press.

- What do you consider to be a newspaper's role in respect of the EU?
- Do you think the EU has been justified in complaining in the past about the coverage it has received in the UK press?
- Are there any ways in which improvements could be made:
 - a) in the way newspapers handle EU news?
 - b) in the way the EU treats journalists and/or presents information?

Danish Referendums in respect of EEC/EC/EU membership

2 October, 1972

Referendum in respect of membership of the EEC
63.4 per cent voted Yes, 36.6 voted No

25 February, 1986

Referendum in respect of the Single European Act
56.2 per cent voted Yes, 43.8 per cent voted No

2 June, 1992

Referendum in respect of the Maastricht Treaty
49.3 per cent voted Yes, 50.7 per cent voted No

18 May, 1993

Referendum in respect of the Edinburgh opt-outs to the Maastricht Treaty
66.8 per cent voted Yes, 43.2 per cent voted No

28 May, 1998

Referendum in respect of the Amsterdam Treaty (Maastricht Two)
55.1 per cent voted Yes, 44.9 per cent voted No

Sources:

- Denmark enters the European communities (Petersen N. and Elklit, J.), p208
- EF/EU Håndbog (INNO/EU Information) pp7.004-5)
- *The Daily Telegraph*, 29 May, 1998, p1

Form over Maastricht as Hurd hints at ditching Danes

FROM CHRISTOPHER FOLLETT
IN COPENHAGEN

REMARKS by Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary, that Britain might seek "another arrangement" on European union in the event of a Danish "no" at their second referendum on the Maastricht treaty, dominated the headlines in Copenhagen yesterday.

"New British 'no' can isolate Denmark," the conservative *Berlingske Tidende* said. "British support gone," the rival independent *Politiken* said. But most commentators said Mr Hurd's remarks as of little importance in the campaign for next month's referendum, reinforcing if anything the "yes" argument but

■ In Copenhagen, commentators believe Mr Hurd's comments on Maastricht will leave the "no" camp unmoved. In any case, all auguries point to a "yes" victory

leaving the "no" camp largely unmoved.

The dispute began after Mr Hurd, speaking in Denmark on Sunday, appeared to repudiate a pledge given in December that Britain would not join attempts to negotiate a new treaty with the other ten European Community members if the Danes again rejected Maastricht.

After the Edinburgh summit, Mr Hurd had said that it would be possible for other countries to "go into a corner

and negotiate a new treaty of a smaller number". He added: "That would not include us. It is not a political reality to suppose we would sit down and negotiate a new treaty of whatever it is with 11 members without Denmark."

On Sunday, in words regarded as boosting the "yes" campaign in Denmark, Mr Hurd suggested that Denmark might be isolated and spoke of a "trifling affecting Denmark's position" within the EC if it rejected the treaty.

He added: "I am not saying we would not take part in any further arrangements."

Danes were pummeled by a revised treaty pruned of elements unpalatable to them, such as plans for a common EC currency and defence policy. All opinion polls have shown majority support for a "yes" vote, with the pro-Maastricht campaign noting increasing support in recent weeks. The latest batch of opinion surveys in Denmark last weekend all showed the Danish "yes" element at about 50 per cent, the "no" camp at about 30 per cent, with the rest of the electorate undecided or not intending to vote at this stage.

The Danish pollsters warn of a 3 per cent margin of error

In both directions, so the chance of a new rejection of Maastricht by the Danish electorate would seem remote in the extreme with or without Mr Hurd's comments.

Professor Niels Meyer, a leader of the anti-Maastricht *Yes Movement*, said: "Everything being equal, I think the British position could weaken us a little. This is an attempt to scare the Danes... but I am not seriously worried about it. It would have been nice, though, if Britain had been able to keep its promise to Denmark."

Pia Kjaersgaard, leader of the right-wing Progress Party, which is the only one of eight parties in the Danish parliament to oppose the treaty, said that Mr Hurd's remarks were

"nothing new". She added: "His remarks have been manipulated by the press in the short and dirty campaign up to our referendum. If Maastricht is rejected, of course Britain will have to make other arrangements, just as Denmark will."

Mr Hurd's comments nonetheless were seen by some as an apparent shift from Britain's previous insistence that Denmark should not be left behind if it again rejected Maastricht. Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, the Danish prime minister, and others in favour of Maastricht have also warned voters of isolation, saying that if Denmark votes "no" the country might be forced to leave the EC.

Despite Denmark's Doubt-

ing Thomas stance on Maastricht, Danish commentators are often mystified by what seems to them to be British hysteria concerning the referendum.

"The 'yes' side will win by a pretty handsome margin: the Danish people have generally bought the opt-out argument," said Ole Borre, professor of political sociology at the University of Aarhus.

State-run Danish National Radio is broadcasting 50 hours of information and debate on radio and television up to the vote, and the commercial TV2 15 extra hours. Professor Borre said the debaters tended to be "yes" people.

TIMES WEDNESDAY APRIL 28 1993



ON THE RECORD

Mr Maastricht story acquires another disgraceful chapter

as announced as Douglas Hurd were seen to contradict themselves in his comments on the potential of a second Danish rejection of Maastricht in next month's vote. The foreign secretary has now said that rule, but has done so in a little, in the middle of its own campaign, and on an issue - policy where the Danes to reject it - on which both he and the other have given what amounts to a promise.

He said that a "no" vote on May 18 might be "a crisis involving the Community", a "throwing doubt on British support for the Community", and its continued membership. He said that the Maastricht treaty "as such" was "not a problem", but he twice refused to say whether he would sign a second treaty, without Denmark, and Mr Hurd said, would "obviously". Yet only last December, he was saying that a treaty was "not a problem". The reality is that from at least Sunday we saw that Mr Hurd's own unqualified pledges had

been made as Douglas Hurd were seen to contradict themselves in his comments on the potential of a second Danish rejection of Maastricht in next month's vote. The foreign secretary has now said that rule, but has done so in a little, in the middle of its own campaign, and on an issue - policy where the Danes to reject it - on which both he and the other have given what amounts to a promise.

