

**THE DANISH CONSULATE GENERAL
IN FLENSBURG, GERMANY**



**“FROM CONFRONTATION TO COOPERATION”
THE DANISH-GERMAN MINORITY MODEL**



State borders in Danish-German Border Region 1864-2005



**“FROM CONFRONTATION TO COOPERATION”
THE DANISH-GERMAN MINORITY MODEL**

By Consul General
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**The Danish Consulate General
in Flensburg
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The cover photo shows H. C. Hansen, the Danish Prime Minister together with Konrad Adenauer, the Chancellor of The Federal Republic of Germany, in Bonn on 29 March 1955, at the signing of the declarations on the rights of the Danish and German minorities.

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Lord Palmerston (1784 - 1865)



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„The Flying Trunk“

Reportedly, at the middle of the 19th century the British Foreign Secretary Lord Palmerston said that only three persons had understood the Schleswig-Holstein question: the first one had died, the second one had gone mad, and the third one, namely Lord Palmerston himself, had forgotten all about it.

One hundred years later matters became clearer, when H.C. Hansen, the Danish Prime Minister, went to Bonn in 1955 in order to put the finishing touches to the negotiations on the rights of the Danish and the German minorities. On 29 March he met Federal Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, and in the presence of the delegations of the two countries, the Federal Chancellor

signed the German declaration and the Prime Minister signed the Danish one. Later, they have become known as the Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations.

After having signed the declarations, several speeches were given. In one of his speeches, H.C. Hansen claimed that the flight to Bonn had made him think of H.C. Andersen's fairytale about "the flying trunk". What the poet had only imagined had now become true for the Danish statesman. "I was really sitting in a flying trunk, not in order to visit the daughter of the Turkish sultan but in order to forge an alliance of understanding between our countries within the framework of the Atlantic powers." The last words

were a hint that it was the question of the admission of the Federal Republic of Germany to NATO in the autumn of '54 that had boosted the Danish-German negotiations about the rights of their respective minorities.

In their speeches, both statesmen underlined that the signing of the Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations was a turning point in the relationship between Denmark and the Federal Republic of Germany and that these declarations would be a turning point in the relationships between minorities and majorities on both sides of the border. Konrad Adenauer expressed his firm belief that a more solid foundation had been laid concerning respecting the interests of both minorities.

The minority question at the NATO meeting in Paris

The mutual respect for the interests of the national minorities was rooted in the delineation of the frontier in 1920. Back then, the points of reference were different, but during the end of the 1920s alignment of minority politics had developed in an important area: the recognition of "the principle of disposition" (das Gesinnungsprinzip). For example, this was expressed in a Prussian school order, where the Danish

minority was simply defined as "those German citizens that confess to Danish nationality", adding that "The confession to belonging to a minority may not be neither tested nor disputed." From now on the rule was "Minderheit ist wer will" ("Those who wish to be part of the minority are part of it").

In 1945 the minority arrangement was put under pressure on both sides of the border.

The special rights of the German minority, which was introduced at the end of the 1930s and during the German occupation, were lifted in Denmark, when the Germans surrendered in 1945. There were also the judicial purge of members of the German minority, the confiscation of German private schools and the cancellation of teaching in German in municipal schools. However, the core of the minority arrangement was preserved and confirmed in the so-called Copenhagen Protocol about the rights of the German minority in 1949. This did not, though, change the fact that the relationship between the minority and the majority in Denmark was still tense.

This also applied for Southern Schleswig, which had been greatly affected by a substantial strengthening of the Danish minority. The Kiel Declaration of 1949 about the

rights of the Danish minority in Germany did not ease the tension. The conflict peaked in 1951, when the Schleswig-Holstein State Government used its majority in the Parliament (Landestag) in Kiel to raise the electoral threshold to 7.5 %. This step was overruled by the Federal Constitutional Court of Germany in Karlsruhe, after which the 5 % electoral threshold applied again.

