

# The Enlargement of the European Union: The United Kingdom and Turkey 1973 to the present

**Unit Plan****4 Credits**

Year	NCEA Level	Duration
12	2	6–8 weeks

This unit has been developed in relation to the History Achievement Standard 90466 (2.2). Teachers should ensure that they adjust the unit to meet the needs of their students and NCEA requirements.

## Introduction

This unit of work requires students to focus on some of the issues of the enlargement of the European Union (EU). Students will study and compare the experiences of two countries joining the EU: the United Kingdom in 1973 and Turkey, which is currently in the process of negotiation. Students will be expected to use their knowledge of the process to write a report assessing Turkey's readiness to join the Union according to the criteria it must conform to. The students will need to provide clear arguments based on historical ideas and evidence to complete the assignment.

The unit is divided into:

- **Curriculum links** – including vision, principles, key competencies, and values.
- **Context background** – which briefly describes the history of the EU and related historical issues.
- **Teaching programme** – a suggested content framework to be worked through in class to prepare students for the research report. Adapt and modify the framework to meet the needs of your students.

Also included as part of this unit (but as separate PDFs) are:

- **Student research report** – an opportunity to assess students' ability to communicate historical ideas to demonstrate understanding of an historical context. This is a key component of the Level 2 internal assessment programme.
- **Resources** – including website links and recommended further reading for students and teachers.

## Suggested approach for teachers

In terms of the current curriculum (in place until 2012), the unit is best placed as an adjunct to Y12 Theme B: Nationalism, International Relations and the Search for Security. The strongest direct link is with the topic: The Search for Security in the Nuclear Age 1945 to the present. Here this unit provides a useful and apt study of how nations are adapting their interactions in the post-Cold War era.

# Curriculum Links

Note: In this section, links of primary relevance have been given an asterisk.

## Vision for young people

- International citizens\*
- Literate and numerate
- Connected\*
- Effective users of communication tools
- Active seekers, users, and creators of knowledge\*

## Principles

- **Learning to learn** – students will focus on the process of learning and have the opportunity to reflect, critique, analyse, and enhance their own learning.
- **Future focus** – students will consider contexts that have consequence for the future.

## Key competencies

- **Thinking\*** – students will make comparisons, synthesise information, draw conclusions, and process information.
- **Using language, symbols, and texts** – students will express ideas and information, both orally and in writing, using appropriate language conventions.
- **Managing self\*** – students will determine areas of interest and motivate themselves to conduct independent research.
- **Relating to others** – students will actively listen, recognise different points of view, negotiate and share ideas. Students will also examine how nations work together in an international relations context.
- **Participating and contributing\*** – students will see the benefits of nations working together to solve issues.

## Values

- **Excellence** – students will strive for personal standards of excellence when they use high-level thinking and research skills to investigate complex issues.
- **Innovation, inquiry, and curiosity** – students will problem solve, create innovative solutions, identify their own areas for investigation, and discover topics that inspire them.
- **Diversity** – students will examine a variety of different cultural contexts and engage with global issues.
- **Equity** – issues around human rights may be identified and examined.
- **Community and participation** – students will work together and examine models where nations work together for communal benefit.
- **Integrity** – students will examine how countries conduct themselves in a global context.

## Learning area: Social Sciences – History

- In the social sciences, students explore how societies work and how they themselves can participate and take action as critical, informed and responsible citizens.

## Achievement objectives (Curriculum Level 7 – Year 12)

Students will gain knowledge, skills, and experience to:

- understand how historical forces and movements have influenced the causes and consequences of events of significance to New Zealanders
- understand how people's interpretations of events that are of significance to New Zealanders differ.