He said that a "no" vote on May 18 might be "a crisis involving the Community", a "throwing doubt on British support for the Community", and its continued membership. He said that the Maastricht treaty "as such" was "not a problem", but he twice refused to say whether he would sign a second treaty, without Denmark, and Mr Hurd said, would "obviously". Yet only last December, he was saying that a treaty was "not a problem". The reality is that from at least Sunday we saw that Mr Hurd's own unqualified pledges had

been made as Douglas Hurd were seen to contradict themselves in his comments on the potential of a second Danish rejection of Maastricht in next month's vote. The foreign secretary has now said that rule, but has done so in a little, in the middle of its own campaign, and on an issue - policy where the Danes to reject it - on which both he and the other have given what amounts to a promise.

He said that a "no" vote on May 18 might be "a crisis involving the Community", a "throwing doubt on British support for the Community", and its continued membership. He said that the Maastricht treaty "as such" was "not a problem", but he twice refused to say whether he would sign a second treaty, without Denmark, and Mr Hurd said, would "obviously". Yet only last December, he was saying that a treaty was "not a problem". The reality is that from at least Sunday we saw that Mr Hurd's own unqualified pledges had

dependent 26/4 p11

of isolation if referendum
month rejects Maastricht

rd upsets
nes on treaty

HURD's remarks were seen to contradict themselves in his comments on the potential of a second Danish rejection of Maastricht in next month's vote. The foreign secretary has now said that rule, but has done so in a little, in the middle of its own campaign, and on an issue - policy where the Danes to reject it - on which both he and the other have given what amounts to a promise.

ANDREW MARSHALL
in Maastricht
and Copenhagen
in London

his intention. Mr Hurd said that once the vote was over, if it was a "no", it would be "a crisis involving the Community", a "throwing doubt on British support for the Community", and its continued membership. He said that the Maastricht treaty "as such" was "not a problem", but he twice refused to say whether he would sign a second treaty, without Denmark, and Mr Hurd said, would "obviously". Yet only last December, he was saying that a treaty was "not a problem". The reality is that from at least Sunday we saw that Mr Hurd's own unqualified pledges had

PAGE 6

Daily Mail COMMENT

Try telling Danes there's no U-turn

HOW staunchly the British Government has stood up for plucky little Denmark in the past year.

The Danes should not be bullied: that has been the Downing Street line. If they chose to vote No in a second referendum, the Maastricht Treaty would not be ratified.

As recently as last December after the Edinburgh summit of the European Community, the Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd could not have been more explicit. Other countries might "go into a corner and negotiate another treaty", he said. But "that would not include us. It is not a political reality to sit down without Denmark."

Listen to what Mr Hurd is now telling the Danes. Can you spot the difference? They certainly can.

With only three weeks to go to their referendum, he has warned them that, in the event of a No vote, "we can't obviously say that we are not going to sign any European Treaty."

Danish butter wouldn't melt in the mouth of our FO yesterday as it sought to play down this U-turn.

Telegraph

MONDAY APRIL 26, 1993 13

Maastricht warning to Denmark in Hurd U-turn

By Boris Johnson, EC Correspondent, in Middlesbrough

THE Danish Maastricht referendum campaign was in turmoil last night after Mr Hurd, Foreign Secretary, made clear that Britain was prepared to abandon Denmark and go ahead with the rest of Europe in a new treaty, if the Danes say No for a second time.

With barely three weeks until the May 18 referendum, Britain was being accused of treachery by the anti-Maastricht opposition, while the Danish government hailed Mr Hurd.

The Foreign Secretary appeared to have gone back on a promise delivered at the Edinburgh summit last December, that a second Danish No would see Britain and Denmark stand together in resisting further moves to economic and political union.

Yesterday, he said a second Danish rejection would instead cause a "very serious situation for all of us, especially for Denmark."

In words that were denounced as "threats and bullying" by the Danish anti-Maastricht camp, he said: "There would be a crisis affecting Denmark's position in the Community."

Diplomats last night noted that was a big shift from the Government's previous insistence that Denmark should not be threatened with expulsion from the Community.

They said it reflected Mr Hurd's conviction that he has seen off the Euro-rebels in the Commons, and he could now change course with impunity.

Directly contradicting the stated British position of only a few months ago, Mr Hurd said if Maastricht was rejected, Britain would have to consider taking part in any new negotiation, carried out by the 10 other countries, towards accelerated European integration.

"I am not saying we would

not take part in any further arrangement," he said, in words that will anger Tory Euro-sceptics.

A jubilant Danish government official said last night the British move could have a decisive effect in alarming the 32 million electors to vote Yes, for fear of being excluded, not only from Europe, but from Britain, the big European country to whom Danes feel most sympathetic.

He said the remarks, made at a meeting of foreign ministers, had totally undermined the No campaign, which is still backed by about 32 per cent to 51 per cent Yes: the remainder are undecided.

A grateful Danish government spokesman said he felt sure it was a ploy by Mr Hurd. "I am sure he has thought about reinforcing the chances of a Yes," he said.

As the Danish media were last night dominated by Mr Hurd's remarks, analysts predicted that they could add five per cent to the Yes campaign.

Since the Edinburgh summit last year, the anti-Maastricht coalition has campaigned heavily on Mr Hurd's remarks of Dec 13. He said then that if the Danes voted No, Britain would not desert them. He said it would be possible for other countries to "go into a corner and negotiate a new treaty of a smaller number."