But at that point the party of the Danish minority, South Schleswigian Voter's Association (Sydsvigsk Vælgerforening) had already lost its chance of being represented in the Parliament of Schleswig-Holstein in Kiel. Thus, at Parliament elections in 1954, in spite of having gained 42,000 votes, the minority lost its seat in Kiel. The previous year the party of the German minority had gained a seat in the Danish Parliament (Folketinget) in Copenhagen with just 9,700 votes. There were also other problems that made the relationship between minority and majority thorny.

It was on this background that Foreign Secretary H.C. Hansen touched on conditions in Southern Schleswig on 22 October 1954, at a NATO meeting in Paris. He did so in connection with the question of admitting The Federal Republic of Germany to NATO. For that reason

Konrad Adenauer, the German Federal Chancellor, had been invited to attend the meeting.

In his speech, H.C. Hansen claimed that the treatment of a minority might become a symbol of the future partnership. Here he referred to the fact that the German minority was represented again in the Danish Parliament, whereas the Danish minority, which was between four and five times bigger, did not have a seat in the Parliament of Schleswig-Holstein. The members of the Danish Parliament expected that the principles behind the NATO partnership would make Germany pursue a similar liberal policy characterised by the understanding of the special problems of a national minority. H.C. Hansen concluded that he hoped that the Federal Government in Bonn in cooperation with the Parliament of Schleswig-Holstein in Kiel would find a solution to the problem.

Adenauer's response was positive. This triggered the process that resulted in the signing of the Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations five months later, declarations outlining the future rights of the Danish and German minorities.



Federal Chancellor Konrad Adenauer receives Prime Minister H.C. Hansen on 29 March 1955, prior to the signing of the Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations.

The Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations

The declarations of the two governments were carefully coordinated – they both start by declaring the intention of furthering the friendly co-existence between the populations on both sides of the Danish-German border and the friendly relationship between the two countries. The preamble also refers to article 14 in the European convention on human rights and to the Danish and German minority declarations from 1949 (the Copenhagen Protocol and the Kiel Declaration).

Thereafter the declarations list the civic rights as stipulated in the constitutions of the two states, explicitly pointing out that these rights also apply to anyone belonging to the Danish or German minority.

As a consequence of these principles, it is stated that the affiliation to German or Danish nationality and culture "is free and may not be tested or disputed by the authorities". Persons belonging to the two minorities and their organisations may not, whether orally or written, be prevented from using the language they prefer. In the judicial

system and in the public administration the language(s) used follow conventional rules.

Furthermore, the two declarations establish the rights of the Danish and German minorities to cultivate their religious, cultural and professional connections in and with, respectively, Denmark and Germany, and the minorities are guaranteed their rights to establish their own kindergartens and schools. According to the declarations, the access of the minorities to the radio should be considered – minorities should also have public announcements published in their own newspapers. Finally, the declarations promise that the minority aspect will be borne in mind when it comes to filling political posts in the municipalities (all other rules being followed) and that when allocating public funds, members of the minority will not be discriminated against compared with other citizens.

The additional protocol

In an additional protocol – with the title "The result of the Danish-German dialogues about the rights of our respective minorities" – dated 28 March 1955, the German Federal Government promised that the Act of 8 July 1953 on the Election of the Federal Parliament, section 9,

subsection 5, benefiting national minorities would be preserved permanently in future legislation. This law constituted something new: it gave national minorities the possibility to be represented in the Federal Parliament if they could mobilise the average amount of votes required to have one candidate from their own regional state (in casu, the state of Schleswig-Holstein) represented in the Federal Parliament. This law is still valid.

Furthermore, the Federal Government pronounced that the Parliament of Schleswig-Holstein would introduce an exemption from the 5 % electoral threshold under the Electoral Law of Schleswig-Holstein aimed at the Danish minority in the state. Thus, on 23 May 1955, the Parliament of Schleswig-Holstein voted in favour of suspending this threshold in the case of the Danish minority. This suspension was to take effect at the next election for the Parliament of Schleswig-Holstein and onwards. In the future the Danish minority would only have to get votes enough for one mandate to be represented in the Parliament (Landestag) in Kiel.