## Key concepts

- Accession to the EU
- Maintaining cultural diversity
- Complexity of international relationships
- Importance of historical issues in developing future policies and practices for a country and region
- Relevance of human rights issues
- Role of the EU or EU member countries in determining policies of candidate countries
- New Zealand's European values
- The process of integration

## Context Background

Many New Zealanders can trace their ancestry to Europe. The Treaty of Waitangi (1840), New Zealand's founding document, was signed between the British Crown and more than 500 Māori chiefs, and began an ongoing process of immigration to New Zealand from the United Kingdom and Europe.

While New Zealand has increasingly become a nation focused on the Asia-Pacific region, there are strong social, economic, cultural, and legal ties to Europe. It is important that New Zealanders understand and appreciate the role the EU plays in the world. The EU is New Zealand's largest trade partner in the world after Australia. The EU's economy is the biggest in the world, now surpassing the United States in size.

Since the European Economic Community (EEC) was formed in 1957 by the Treaty of Rome, European countries have looked for opportunities to integrate political, legal, economic, and social policies. One of the objectives of the EU is to achieve this integration for the mutual benefit of its Member States.

Until 2004, there were 15 Member States of the EU. These states were located in wealthier parts of Western Europe and Scandinavia. After the fall of the Iron Curtain, and the dismantling of communism in Eastern Europe in the late 1980s and early 1990s, a number of former Eastern European countries transformed their economies to such an extent that they became eligible to

join the EU, and did so in 2004 and 2007. In 2004, the two island states of Cyprus and Malta joined after meeting EU criteria as well, bringing the total number of Member States by 2007 to 27 with a combined population of nearly half a billion people.

Countries like Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania now enjoy the benefits of being members of the EU. These benefits include:

- peaceful relations within Europe
- improved economic opportunities through trading within a single Europe-wide market
- harmonisation of rules and regulations
- access to regional aid
- rebates and subsidies in some areas, notably agriculture
- increased movement of people due to reduced travel restrictions, and subsequent freer labour markets
- modernisation
- involvement in EU decision-making processes
- greater impact on the international scene when the EU speaks with one voice.

The United Kingdom was in the first wave of the then EEC's enlargement, joining alongside Denmark and Ireland in 1973. Turkey started negotiations along with Croatia in 2005 in the latest wave of countries aiming to join what has now become the EU. This module therefore compares the times and issues from an historical perspective faced by a country that aspired to join the EU during its first enlargement compared with a country facing a very different set of issues in current times.

## Teaching Programme

### 1. A brief history

#### Post-World War II Europe

In 1945, a great hope developed that Europe would never again have to deal with the devastating carnage that it had endured in the first half of the twentieth century. It was believed that one way of ensuring this was by establishing greater cooperation and harmony between Europe's nations and that this could be achieved by the development of an integrated European community along economic, social, and political lines.

Between 1945 and 1950, a handful of courageous statesmen including Robert Schuman, Konrad Adenauer, Alcide de Gasperi, and Winston Churchill set about persuading their peoples to enter a new era. New structures would be created in western Europe, based on shared interests and founded upon treaties guaranteeing the rule of law and equality between all countries.

Robert Schuman (French foreign minister) took up an idea originally conceived by Jean Monnet and, on 9 May 1950, proposed establishing a European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). In countries that had once fought each other, the production of coal and steel would be pooled under a common High Authority. In a practical but also richly symbolic way, the raw materials of war were being turned into instruments of reconciliation and peace.

See: [http://europa.eu/abc/12lessons/lesson\\_1/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/abc/12lessons/lesson_1/index_en.htm)

## European Economic Community (EEC) 1957–1993

As a result, in 1957, the Treaty of Rome created the European Economic Community (EEC). The EEC was created to further the goal of European integration and promote harmony and cooperation.

## European Union (EU)

The successor to the EEC, the EU was founded in 1993 by the Maastricht Treaty. Its aim was to further develop European integration by creating a common currency, EU citizenship and the Common Foreign and Security Policy.