But he then added: "That would not include us. It is not a political reality to suppose we would sit down and negotiate a new treaty of whatever it is with 11 members without Denmark."

Yesterday he pulled back, saying: "We can't obviously say that we are not going to sign any European Treaty."

The pronounced change of stance comes after the Government has broken the back of the Maastricht ratification in the Commons.

2 THE SUN, Tuesday, April 27, 1993

TEBBIT IN FURY AT MAJOR'S 'SHAME'

By SIMON WALTERS

FORMER Tory chairman Norman Tebbit last night accused John Major of acting dishonourably in his battle over Maastricht.

Lord Tebbit said the Premier and Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd had brought shame on Britain.

He said they were rattling on a 1991 pledge to stand by Denmark if it votes No to the Maastricht treaty in a referendum on May 18. Mr Hurd said at the weekend that Britain may not sign even if the Danes vote No.

Lord Tebbit said: "It means the pledge Mr Hurd and the Prime Minister gave were not matters of honour, just words to help get the Maastricht bill through Parliament."

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long before that.

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long before that.

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long before that.

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long before that.

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long before that.

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long before that.

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long before that.

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long before that.

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long before that.

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long before that.

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long before that.

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long before that.

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long before that.

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long before that.

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long before that.

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long before that.

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long before that.

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long before that.

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long before that.

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long before that.

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long before that.

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long before that.

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long before that.

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long before that.

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long before that.

"It covers this Government with shame."

He claimed Mr Hurd was aping warnings made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Lord Tebbit said: "I was not brought up to believe the role of the British Foreign Secretary was to act as a messenger boy for the German government."

Lord Tebbit rejected Mr Major's claim that closer links with Europe would not kill off British traditions like warm beer for 50 years or more.

He said "the Brussels food police" will insist on ice-cold lager long

ENGELSK KOVENDING: Saboterer nej-sigernes EF-kampagne



Jens-Peter Bonde er ikke overrasket over de nye toner fra den engelske udenrigsminister Douglas Hurd...

af Grit Bonfisen

NEJ! MIDDELFART: Juni-Bevægelsens nej-kampagne har lidt et alvorligt skibbrud. Det skete, da Englands udenrigsminister Douglas Hurd i går saboterede en af bevægelsens væsentligste argumenter for at overbevise danskerne om, at det er risikofrit at stemme nej til EF-Unionen den 18. maj.

JuniBevægelsen og dens strateg Jens-Peter Bonde har i kampagnen henvist til, at samme Douglas Hurd har lovet at stoppe engelsk ratifikation, såfremt det bliver et nej den 18. maj. Derefter er der basis for at etablere et Europa i flere rum, er argumentet - i et af rummene skulle Danmark og England derefter stå skulder ved skulder.

Udløser dansk krise

Hårdt presset af bl.a. B.T. svarede Douglas Hurd i går efter EF's udenrigsministers uformelle møde:

»Maastricht-traktaten fordrer 12 underskrifter. Hvis Danmark siger nej, udløser det en krise i Danmark, som er

langt større end krisen i EF. Danmarks position i EF kan ikke fortsætte på en åben mark.

Helt klart siger jeg derfor, at vi (England) ikke vil afvise at gå ind i andre arrangementer.»

Danmark isoleret

Dermed har Douglas Hurd foretaget en kovending, og den engelske solidaritet med Danmark efter et nej er bristet. Danmark vil blive klart isoleret af de andre 11 EF-lande, er engelske politiske observatørers opfattelse.

JuniBevægelsens Jens-Peter Bonde har svært ved at finde en grimasse, der kan passe.

»Det er en typisk forbløffet udtalelse, som skal virke som en trussel i Danmark, uden at den skal opfattes på samme måde i England. Jeg vil fortsat fastholde, at de andre ikke kan fortsætte noget som helst uden Danmark - det står i Rom-traktaten,« siger Jens-Peter Bonde til B.T.

Ikke overraskende er fhr. udenrigsminister Uffe Elle-

mann-Jensen af den modsatte observans.

»Det er rart, at luften er lukket ud af JuniBevægelsens ballon. Hurdts udtalelser i Middelfart svarer præcis til det, jeg har fået oplyst så sent som i denne weekend. De andre 11 vil ikke vente på Danmark, hvis vi stemmer nej en gang til. Stemmer vi nej nu - så bliver vi isoleret af de andre, som netop vil fortsætte i et andet arrangement,« siger Uffe til B.T.



... der til venstre poserer sammen med Danmarks udenrigsminister Niels Helveg Petersen og den spanske datter, Javier Solana Madariaga. Foto: Claus Fisker

NEJ-SIGERNES TRUMFKORT PILLET UD

Forkert at sige, at intet vil ske efter nyt dansk nej, siger Englands udenrigsminister Hurd

Den britiske udenrigsminister Douglas Hurd piler nu et af de danske EF-modstanderes hidtil bedste kort ud af spillet op til folkeafstemningen 18. maj:

Det kan ikke mere hæv-

des, at hvis danskerne stemmer nej igen, så vil englenderne støtte os i et krav om, at EF-samarbejdet må fortsætte som hidtil. Sådan er hidtidig Hurd-udtalelser ellers blevet fortolket.

Efter topmødet i Skotland i december sagde Hurd, at et muligt dansk nej til den nye Edinburgh-aftale ville få det engelske parlament til at standse anerkendelsen af Maastricht-traktaten.

Efter EF-udenrigsministrenes møde i weekenden på Hindsgravi Slot på Vestfyn bekræftede Hurd dette. Men da den sagde Hurd imidlertid udtrykkeligt, at et dansk nej 18. maj ikke vil få Storbritannien til at udelukke, at de vil deltage i fremtidige arrangementer.