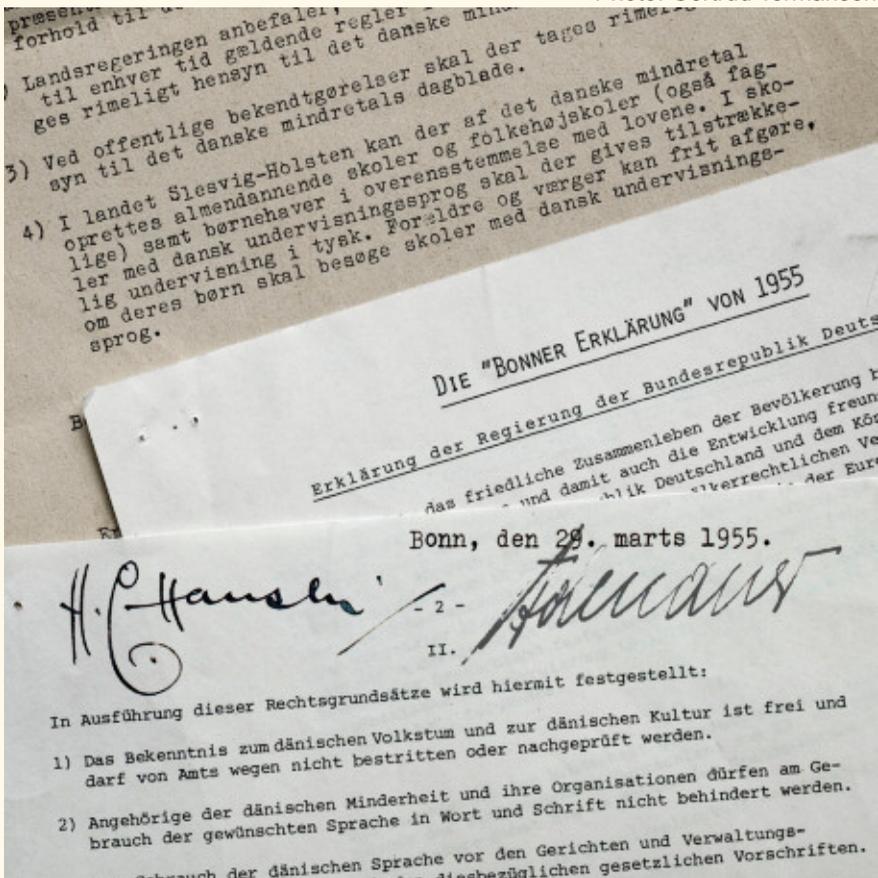
Furthermore, in the additional protocol of the Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations the German Government promised that the subsidies given to the schools of the Danish

minority would again be fixed at 80 % of the average expenses needed to cover pupils in the public schools in Schleswig-Holstein and that the minority would be authorised to establish further and higher educational institutions and to hold recognised examinations. Correspondingly, the Danish Government promised that the German minority would be allowed to establish similar

schools and arrange recognised examinations. Thus, there was a basis for holding A-levels examinations at the Danish Duborg school in Flensburg in Germany and at a new German "Gymnasium" in Aabenraa on the Danish side of the border.

Subsequently the two declarations on the rights of the Danish and German minorities were ratified by the Danish Parliament and the Ger-

Photo: Gertrud Termansen



man Federal Parliament respectively.

It is important to remember that the 5 % electoral threshold at federal and state elections was an integrated element in the solution agreed upon in 1955. Later complaints were filed against the extent to which this principle was applied and its validity was disputed – all this was dismissed by the German Federal Constitutional Court in 2005 and by the State Constitutional Court of Schleswig-Holstein in 2013, the latter adding to its verdict that the Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations are "legally binding internationally".

A confidence-building initiative

Signing the Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations marked a new chapter in the Danish-German relationship.

Obviously the two declarations do not stand alone. The general development in Western Europe – and from 1989 a united Europe – the expansion of international cooperation, the development of close partnerships within NATO and the European Union, international trade, tourism and much more has all added to improving the Danish-German relationship, which has never been better.