See: [http://europa.eu/abc/12lessons/lesson\\_2/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/abc/12lessons/lesson_2/index_en.htm)

## 2. EU enlargement

Since the creation of the EEC in 1957, the community of Europe has steadily increased from the original six Member States to 27 members in 2007. The following timeline outlines this growth:

- 1957 – Six original members of the EEC (France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxembourg)
- 1973 – Denmark, Ireland, and the United Kingdom
- 1981 – Greece
- 1986 – Spain and Portugal
- (1993 – Single European Market introduced)
- 1995 – Austria, Finland, and Sweden
- (2002 – The Euro currency introduced in notes and coins)
- 2004 – Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Hungary, Malta, and Cyprus
- 2007 – Romania and Bulgaria
- 2009 (June) – EU membership negotiations continue with Croatia and Turkey.

Enlargement offers benefits for both the older and newer Member States.

- The extension of the zone of peace, stability, and prosperity in Europe enhances the security of all of its peoples.
- The addition of more people, in rapidly growing economies, to the EU's market encourages economic growth and creates jobs in both old and new Member States.
- There is a better quality of life for citizens throughout Europe as the new members adopt EU policies for protection of the environment and the fight against crime, drugs, and illegal immigration.
- The arrival of new members enriches the EU through increased cultural diversity, the interchange of ideas, and better understanding of other peoples.
- Enlargement strengthens the EU's role in world affairs – in foreign and security policy, trade policy, and the other fields of global governance.

See:

- <http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement>
- [http://www.outreachworld.org/Files/university\\_of\\_washington\\_seattle/enlarging\\_the\\_eu.pdf](http://www.outreachworld.org/Files/university_of_washington_seattle/enlarging_the_eu.pdf)
- [http://europa.eu/abc/12lessons/lesson\\_3/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/abc/12lessons/lesson_3/index_en.htm)

Receive a monthly update about how EU enlargement is progressing at: [elarg-newsletter@ec.europa.eu](mailto:elarg-newsletter@ec.europa.eu)

There are obvious benefits to enlargement of the EU but there are also great challenges. These may be best summarised as the tension between integration and the distinctiveness of individual cultures. New Zealand students will understand this tension in relation to Māori and non-Māori.

### 3. Major structures and institutions

See [http://europa.eu/abc/12lessons/lesson\\_4/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/abc/12lessons/lesson_4/index_en.htm)

#### European Commission

This is the administrative arm of the EU with headquarters in Brussels. The commissioners are mainly former leading national politicians. The Commission is a political administration body. It proposes legislation for consideration by the Council of Ministers and Members of the European Parliament (MEPs), ensures that EU legislation/treaties are upheld, and oversees the efficient day-to-day running of the EU. The Commission is also responsible for initiating policies. It is independent from national governments.

See:

- [http://europa.eu/institutions/inst/comm/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/institutions/inst/comm/index_en.htm)
- <http://www.civitas.org.uk/eufacts/FSINST/IN1.htm>

#### European Parliament

This is the directly elected assembly of the EU. A total of 736 MEPs are elected from Member States, with elections held every five years. Each Member State elects a number of MEPs based broadly on its population with a minimum per country. The Parliament meets in Strasbourg and Brussels.

See:

- <http://www.civitas.org.uk/eufacts/FSINST/IN4.htm>
- <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parliament.do?language=en>

#### European Council

The political leader of each Member State (for example, the prime minister or chancellor) is entitled to be a member of this body. In the EU, this is the final political authority.

See:

- [http://europa.eu/european-council/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/european-council/index_en.htm)
- <http://www.civitas.org.uk/eufacts/FSINST/IN2.htm>

## **Council of Ministers (or the Council of the EU)**

Member States appoint representatives of their government, usually ministers, to be members of this council. The Council meets in nine different formations depending on the issues being discussed (for example, Member States' foreign policy ministers meet for the foreign affairs council). The ministers set the EU political objectives, coordinate national policies, and come up with joint positions. Ministers consider proposals from the European Commission and then have the power to commit their governments to new policies. The Council meets mostly in Brussels and sometimes in Luxembourg. Each country has a number of votes in the Council broadly reflecting their population, but weighted in favour of smaller countries.