Douglas Hurd slog fast, at et dansk nej vil medføre en alvorlig krise for EF. Men han vurderede også, at det vil være Danmark, som får de allersværeste problemer.

»Vi har ikke gjort vores stilling op om, hvad et dansk nej vil medføre. Men at sige, at intet vil ske, vil være forkert, advarede den britiske udenrigsminister, som også mente, at der ikke vil være de samme muligheder for danskerne, som der var efter 2. juni-nejet i fjor.

Blandt britiske EF-journalister blev Hurdts udtalelser efter Hindsgravi tolket som et opsigtsvækkende klart signal om, at England ikke mere vil love Danmark noget fælles fodsal efter et eventuelt dansk nej 18. maj.

I danske iagttagerkredse

Ja-sigere: Hurd overrasker ikke

EF-Union: Det er komplet urealistisk og naivt at tro, at Storbritannien vil deponere sin skæbne hos danskerne, mener både Poul Schlüter og Uffe Ellemann-Jensen.

af ERIK BJØRN MØLLER

Hvis den britiske udenrigsminister Douglas Hurd i går skabte skuffelse hos JuniBevægelsen og andre EF-skeptikere, levede han til gengæld op til forventningerne hos Danmarks tidligere statsminister, Poul Schlüter (K), og tidligere udenrigsminister, Uffe Ellemann-Jensen (V).

Douglas Hurd udtalte på EF-udenrigsministrenes møde i Middelfart i weekenden, at han i tilfælde af et nyt dansk EF-nej ikke ville udelukke, at briterne vil skrive under på en ny europæisk traktat - uden Danmark.

Poul Schlüter og Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, der i december sidste år i Edinburgh forhandlede den danske sær aftale hjem, er ikke overraskede.

»Det er utroligt naivt at tro, at briterne ikke vil varetage deres egne interesser. Douglas Hurd giver klar besked og gennemhuller de ulogiske og naive forslag, som nej-sigerne har gjort sig at

spørgsmål, briterne har vores egen politik,« siger Uffe Ellemann-Jensen.

Poul Schlüter: »Jeg føler mig i dag - som før - overbevist om, at man ikke skal regne med, at hvis Danmark siger nej, så vil Storbritannien også sige nej sig udelukket. Det er faktisk usandsynligt, at de vil gøre det. Det kan briterne simpelthen ikke leve med, det er uden for virkelighedens verden.«

Den tidligere statsminister understreger, at det i Edinburgh var en klar forudsætning for den danske sær aftale, at Danmark i tilfælde af et nyt nej ikke tillægger, at de andre lande vil fortsætte alene.

»Det bliver sikkert kompliceret, men det er fulkomment muligt at opbygge en ny form for europæisk samarbejde uden for den gamle ramme,« siger Poul Schlüter.

EF-VALG 93



Ekstra Bladet 26/4/93 p14

Bol.Tid
p10 27/4

Klar britisk tale

Det mest opsigtsvækkende ved weekendens udtalelser fra den britiske udenrigsminister, Douglas Hurd er egentlig - at de vækker opsig. Douglas Hurd sagde kun, hvad der burde være en selvfølge: At den britiske regering hverken kan eller vil frakke sig muligheden for at etablere en ny form for samarbejde med de øvrige ti EF-lande, hvis danskerne skulle stemme nej den 18. maj. Maastricht-traktaten vil så være sat ud af kraft, fordi den forudsætter alle 12 landes underskrift, men verden kan ikke sættes i stå af den grund, og behovet for et europæisk samarbejde bliver hele tiden større. Derfor vil de øvrige lande efter et dansk nej søge at skabe en ny ramme for et tættere samarbejde - andet ville da være vanskeligt at forstå for vælgerne i de ti lande, der vil andet og mere end Danmark.

Om dette samarbejde bliver magen til Maastricht-traktaten, blot vedtaget under et nyt navn

i en ny by, eller noget helt tredje, kan kun tiden vise. Det eneste, det er givet, er, at EF ikke blot fortsætter som nu. Givet er det, at et dansk nej kaster EF ud i en langvarig krise, som vil gøre det svært at løse en række påtrængende problemer, lige fra den økonomiske recession og store arbejdsløshed til den voksende fare for styring på Balkan.

I mange år gentte de danske EF-modstandere sig bag Margaret Thatchers hårdtskæ. Den britiske premierministers EF-skepsis var så udtalt og energisk, at det effektivt bremsede mange af de EF-initiativer, der ellers også var kontroversielle herhjemme. Douglas Hurd har med sine udtalelser fastslået, at der er lagt en ny kurs trods åbenlyse britiske problemer nede i at ratificeret Maastricht-traktaten. Dermed får Douglas Hurd også understreget, at Danmark med et nej sætter sig uden for indflydelse.

CODES OF PRACTICE

COMPREHENSIVE DANISH CODE

Rules of guidance for good press practice

(A legal code adopted by the Danish Parliament in 1992)

Preamble

The safeguarding of the freedom of speech in Denmark is closely linked to the free access to information and news enjoyed by the press in order to publish them as correctly as possible. Free comment is part of the practice of freedom of speech. In undertaking these tasks, the press ought to recognise the individual citizen's right to respect for his personal integrity and privacy, and the need to protect these against unjustified violations.

Breach of good press practice includes the withholding of information of material significance to the public, as well as instances where media contents have been influenced by outside agents, where such influence can be said to cast doubt on the media's free and independent stance. It is also an infringement of good press practice if a journalist is given tasks that are contrary to these rules.

A journalist should not be ordered to perform tasks that are contrary to his conscience or convictions.

These rules pertain to editorial material (texts as well as pictures) published in the print media, radio and television, as well as other mass media.