Nevertheless, the Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations do stand out and enjoy a high status, because not only was importance attached to them internationally, they also affected the everyday lives of people living in the border regions and were perceived as a confidence-building initiative. They

Photo: Flensburg Avis



A Danish postman with his German colleague in 1985 at the launching of a special stamp marking the 30th anniversary of the Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations.

solved some acute problems and laid the foundations for a gradual improvement of the relationship between minorities and majorities on both sides of the border. This process has often been characterised with the words "from confrontation over neighbouring to cooperation".

As time has passed, the promises of the Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations of treating the respective minorities liberally seem to be taken for granted by the public mind in

Germany as well as in Denmark. The international development after 1989 has, however, demonstrated that the idea that the confession to one's nationality and culture "is free and may not be tested or disputed by the authorities" is not a matter of course everywhere in Europe. The same goes for the other elements in the two declarations. Therefore, against a European background the Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations

are still of interest and form the framework of the current Danish-German minority policy.

This was emphasised on 29 March 2005, at Sønderborg Castle, where representatives of the German Federal Government, the State Government of Schleswig-Holstein and the Danish Government met to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the signing of the two minority declarations.



In Sønderborg, Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen receives Federal Chancellor Gerhard Schröder at the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations.
Photo: Povl Klavsen

In a joint statement, Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen and Federal Chancellor Gerhard Schröder declared that the Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations have furthered and secured the peaceful co-existence between the minorities on both sides of the border and paved the way for the development of friendly and close relations between Denmark and Germany. They expressed their belief that these declarations may serve as an inspiration for the settlement of minority problems in Europe and elsewhere. Among other things, the statement also referred to the Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations as one of the sources of inspiration for the defining of the so-called Copenhagen Criteria that in turn were required to become a member of the European Union.

These statements emphasise that the Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations are integrated in modern minority policies in Europe. They are still abreast of international minority rights, both compared with The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages from 1992 and The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities from 1995, both ratified by Denmark and Germany.

Other political initiatives concerning minorities

The joint celebration in 2005 of the 50th anniversary of the two declarations contributed to underlining that the minority regulations have given the Danish-German relationship a special dimension. At that point, the Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations had long had the constitutional status in the area of minorities. But new elements had been added. As the mutual relations improved, the minority policies of the two countries were adapted to changes in society and also to the new challenges facing the minorities. Among other things this applied to authorising minority schools to hold examinations and the exemption of the 5 % electoral threshold when it came to the Danish minority being represented in Parliament of Schleswig-Holstein. Concerning the latter, at the election in 1958 South Schleswigian Voter's Association (SSW, the political organisation representing the Danish minority) was represented in the Schleswig-Holstein Parliament again. At the national Danish elections in 1964, however, the German minority dropped out of the Danish Parliament, as Schleswegian Party (the party representing the German minority) did not reach the threshold of one mandate

with its 9,274 votes. This resulted in the Danish Government subsequently establishing a special Contact Committee concerning the minority, counting representatives of the Danish Parliament and Government. This committee was also active in the years between 1973 and 1979 even though the German minority was represented in the Danish Parliament qua their cooperation with a Danish party (Centrumdemokraterne).

In 1965 the Federal Government in Bonn established a similar committee for the Danish minority, belonging under the German Federal Ministry of the Interior. The contact between the German minority and the regional political powers in Kiel was also strengthened when in 1975 the Parliament of Schleswig-Holstein established a committee responsible for issues relating to the German minority in Denmark – the president of the Parliament was the chairman.

In the 1980s new steps were taken in the area of minorities.

The German minority found it important when, supported by the Danish state; a German Secretariat was established in Copenhagen in 1983. This Copenhagen Secretariat of the German minority, which was inaugurated by the then Prime Minister Poul Schlüter, handles the

daily contact with Ministries and the Danish Parliament.