See:

- <http://ue.eu.int/showPage.aspx?id=242&lang=EN>
- <http://www.civitas.org.uk/eufacts/FSINST/IN3.htm>

## **European Court of Justice**

The European Court of Justice is made up of one judge from each Member State, and eight Advocates-General, who deliver legal opinions with complete impartiality and independence on disputes between Member States, disputes between the EU and Member States, disputes between EU institutions, and disputes between individuals and the EU. All members of the Court are nominated by their home governments and serve for six-year terms. The Court is based in Luxembourg.

See <http://www.civitas.org.uk/eufacts/FSINST/IN5.htm>

## **4. Becoming a Member State**

See:

- [http://europa.eu/abc/12lessons/lesson\\_3/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/abc/12lessons/lesson_3/index_en.htm)
- <http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/candidate-countries>

### **How does a country become a full member?**

1. A country makes application for full membership.
2. On receipt of an application, the European Council consults the European Commission and the European Parliament for advice.
3. It is then the sole responsibility of the Council to either accept or reject a country as a candidate to begin accession talks. Once accepted, accession negotiations then begin. These negotiations can take many years, depending on the preparedness of the country to join the EU.

### **What are the criteria for acceptance of candidate status for EU membership?**

- A candidate country must be considered European (Treaty on European Union, Article 49 stipulates: "Any European State which respects the principles set out in Article 6(1) may apply to become a member of the Union").
- A candidate country must have rule of law, respect for human rights, and protect minority groups.

- A candidate country must successfully meet the Copenhagen Criteria. The Copenhagen Criteria was agreed by the European Council at a meeting in Denmark in June 1993. They say to be eligible to join the EU a country must:
  - be a functioning democracy
  - respect human rights and respect minorities within its borders
  - have a functioning market economy.

### **What are the 35 Negotiation Chapters?**

These are the 35 chapters, or specific areas, that a candidate country has to make progress in before it can be admitted as a full member. Each chapter is generally concerned with a specific social, economic, legal or political aspect of a nation's life, for example, taxation, education, health, and workers' rights.

During the period of accession negotiation, the European Commission monitors work and development in these areas mainly through its delegations (diplomatic missions in those countries). Annual progress reports assess how much progress a candidate country is making towards meeting them.

For more information about the negotiation chapters go to:

- [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Future\\_enlargement\\_of\\_the\\_European\\_Union](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Future_enlargement_of_the_European_Union)
- [http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/enlargement\\_process/future\\_prospects/negotiations/eu10\\_bulgaria\\_romania/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/enlargement_process/future_prospects/negotiations/eu10_bulgaria_romania/index_en.htm)

## **5. New Zealand's relationship with the United Kingdom**

Links between the United Kingdom have historically been strong, with New Zealand providing service men to fight in defence of the United Kingdom in World War I and World War II. New Zealand, since the 1970s, has become increasingly politically and economically independent from the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom's accession to the European Community forced New Zealand to rethink its traditional economic reliance on the United Kingdom and seek markets elsewhere for its dairy and meat products.

New Zealand remains a constitutional monarchy, with Queen Elizabeth II as reigning monarch. New Zealand, along with the United Kingdom and other former British colonies, is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations.

Until 2004, New Zealand's highest court was the British Privy Council. Then New Zealand established the Supreme Court and a judicial system independent of the United Kingdom.

## **6. New Zealand's relationship with Turkey**

Turkey is a country that has strong links with New Zealand, largely built on the bonds arising from the experience of the Gallipoli Campaign of 1915.

In January 1992, Turkey opened an Embassy in Wellington, and New Zealand opened an Embassy in Ankara a year later. There are Turkey–New Zealand Parliamentary Friendship groups in our respective parliaments.