These rules also pertain to advertisements in the print media, and the rest of the mass media in instances where other, specific, regulations do not apply.

These rules cover people who are mentioned in the media, or who feature in photographs, including the deceased, lawyers and the like.

The content of the code

A. Correct information

1) It is the obligation of the media to provide correct information, promptly. As far as it is possible, such information should be checked to ensure that it is correct.

2) Sources should be viewed critically, particularly when they might be prejudiced by personal interests or malice.

3) Information that could be damaging, hurtful, or could harm someone's reputation, must be particularly thoroughly researched before it is published, first and foremost by approaching the person concerned.

4) Criticism and response should, wherever possible, be published in context and in the same way.

5) It should be made clear what is factual information and what is comment.

6) Headlines and cross-heads should correspond and be relevant to the text or broadcast in question. The same holds true for billboards.

7) Information that is incorrect must be corrected on the own initiative of the editor as soon as the error becomes evident. The correction must be published in such a way that it is brought to the clear attention of readers, listeners or viewers.

B. Conduct contrary to good press ethics

1) Information that could infringe the privacy of an individual should be avoided, unless there is an obvious public interest in publishing it. The individual has the right to the protection of his personal reputation.

2) Suicide or attempted suicide should not be mentioned unless obvious public interest demands or justifies this. If this is the case, then this should be done as sensitively as possible.

3) Victims of crimes or accidents should be given the utmost consideration. The same applies to witnesses and the relatives of the people concerned. Pictorial material must be collected and reproduced with tact and consideration.

4) There should be a clear distinction between advertising and editorial text. Text and pictures supplied as a result of direct or indirect commercial interests should be used only if obvious journalistic criteria warrant it.

5) The trust of others must not be abused. Particular regard should be shown to people who cannot be expected to be aware of the effects their comments might have. The feelings of others, their ignorance or lack of self-control should not be abused.

Section C deals with court reporting, which is not relevant to this thesis.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF JOURNALISTS

(To which both the National Union of Journalists and the Dansk Journalistforbund are affiliated.)

IFJ Principles on the Conduct of Journalists

- 1. Respect for truth and for the right of the public to truth is the first duty of the journalist.**
- 2. In pursuance of this duty, the journalist shall at all times defend the principles of freedom in the honest collection and publication of news, and of the right of fair comment and criticism.**
- 3. The journalist shall report only in accordance with facts of which he/she knows the origin. The journalist shall not suppress essential information or falsify documents.**
- 4. The journalist shall use only fair methods to obtain news, photographs and documents.**
- 5. the journalist shall do the utmost to rectify any published information which is found to be harmfully inaccurate.**
- 6. The journalist shall observe professional secrecy regarding the source of information obtained in confidence.**
- 7. The journalist shall be aware of the danger of discrimination being furthered by the media, and shall do the utmost to avoid facilitating such discrimination based on, among other things, race, sex, sexual orientation, language, religion, political or other opinion, and national or social origins.**
- 8. The journalist shall regard as grave professional offences the following:**
 - plagiarism;**
 - malicious misrepresentation;**
 - calumny, slander, libel, unfounded accusations;**
 - the acceptance of a bribe in any form in consideration of either publication or suppression.**
- 9. Journalists worthy of that name shall deem it their duty to observe faithfully the principles stated above. Within the general law of each country the journalist shall recognise in professional matters the jurisdiction of colleagues only; to the exclusion of every kind of interference by governments or others.**

THE NATIONAL UNION OF JOURNALISTS (UK)

The NUJ Code of Conduct

1. A journalist has a duty to maintain the highest professional and ethical standards.
2. A journalist shall at all times defend the principles of the freedom of the Press and other media in relation to the collection of information and the expression of comment and criticism. He/she shall strive to eliminate distortion, news suppression and censorship.
3. A journalist shall strive to ensure that the information he/she disseminates is fair and accurate, avoid the expression of comment and conjecture as established fact and falsification by distortion, selection or misrepresentation.
4. A journalist shall rectify promptly any harmful inaccuracies, ensure that corrections and apologies receive due prominence and afford the right of reply to persons criticised when the issue is of significant importance.
5. A journalist shall obtain information, photographs and illustration only by straightforward means. The use of other means can be justified only by over-riding considerations of the public interest. The journalist is entitled to exercise a personal conscientious objection to the use of such means.
6. Subject to justification by over-riding considerations of the public interest, a journalist shall do nothing which entails intrusion into private grief and distress.
7. A journalist shall protect confidential sources of information.
8. A journalist shall not accept bribes nor shall he/she allow other inducements to influence the performance of his/her professional duties.
9. A journalist shall not lend himself/herself to the distortion or suppression of the truth because of advertising or other considerations.
10. A journalist shall only mention a person's race, colour, creed, disability, illegitimacy, marital status (or lack of it), age, gender, sexual orientation if this information is strictly relevant. A journalist shall neither originate nor process information which encourages discrimination on any of the above-mentioned grounds.
11. A journalist shall not take private advantage of information gained in the course of his/her duties, before the information is public knowledge.
12. A journalist shall not by way of statement, voice or appearance endorse by advertisement any commercial product or device save for the promotion of his/her own work or of the medium by which he/she is employed.

THE INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISTS (UK)

IoJ Code of Professional Ethics

1. The Institute believes that the Press and all other media of mass communication have a vital part to play in society by providing information and comment on matters of public concern. To discharge this duty effectively they must be free, *but freedom being liable to abuse brings its own responsibilities*. Moreover, examples, however, isolated, of any but the highest standards of journalism reflect on the medium concerned and by bringing it into disrepute lessen the confidence of the public and invite the imposition of controls.