At the same time, Prime Minister Uwe Barschel of Schleswig-Holstein took steps to gradually increase the subsidies to the Danish minority schools so that in 1985 they matched the average expenses per pupil in the public schools, i.e. 100 % subsidies. It was also decided that in every electoral period the Schleswig-Holstein State Government was to make a report on the Danish and the German minorities. The first such report was presented and discussed in the Parliament of Schleswig-Holstein in 1986 – a similar report on Frisian language and culture was presented in 1987. The following reports dealt with all these three minorities – in 1996 the Romani/Sinti living in the state were added in these reports, so that from that year the minority policy of Schleswig-Holstein came to cover all of these four groups.

In 1988 a new, special position as "Border Region Commissioner" for minority issues was created – later the position was renamed "Commissioner for Minorities". An important feature of this position is that the Commissioner is a direct connecting link between the Prime Minister of Schleswig-Holstein and the minorities. In 1988 the Parliament of Schleswig-Holstein also set



The German Minister for Foreign Affairs Klaus Kinkel (left) and his Danish colleague Niels Helveg Petersen (sitting) write in "The Golden Book of Schleswig" at the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations. In the background from left: Klaus Nielsky, the mayor of the city of Schleswig; Heide Simonis, the Prime Minister of Schleswig-Holstein; Ute Erdsiek-Rave, President of the Schleswig-Holstein Parliament; Wilhelm Klüver, the chairman of SSW, the political organisation of the Danish minority; and Hans Heinrich Hansen, the chairman of BDN (Bund Deutscher Nordschleswiger, the German minority organisation). Photo: Flensburg Avis

up a special contact committee for questions relating to the ethnic Frisians – in 2013 a similar committee was set up dealing with the Romani/Sinti in Schleswig-Holstein.

It became quite clear that things were happening in minority politics when in 1990 the Statutes of Schleswig-Holstein ("Landesatzung") was revised and credited with a status as part of the Constitution of Schleswig-Holstein. Here the wording in article 5 from 1949 that the confession to any minority is free but does not relieve the person in question from common civic responsibilities, was supplemented with the following declaration of

intent: "The cultural independence and political commitment of national minorities and ethnic groups are protected by the State of Schleswig-Holstein, the municipalities and the municipal organisations. The national Danish minority and the ethnic Frisians are entitled to protection and support."

In 2012 the Romani/Sinti were also included in this passage. Thus, Schleswig-Holstein was the first State which embedded the protection of the Romani/Sinti in its regional constitution.

The Danish so-called Structural Reform in 2007, which resulted in 270 municipalities being reduced to

98 mostly larger entities, also resulted in the Government introducing a handful of new electoral rules to facilitate the political representation of the German minority in the four municipalities in Southern Jutland. The number of mandates increased to 31 in all councils. If the minority cannot make this threshold, 25 % of the votes that a full mandate requires is enough to secure a minority representative that cannot vote but enjoys all other rights, including the right to be heard in the council and the right to be represented in municipal committees. If the minority gains between 10 % and 25 % of the votes necessary for a mandate, a committee must be set up with the task of dealing with questions relating to the German minority. In a European perspective this is an important step in the area of minority politics.

The rule about such a delegate was used in the municipality of Haderslev at the first local election, but already at the next election Schleswigian Party (the party representing the German minority) gained a full mandate in Haderslev. And in 2013 the same party experienced a big success in Southern Jutland in general, winning no less than three seats in Tønder and Sønderborg respectively, two in Aabenraa and, as mentioned, one

in Haderslev.

Presently, the German minority is not represented in the Danish Parliament. Even though it should be added that the Schleswigian Party is exempted from having to collect 20,000 signatures in order to be nominated for election. Also regardless of the 2% electoral threshold the party may be represented, if it wins one mandate in the large constituency of Southern Jutland. At the latest national elections, that required about 22,000 votes, equivalent to 0.6 % of all votes cast nationally. It was because of this rule that Schleswigian Party was represented in the Danish Parliament between 1920 and 1945 and from 1953 to 1964.