Turkey established a Peace Park on the Gallipoli Peninsula to commemorate the 1915 campaign, and it is a symbol of national pride and unity. A memorial to the New Zealanders who fell at Gallipoli is situated at Chunuk Bair on the heights of the Peninsula, opposite a statue of Turkey's founder, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who, as a commander of the Turkish forces, played a crucial role at Gallipoli. A stone from the Chunuk Bair memorial forms the centrepiece of a new

memorial in the renovated Wellington Cathedral to the Anzac troops who fell during the Gallipoli campaign. A memorial to Atatürk is sited at Tarakina Bay overlooking the entrance to Wellington harbour.

New Zealand trades with Turkey. Wool, hides and skins, and modest dairy sales account for most of New Zealand's exports, while New Zealand imports Turkish goods, mainly trucks, grapes, dried fruit, rubber tyres, tractors, carpets, machinery, textiles, chemicals, and ceramics.

See <http://www.mfat.govt.nz/Countries/Middle-East/Turkey.php>

## 7. The United Kingdom's application to join

- 1961 – United Kingdom Government first applies to join the EEC.
- 1963 and 1967 – Unsuccessful initial negotiations for entry end with French President General de Gaulle's "veto" of the United Kingdom's application.
- 1971 – The United Kingdom's entry application is renewed and accepted.
- 1973 – United Kingdom joins the European Community.
- 1975 – Referendum confirms the United Kingdom's EEC membership.

The United Kingdom joined during the first wave of the EEC's enlargement in 1973. Its accession to the EEC had a profound and eventually beneficial impact on New Zealand. The United Kingdom advocated the creation of the Single European Market in 1993. It has, however, decided to keep its national currency at present and is not part of the border-free Schengen Agreement.

## 8. Turkey's application to join

- 1963 – Turkey became an associate member of the EEC.
- 1987 – Turkey applies to become full member of the EEC.
- 1999 – Turkey officially recognised as candidate for full EU membership.
- 2005 – EU-Turkey membership negotiations started.

See: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/3682828.stm>

Turkey has a population of 72 million and is a secular state. It straddles Europe and Asia, therefore it has been, and still is, of major strategic importance for the West. Turkey is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation NATO, the Council of Europe, and the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe.

## 9. Some issues around the United Kingdom's accession

### Importance of Europe to United Kingdom trade

In the 1950s, the United Kingdom's trade with the Commonwealth was much more significant than its trade with Europe. However, in the 1960s, Europe's common market started outstripping the United Kingdom's economic growth and the United Kingdom saw the benefit of joining it. In 1993, the United Kingdom played a significant role in the creation of the Single Market, which has significantly boosted trade within the EU. The EU now accounts for more than half of the United Kingdom's total trade with the world.

## **Looking after New Zealand**

The United Kingdom's entry to the EU altered trade for New Zealand. In 1960, over half of New Zealand's exports had gone to the United Kingdom alone. The United Kingdom negotiated a deal for New Zealand's agricultural exports to continue to have market access to United Kingdom and also to the wider European market. The United Kingdom's entry into the EEC forced New Zealand to diversify and search out new world markets, and led to the development of strong trade and other links with the Asia Pacific region in particular.

## **The British "functional" versus the continental "federal" approach**

A strong body of United Kingdom public opinion has for a long time been concerned that EEC membership would lead to a one-sided loss of sovereignty and a threat to national identity for their country. Others have stressed that joining the EU means that sovereignty is pooled in solidarity with other Member States and that the United Kingdom gains strength and negotiating power in the world by sharing in the sovereignty renounced by others as well for the common good and mutual advantage.

## **The primacy of EU law over national law**

Linked to concerns about loss of sovereignty were concerns that EU law would triumph over national law. The United Kingdom Government was at first very sensitive to this issue. However, with time, it recognised that majority voting on non-contentious issues was in its interest, such as on trade matters. This approach helped, in particular, the achievement of the smooth running of the Single European Market, which might have otherwise been bogged down with vetoes exercised by individual countries.