2. The Institute fully recognises the competitive and other pressures to which journalists are subject, but emphasises the personal responsibility of every member for the material that he gathers, prepares or publishes and the methods used in so doing.

3. Every member is therefore required to subscribe to the code contained in this schedule which stipulates that the following acts are discreditable to a journalist thereby carrying the penalties prescribed in Bye-law 26:

a) The expression of comment or conjecture as established fact, or the submission of deliberately inaccurate or distorted stories including those in which essential facts are knowingly suppressed.

b) The obtaining of news or pictures by misrepresentation (save where important information of legitimate public interest can be obtained in no other way) or by any other form of dishonesty whatsoever, by intimidation or by undue intrusion on privacy.

c) Failure to rectify spontaneously and promptly harmful inaccuracies in published information so soon as discovered or brought to notice.

d) The publication of corrections or apologies in such a form or in such a position that they do little or nothing to counteract the impression made by the original story.

e) The refusal to afford a reasonable opportunity to reply to those who have been criticised.

f) The identification in relation to the proceedings before a court or tribunal of relatives or other persons not directly involved in such proceedings save when such identification is of legitimate public interest.

g) Failure to honour confidences received in the course of professional activity.

h) Writing or altering editorial copy at the request of an advertiser or in exchange for advertising or any other consideration. Taking or altering news feature pictures at the request of an advertiser or in exchange for advertising or any other considerations, or offering to do so, except for use in clearly marked advertising pages or supplements.

i) Abuse, for personal gain, either immediate or contemplated, of opportunities afforded by professional duties to influence the investment decisions of members of the public, or abuse for the same purpose of knowledge gained in the course of professional activities.



CODE OF PRACTICE

The Press Complaints Commission is charged with enforcing the following Code of Practice which was framed by the newspaper and periodical industry and ratified by the Press Complaints Commission on 27 October 1993.

All members of the press have a duty to maintain the highest professional and ethical standards. In doing so, they should have regard to the provisions of this Code of Practice and to safeguarding the public's right to know.

Editors are responsible for the actions of journalists employed by their publications. They should also satisfy themselves as far as possible that material accepted from non-staff members was obtained in accordance with this Code.

While recognising that this involves a substantial element of self-restraint by editors and journalists, it is designed to be acceptable in the context of a system of self-regulation. The Code

applies in the spirit as well as in the letter.

It is the responsibility of editors to co-operate as swiftly as possible in PCC enquiries.

Any publication which is criticised by the PCC under one of the following clauses is duty bound to print the adjudication which follows in full and with due prominence.

1. Accuracy

- i) Newspapers and periodicals should take care not to publish inaccurate, misleading or distorted material.
- ii) Whenever it is recognised that a significant inaccuracy, misleading statement or distorted report has been published, it should be corrected promptly and with due prominence.
- iii) An apology should be published whenever appropriate.
- iv) A newspaper or periodical should always report fairly and accurately the outcome of an action for defamation to which it has been a party.

2. Opportunity to reply

A fair opportunity for reply to inaccuracies should be given to individuals or organisations when reasonably called for.

3. Comment, conjecture and fact

Newspapers, whilst free to be partisan, should distinguish clearly between comment, conjecture and fact.

4. Privacy

Intrusions and enquiries into an individual's private life without his or her consent including the use of long-lens photography to take pictures of people on private property without their consent are not generally acceptable and publication can only be justified when in the public interest.

Note -Private property is defined as any private residence, together with its garden and outbuildings, but excluding any adjacent fields or parkland. In addition, hotel bedrooms (but not other areas in a hotel) and those parts of a hospital or nursing home where patients are treated or accommodated.

5. Listening Devices

Unless justified by public interest, journalists should not obtain or publish material obtained by using clandestine listening devices or by intercepting private telephone conversations.

6. Hospitals

- i) Journalists or photographers making enquiries at hospitals or similar institutions should identify themselves to a responsible official and obtain permission before entering non-public areas.

- ii) The restrictions on intruding into privacy are particularly relevant to enquiries about individuals in hospitals or similar institutions.

7. Misrepresentation

- i) Journalists should not generally obtain or seek to obtain information or pictures through misrepresentation or subterfuge.
- ii) Unless in the public interest, documents or photographs should be removed only with the express consent of the owner.
- iii) Subterfuge can be justified only in the public interest and only when material cannot be obtained by any other means.

8. Harassment

- i) Journalists should neither obtain nor seek to obtain information or pictures through intimidation or harassment.
- ii) Unless their enquiries are in the public interest, journalists should not photograph individuals on private property (as defined in the note to Clause 4) without their consent; should not persist in telephoning or questioning individuals after having been asked to desist; should not remain on their property after having been asked to leave and should not follow them

- iii) It is the responsibility of editors to ensure that these requirements are carried out.

9. Payment for articles

Payment or offers of payment for stories, pictures or information, should not be made directly or through agents to witnesses or potential witnesses in current or criminal proceedings or to people engaged in crime or to their associates - which includes family, friends, neighbours and colleagues - except where the material concerned ought to be published in the public interest and the payment is necessary for this to be done.

10. Intrusion into grief or shock

In cases involving personal grief or shock, enquiries should be carried out and approaches made with sympathy and discretion.

11. Innocent relatives and friends

Unless it is contrary to the public's right to know, the press should generally avoid identifying relatives or friends of persons convicted or accused of crime.

12. Interviewing or photographing children

- i) Journalists should not normally interview or photograph children under the age of 16 on subjects involving the personal welfare of the child, in the absence of or without the consent of a parent or other adult who is responsible for the children.
- ii) Children should not be approached or photographed while at school without the permission of the school authorities.