Education and equal rights

As mentioned previously, the schools of the Danish minority were given equal rights in 1985 concerning subsidies – this was fixed by law in 1990. However, at the end of the 1990s economic problems resulted in a pressure on this arrangement. Thus, the grant for each single pupil stayed the same in absolute amounts between 1999 and 2001 (based on 1998 expenses), and the following years brought only minor adjustments. In 2004, though, cooperation between the State Gov-

ernment of Schleswig-Holstein and the Danish School Association for South Schleswig (Dansk Skoleforening for Sydslesvig, the Danish minority organisation co-ordinating school work in Southern Schleswig) resulted in an agreement about future equal footing in this area.

The declaration of intent was

minority eyes, the new act demonstrated that the Danish schools of the minority were no longer only on an equal footing with other private schools, but had a special position. This not only applied to the just mentioned subsidy arrangement but also to the fact that the schools of the minority had had their own sec-



Danish minority demonstration in Rendsburg in 2010 against the cancellation of the principle of equal rights in terms of subsidising pupils in minority schools.
Photo: Lars Salomonsen

converted into reality in the School Act of 2007. According to section 124, the Danish School Association for South Schleswig would receive 100 % subsidies of the expenses of an average public school pupil, in effect from January 2008. Seen with

tion and passage in the school act. This supported the view that in praxis the Danish schools in Schleswig-Holstein – just like the German schools on the northern side of the border – serve as public schools for the minority.

On 26 May 2010, however, a change of tack took place, when the State Government of Schleswig-Holstein under Prime Minister Peter Harry Carstensen announced that the subsidies would be reduced from 100 % to 85 %, based on the expenses of an average pupil in the public school system. This was an element in an extensive restructuring of the budget of the entire State Government of Schleswig-Holstein, corresponding to an annual reduction of the subsidies of 4.7 million euro. This triggered many and long-running protests from the Danish minority – there were signature petitions, several demonstrations and resolutions.

This also stirred emotions in Denmark and resulted in the Danish Government repeatedly bringing the case before both the State Government of Schleswig-Holstein and the Federal Government in Berlin, emphasising the underlying principle at work, namely that the hitherto equal footing between majority and minority would cease – so would the acknowledgement that Danish schools in Schleswig-Holstein are *de facto* public schools for the Danish minority in the region.

Therefore, in the autumn of 2010 a Danish-Schleswig-Holstein task force was set up with the aim of "going through the question of equal

rights in terms of financing the schools of the Danish and German minorities". It appeared that during the previous 15 years the grants for the schools of the German minorities had been about 100 % but had lately fallen to 96 %. This made the Danish Government change the method of calculation so that from 2011 the German minority is secured 100 % equal rights concerning pupil subsidies. South of the border the grants had been reduced as mentioned above, but the State Government of Schleswig-Holstein stuck to its reduction to 85 %. Thereafter, in 2011 and 2012, the Federal Parliament (Bundestag), added annual subventions of 3.5 million euro to the Danish schools.

After the regional elections in Schleswig-Holstein in 2012, where Prime Minister Torsten Albig formed a government, the principle of equality and 100 % subsidising of minority pupils was reintroduced, taking effect in 2013. The wording of the school act that the grants are allocated "independent of need" is not new but still bears great importance when talking minority policies. It is also crucial that in 2013 the Schleswig-Holstein branch of the CDU, the large Christian Democratic Party, announced that the party again supports equal rights in this area. Thus, these principles are

again supported by the large majority of the political parties in Schleswig-Holstein.

In 2013 the German minority in Denmark raised the issue of putting minority schools on an equal footing with majority public ones when it came to building investments. This resulted in the minority receiving a subsidy of 3 million DKK as an element in a long-term solution.

As it should appear above, the wish for equal rights has become a central issue in minority politics on both sides of the border. Today this characterises governments subsidising the respective minorities. Since most schools are small and need special expertises, both mi-

norities actually do need special grants from Denmark and Germany respectively – this also applies to other cultural activities. It has been like this since 1920 and is crucial also in the future, if the two minorities are to preserve their institutions.