## **Joining after the rules of the club had been made**

The United Kingdom decided not to join in 1957 when it could have come in with the original six Member States. Thus, the United Kingdom was not in a position to influence the initial construction of Europe in such areas as the Common Agricultural Policy, where its views might have differed from others. When the United Kingdom came to negotiate its entry, it therefore had to play by the rules of the game constructed by the original six Member States, with the understanding that it would then work to make changes from within.

## **1975 Referendum**

Prime Minister Edward Heath, who had negotiated the United Kingdom's entry into the EEC in 1973, lost the general election the following year. Prime Minister Harold Wilson renegotiated entry terms for the United Kingdom and held a referendum. The British public voted two-to-one (67.2 percent versus 32.8 percent) to stay in.

## **The United Kingdom's contribution to the EU's budget**

The United Kingdom Government had to agree its contribution to the EEC budget as part of its entry negotiations. When transitional arrangements came to an end in 1979, the result was perceived by the United Kingdom to be inequitable. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was instrumental in negotiating a rebate that remains in place to this day.

## 10. Some issues around Turkey's accession bid

### Turkey as a secular democracy

Since the fall of the Ottoman Empire after World War I, and with the nation-building leadership of [Mustafa Kemal Atatürk](#), Turkey has made strong efforts to separate religion and the state. Democracy has also taken root, an essential prerequisite to joining the EU. What are the developments taking place in Turkey now in this regard?

### Turkey as "European"

What does it mean to be European? Does Turkey have to be considered 'European' to become an EU candidate? What is the historical case for arguing that the landmass of Anatolia has strong links to Europe? Are there any cases of non-European countries being admitted or rejected as candidates to join the EU?

### The economic condition of Turkey

How developed is Turkey's economy? Are certain geographic regions more developed than others? Is it in a position to withstand the pressures of the European Union's Single Market? How is Turkey's customs union with the EU working out? If Turkey was to become a member, how easy or difficult would it be for Turkey to meet the criteria for joining the euro?

### Free movement of workers

EU law allows in principle citizens of one Member State to travel to and work in others. What impact might a large population like Turkey's have on the capacity of a future European work force (review, for example, the issue of the EU's ageing population and impact of other enlargements, for example, Polish workers in the United Kingdom)?

### Turkey and human rights

What is Turkey's historical human rights record? Does it meet EU standards? Research the views of the Turkish government and the views of organisations like the United Nations and Amnesty International to obtain an appraisal. Students could also research good governance, human rights, treatment of minorities, and the rule of law to come to a view about progress being made.

### Turkey's relations with Greece

Greece has been a member of the EU since 1981. Turkey and Greece have had a period of difficult relations with each other. However, there have been positive developments in recent times. What are the origins of the issues between them? To what degree are they on the way to being mended?

### Cyprus

Cyprus has been an EU member since 2004. Relations between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities have not been easy. The island was divided *de facto* by war in 1974. Talks continue between the two communities with United Nations assistance to try to resolve the issue and reunite the island. What is Turkey's involvement in the Cyprus problem, and how does it impact on Turkey's accession prospects?

## 11. Discussion questions

As the students progress through the research stage of their report writing they could clarify their thinking by discussing the questions that follow.

### **Question 1: What historical challenges does the EU face to keep EU enlargement going?**

Ask students to select one issue that illustrates the difficulty the EU faces in the enlargement process and write a page-long explanation back grounding the issue and suggesting how the EU can overcome it.

Have the students discuss the issues they have researched and develop a composite picture of the challenges the EU faces in enlarging.

### **Question 2: Historically, what has been the impact of the European Economic Community/European Union on the United Kingdom?**

Assign students different periods to examine (1970s; 1980s; 1989–1997; 1997–) and ask them to select one event in that period that illustrates the impact of the European integration and enlargement process on the United Kingdom.

Group presentations (organised around the four historical periods) could lead to a class discussion on the overall assessment of United Kingdom membership.