13. Children in sex cases

- i) The press should not, even where the law does not prohibit it, identify children under the age of 16 who are involved in cases concerning sexual offences, whether as victims, or as witnesses or defendants.
- 2) In any press report of a case involving a sexual offence against a child -
- i) The adult should be identified.
- ii) The term "incest" where applicable should not be used.
- iii) The offence should be described as "serious offences against young children" or similar appropriate wording.
- iv) The child should not be identified.
- v) Care should be taken that nothing in the report implies the relationship between the accused and the child.

14. Victims of crime

The press should not identify victims of sexual assault or publish material likely to contribute to such identification unless, by law, they are free to do so.

15. Discrimination

- i) The press should avoid prejudicial or pejorative reference to a person's race, colour, religion, sex or sexual orientation or to any physical or mental illness or handicap.
- ii) It should avoid publishing details of a person's race, colour, religion, sex or sexual orientation, unless these are directly relevant to the story.

16. Financial journalism

- i) Even where the law does not prohibit it, journalists should not use for their own profit, financial information they receive in advance of its general publication, nor should they pass such information to others.

- ii) They should not write about shares or securities in whose performance they know that they or their close families have a significant financial interest, without disclosing the interest to the editor or financial editor.
- iii) They should not buy or sell, either directly or through nominees or agents, shares or securities about which they have written recently or about which they intend to write in the near future.

17. Confidential sources

Journalists have a moral obligation to protect confidential sources of information.

18. The public interest

Clauses 4,5,7,8 and 9 create exceptions which may be covered by invoking the public interest. For the purposes of this code that is most easily defined as:

- i) Detecting or exposing crime or a serious misdemeanour.
- ii) Protecting public health and safety.
- iii) Preventing the public from being misled by some statement or action of an individual or organisation.

In any cases raising issues beyond these three definitions the Press Complaints Commission will require a full explanation by the editor of the publication involved, seeking to demonstrate how the public interest was served.

Comments or suggestions regarding the content of the Code may be sent to the Secretary, Press Standards Board of Finance, Merchants House Buildings, 30 George Square, Glasgow G2 1EG, to be laid before the industry's Code Committee

NEWSPAPER STORY THEMES

Stories within the UK and Danish newspaper press can be grouped under seven main categories (although many stories have elements that are relevant to two or more section). Listed under each category are specific issues covered by stories in the sample period.

EMU and the social chapter

The UK newspapers

The warning of Hiroshi Okuda that Toyota would be reluctant to invest more in a UK that remained outside of EMU.

The warning of Niall FitzGerald about the dangers of the UK remaining outside of EMU.

The difficulties other EU member states were having in meeting the EMU convergence criteria. This was specifically Italy, but also Germany and Spain.

The suggestions that countries wishing to join EMU in the first wave were 'cooking the books' to meet the convergence criteria. And doubts expressed about whether the project as a whole could start on the proposed date of 1 January, 1999.

Anticipated date of the 'second wave' of EMU entrants.

Comments about EMU from Eddie George, Malcolm Rifkind, Yves-Thibault de Silguy, John Major, Kenneth Clarke, Robin Cook and Jurgen Gehrels, head of UK operations for Siemens.

EU plans for a PR campaign to promote the euro.

Proposals in respect of the design of euro coins and notes.

The suggestion that the Germans were unhappy about the Italians joining EMU in the first wave.

The economic woes of the Germans - allegedly exacerbated by the social chapter.

The alleged Franco-German 'plot' to harmonise tax.

The international arguments over who was going to head the ECB, and how it would be run, also the proposals for a 'stability council' to oversee the operation of EMU.

Jacques Santer's public disagreements with John Major over the social chapter.

John Major's speech in Brussels, condemning the social chapter.

The problems over the design of the euro coins and notes.

The Danish newspapers

The prediction that EMU would lead to harmonisation in other spheres, such as tax.

EMU and the views and internal disagreements on the subject within other countries - particularly Sweden and the UK.

The economic woes of Germany and how these might impinge on EMU in general and Denmark in particular.

The attempts of other countries to meet the convergence criteria - particularly Italy - and the difficulties over EMU between the Germans and Italians. Allegations of 'cooked books'.

John Major's domestic political problems on the subject of EMU. The comments of Hiroshi Okuda and their impact on UK domestic politicians.

The debate on harmonising VAT.

EU plans to mount a PR campaign in support of the euro.

Arguments that EMU would not be able to start on the proposed date of January 1, 1999.

The *Financial Times*' story about the alleged 'waiting room' plan of the Germans for countries such as Italy and Spain so that they did not enter EMU in the first wave.

The EU and domestic politics

The UK newspapers

The problems differences of opinion about EMU were causing within and between the two major political parties, particularly the Tories. How the issue of the UK's relationship with the EU was being used by the Tories and Labour in the run-up to the 1997 General Election. Cabinet splits on Europe. Allegations of 'muzzling' of Tory MPs so as not to reveal Party splits on the EU. The alleged plan of Tory pro-Europeans to break away and form a new Party.

The appeals of Sir Leon Brittan for the EU not to be used in a General Election campaign slanging match.

The Teresa Gorman and Lord Pearson Bills.

The comments on the EU of Lady Thatcher.

Sir James Goldsmith and the Referendum Party - its manifesto and alleged attempts to 'rig' MORI Polls to suggest it had more support than was actually the case.

John Major's apparent failure to support the EU's Year Against Racism initiative.

Disagreements over border controls.

The Danish papers

Discussion about the desirability of retaining the opt-outs. Which, if any, should be abolished. Whether or not questions about the opt-outs should be included within the referendum on the new treaty.

What the forthcoming referendum involved and the implications should there be another referendum No.

The stances of the various political parties in respect of the terms of the new treaty and whether or not the opt-outs should be retained.

The nature and implications of 'flexibility' - what it meant, and varying Danish opinion on the subject. The retention or otherwise of the national veto in the EU decision making process.