For many years Denmark was the major contributor to the Danish minority and Germany to the German one, but lately this has changed, so that now the Danish state subsidises both minorities the most.

Previously the Danish grants to the Danish minority in Germany were warranted in a note in the annual finance bill, but in 2009 the independent auditors of the public



Prime Minister Torsten Albig on the rostrum at the celebration in the Landstag of the first 25 years with an official commissioner for minorities in Schleswig-Holstein. Photo: Martina Metzger

Photo: Povl Klavsen



accounts, prompted by the Danish Parliament's own auditor generals, pointed out that such extensive financial arrangements should be embedded in a proper bill. Against this background all members of the Danish Parliament adopted "Bill about the South Schleswig Committee and the subsidies for the Danish minority in South Schleswig that lie within the Minister for Education's jurisdiction". It is The South Schleswig Committee (Sydslesvigudvalget) that on the basis of grant

applications makes decisions about grants and loans within the financial framework of the annual budget. This committee replaced the previous "The Committee on Danish Cultural Affairs in South Schleswig" as a connecting link between the Danish minority and The Danish Parliament.

Concluding remarks

Good neighbourly relations require nursing and an active effort. The same goes for the national co-existence of majority and minorities. the Federal Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and Prime Minister H.C. Hansen laid the foundation stone of this development when signing the Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations in 1955. This was what H.C. Hansen had in mind when he stated in one of his speeches:

"I am happy that all parties have endeavoured to overcome old differences. We all know that these are long-term efforts and that setbacks may occur. I do, however, cherish the hope that the spirit permeating these negotiations will also leave its mark on daily life in the border region."

And this was what actually happened. Other factors were new steps forward taken in the area of minority politics and which is

described above, the sum of all the initiatives and efforts known under the label: the Danish-German minority model. It was the awareness of the particular significance of the minority rules that in 1996 made Denmark and Germany establish "European Centre for Minority Issues" (ECMI) in Flensburg.

Is this a European model, then?

In a number of papers, a Danish researcher on minority issues, Principal Jørgen Kühl, assesses a handful of elements making up "the Schleswig model" and its relevance in a European context. He presents a number of criteria characteristics of the model – among others functional autonomy, self-identification, reciprocity, voluntariness, institutionalised dialogue, financial support and acceptance of the delineation of the border.

Since no two minority conflicts are identical, we cannot automatically transfer experiences and instruments from one region to the other. Instead we shall have to pick relevant experiences and instruments. According to Kühl, the "Schleswig Model" is a positive example on how it can be possible to find workable solutions to a thorny minority problem, an exam-

ple that may inspire others and provide them with a useful knowledge.

In other words, the Danish-German minority model is not an "export article" but a moral example demonstrating that you may be able to reach a long-term solution if all parties involved show their goodwill.



The annual Danish meetings in South Schleswig go back before World War One, when the Danish-minded parts of the population in Southern Jutland demonstrated their national identity at open air meetings, singing and listening to speeches. After the new drawing of the border in 1920 the tradition was renewed in 1921 by the Danish minority south of the new border. The first open air arrangement in Flensburg drowned in rain, but three indoor arrangements were all successes, starting new traditions in South Schleswig. The annual meetings are held in May or June – they last three days, comprise 40 afternoon and evening arrangements and three big outdoor events. Normally there are between 10,000 and 15,000 participants, including many guests from Denmark: representatives of the government and the political parties from The Danish Parliament give speeches and convey greetings. In the picture we see participants in Flensburg walking, true to tradition, through the city towards the meeting place.

Photo: Povl Klavsen



Siegfried Matlok, head of the secretariat and editor-in-chief of the newspaper "Der Nordschleswiger" (left) and Danish Prime Minister Poul Schlüter in 1983 at the inauguration of the secretariat of the German minority in Copenhagen.

Photo: Der Nordschleswiger

From the article:

„In other words, the Danish-German minority model is not an "export article" but a moral example demonstrating that you may be able to reach a long-term solution if all parties involved show their goodwill”.