Developing links with Europol in the fight against drugs.

Differing views about a common EU asylum policy.

The disagreements between the Danish chief negotiator in respect of the new treaty, the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

EU demands for stricter Nazi laws.

The legal challenge to the Maastricht Treaty under the Danish Constitution.

The Danish Government's attempts to ignite debate in advance of the referendum on the new treaty.

EU regulations

The UK newspapers

These included:

- the separation of household waste
- the statues 'euromyth'
- the 'humorous' brewery advertisement that made false allegations about EU regulations
- the introduction of an identity card
- curbs on the import of Caribbean bananas
- an end to the cormorant's protected status
- moves to promote ferry safety (including an obligation for passengers to provide more personal details to ferry staff)
- actual and proposed 'green' taxes and controls on carbon dioxide emissions
- the imposition of a telephone 'euro' dialling code
- rules that stifle biotechnology
- the phasing out of 'hands' as a unit of measurement for horses
- proposals for an 'information tax'
- proposals to ensure that sports events are not monopolised by pay-TV
- proposed 'cooling off' period for some telephone sales.

The Danish papers

These included:

- Danish aristocratic landowners benefiting from hand-outs under the CAP
- Danish fishermen buying fishing rights in Eastern Europe
- EU proposals for passports for animals
- Danish victory in getting a ban on the use of the antibiotic avoparcin in animal feed
- EU approving a subsidy for forest planting
- the proposed cut in agricultural subsidy
- genetic modification and the labelling of relevant foods
- Danish politicians opposing subsidies for the tobacco industry
- the argument between Denmark and the UK and France over the Danish ban on the use of tin cans for soft drinks
- the imposition of fines on environmental offenders and proposals for new legislation on that front
- controls on lorries that pollute the environment
- proposed ban on traps used to catch foxes
- the implications of Holland being hit by swine fever
- the unawareness of Danish companies in respect of EU subsidy schemes
- controls on carbon dioxide emissions
- EU support for the use of solar power
- Danish wish to use Nordic rather than EU environmental labelling
- pointless checks on slaughter pigs for trichina parasites (none ever found)
- proposals to improve the lot of battery hens
- calls for Europe to reduce water consumption

- the fining of Germany and Italy in particular for breaching environmental regulations
- EU putting a stop to farmers' hemp fraud
- no regulations to stop the EU selling citizens' private addresses
- effects of EU regulations on Danish pensions
- Denmark's illegal actions over EU regulations in respect of VAT on company cars.

Competition and trade

The UK newspapers

The row between the UK and EU over the proposed BA/AA alliance, the letter of Karel van Miert to Ian Lang, the comments of John Major and other politicians, and the way the issue was highlighting rifts in the Tory Party over the EU in general.

British pit jobs undermined by German government hand-outs.

A variety of permitted or challenged company mergers and take-overs.

The EU ruling on the unfairness of French restrictions on ski instructors. They allegedly discriminated against foreigners.

The EU seeking an end to tax havens.

The row with the State of Massachusetts over EU members states trading with Burma.

The EU's dealings with Japan over trading arrangements.

The Danish newspapers

The French restrictions in respect of ski instructors.

EU help in taking the dispute about Japanese restrictions on pigmeat imports to the WTO.

The settling of the EU dispute with Japan over copyright on music from the '50s and '60s.

The UK's dispute with the EU over the proposed BA/AA alliance.

The elimination of tax oases and 'business zones' which distort competition.

The imposition of VAT on 'call-back' telephone calls.

EU action over rising state subsidies, and protectionism (particularly in respect of public suppliers).

The action of the State of Massachusetts against EU members trading with Burma.

Dispute with the US over EU members trading with Cuba (the so-called Helms-Burton law).
The Danish newspapers

Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy (BSE)

The UK newspapers

Accusations by Jacques Santer that Britain tried to blackmail him over BSE.

The 'confrontation' between Douglas Hogg and the EC over (Chapter 5, p)¹, and which was still in force during the sample period.

The EU and enlargement

The Maastricht Treaty provides that 'any European State whose system of government is founded on the principle of democracy may apply to become a member of the Union'². Thus, no limit has been put on the potential number of member states.

As has already been discussed (Chapter 5, p), a number of Eastern and Central European countries were working towards accession during the sample period. The Danish newspapers were far more interested in - and enthusiastic about - this than were their British counterparts. However, there were other applications in the pipeline, too. For instance, also of relevance to this project, the Turks and Cypriots were hoping to join. The former, who first applied in 1987, were failing to meet the EU's criterion for 'respect for human rights', although the Turks themselves suspected that the rejection had more to do with Greek hostility, and, during the sample period, were using NATO as a means of retaliation (eg p).

Cyprus, meantime, although beset by internal strife, had been given the go-ahead by the European Council in June 1995³, and negotiations on accession were pending during the sample period. Newspapers in both the UK and Denmark included 'straight' reports on the situations of both the Turks and the Cypriots. Although by no means opposed to EU enlargement - indeed, the British accept that this could have benefits particularly in economic and security matters - the UK is nevertheless concerned that a substantial increase in the number of members will make the Union more unwieldy. Thus, an ambivalent attitude to this subject tends to be the norm (Michael Franklin, p25), which is reflected in the press.

End Notes

n the situations of both the Turks and the Cypriots. Although by no means opposed to EU enlargement - indeed, the British accept that this could have benefits pa

9. This was published in, for instance, *Politiken*, 23 January, 1993, Sektion 2, p3.

10. This statement appears in 'Europe and the challenge of enlargement', Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement 3/92, p23.

11. This information appears in The European Commission's Background Report B/3/97, February 1997, entitled 'The Enlargement of the European Union'.