

# **NATO and EU Enlargement: Challenges for the New Europe**



A curriculum resource for teachers

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## OVERVIEW

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This curriculum deals with two crucial, ongoing events in current affairs: the enlargement of both the European Union and NATO. As the EU and NATO grow, they face an array of political, social, and economic challenges that could reshape the world we live in. For that reason, this is an important topic for American students to study.

One of the objectives of this unit is to inform students about Europe and its increasing economic, cultural, and political importance in an interdependent and interconnected world.

The curriculum can be used in either a five-day or a two-day format, depending on with how much detail the teacher wants students to explore these topics. The five-day curriculum is structured as follows:

### *Day 1: What is EU enlargement?*

This first day can be run primarily as a lecture; it covers the basic questions on the history and purpose of the European Union, what new countries joined in 2004, and how and why the EU is enlarging.

### *Day 2: What is NATO enlargement?*

Paralleling the first day's topics, the second day can again be a lecture, presenting a quick history of NATO and an overview of the key issues in NATO's recent rounds of enlargement.

### *Day 3: Guided web research*

On this day students will begin research on a specific country that they will represent in the following day's simulation. Alternatively, students can be assigned to begin this research on the first day of the curriculum, and this day can be used for students to meet in country teams to discuss their findings and prepare for the simulation.

### *Day 4: Simulating an EU summit*

Teams of students take the roles of individual countries for a discussion of the problems and promises of new membership in the EU and NATO.

### *Day 5: Futures*

The final day is intended as a guided discussion on what the future holds for the EU and NATO. The ideal is to generate a dialogue wherein students realize the broader implications of these issues, including possible relevance to the United States and students' own lives.

### *Appendix*

The appendix includes: 1) a bibliography of web resources for teachers to gather information; 2) newspaper articles for students to read, along with

suggestions for discussion questions; 3) a map exercise for students, including a political map and a blank map; 4) a detailed EU map; 5) a timeline of the EU, and 6) a handout “What is the EU?”

The two-day curriculum consists simply of combining the first two lessons into one day and then presenting the material for the fifth day, though obviously other days in the curriculum can be substituted according to the teacher’s desire.

Each day of the curriculum begins with a “Backgrounder,” which is designed as a briefing for the teacher that can also be used as a lecture or a basis for class discussion. The first two days incorporate a “Key Issues” component that relates the background information to current events and prepares the students for the simulation on Day 4.

Each day also includes a list of possible discussion sections that students can answer in class or as homework. Suggestions for further reading are also provided, for either the teacher’s or students’ needs. Where appropriate, web links and visual materials are also included.

Teachers who have used the curriculum in class are encouraged to e-mail feedback to the Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies Center at [reecas@u.washington.edu](mailto:reecas@u.washington.edu).

## **DAY 1: WHAT IS EU ENLARGEMENT?**

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### ***Backgrounder***

The European Union is the most important development in European history since World War Two. Nothing else has had such a broad, deep, and lasting effect on the lives of Europeans, whether shopkeeper or statesman, all the way from Lisbon to Helsinki.

The European Union is not one single development, however. In fact, the process of European integration is ongoing. With leadership from Brussels, where many of the most important governing institutions of the EU are located, the EU member states are engaged in a project of both *deepening* and *widening*. Deepening refers to the degree to which the member states are integrated: in other words, how closely they are bound together, politically, economically, and even culturally. It is the goal of leaders in Brussels and in national capitals such as Paris, Berlin, Madrid, and Budapest, to pursue “ever closer union.”

*Widening* is the central concern of this curriculum unit. The process of expanding the number of states that belong to the EU is known as enlargement. From a core membership of six countries at the outset in 1957, in 2004 the EU’s membership reaches 25 countries, with a total population of more than 470 million.

### **What is the EU?**

The European Union is a grouping of sovereign states that have committed to pursue common policies in certain areas. These member states—25 as of 2004—are *integrating* economically above all, but politically as well. The EU itself is not a state: it is rather a unique creation in which the independent member states *pool their sovereignty*, surrendering the right to make independent decisions in certain areas such as fiscal, environmental, or employment policy.

The EU is different from the United Nations, as member states of the UN actually do not surrender their sovereignty. The UN leadership has no power to make member states comply with directives. The EU’s central decision making institutions, however, do have the power to force members to comply. This power derives from the treaties that member states sign upon their entrance into the EU. Hence the EU is a *treaty-based* organization, and a series of treaties govern the operations of the Union. The EU, unlike the United States, does not as of yet have a constitution that governs society, politics, and economics. It is a goal to move towards such a constitution in the future. (See statistical comparison at <http://www.eurunion.org/profile/EUUSStats.htm>)

The process of European integration that has led to the European Union today began shortly after the Second World War, and was in large part inspired by the experience of that catastrophic conflict. European leaders such as Robert Schuman and Jean Monnet, both French, determined that never again should a war devastate the countries of Europe. The best insurance against such destruction, as Monnet and Schuman saw it, was to tie the countries of Europe so closely together that they simply could not make war on each other. (See preamble)

Prominent in their calculations was assuring that Germany's main war-making industries—coal and steel—be bound to those of France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg. Thus in 1951 the European Coal and Steel Community was born, and marked the first major step towards the European Union of today. In the years immediately following, the treaties establishing the European Economic Community were negotiated, increasing cooperation across a wide spectrum of issues. (See timeline in Curriculum Materials in the Appendix.)

The process of European integration began to take on a momentum of its own, impelled not so much by a fear of Germany but by a goal of strengthening the European economy by combining countries' resources. This process continues today: European countries face no significant military threats in the world, but instead strive to realize the benefits of closer union. The past 50 years of expanding European integration have shown that such integration can bring peace, stability, and even prosperity to formerly troubled lands—and this is one of the continuing motivations for EU enlargement.

**Activity:** Have students list the powers granted to the European Union by its members and powers not granted.

### **What is the history of EU enlargement?**

The EU has gone through four previous rounds of enlargement. From the original six members of France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg, nineteen new states have joined over the course of the last 30 years: (See map in the Appendix.)

1973: Denmark, Ireland, United Kingdom

1981: Greece

1986: Portugal, Spain

1995: Finland, Sweden, Austria

2004: Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Slovenia, Cyprus, Malta

The 2004 enlargement is unprecedented: it featured three times as many entering countries as any previous enlargement, it increased the geographical expanse of the EU by 34%, and it added over 100 million people. It is no surprise that this enlargement is known as the EU's "big bang."

### Why is the EU enlarging?

Most of the countries joining the EU in 2004 are located in Central and Eastern Europe, behind what was once the Iron Curtain. These countries have had functioning democracies only since the fall of communist regimes in 1989-91. Also, most of the new countries are significantly poorer than the remainder of the EU member states. The size, diversity, and complexity of this enlargement pose some significant challenges for the EU. (See Key Issues, below.)

Nonetheless, the reasons for integrating these new states into the EU fold remain the very same as those on which the EU was founded: ensuring peace and prosperity on the European continent. The end of the Cold War presents a clear parallel with the end of World War Two: European leaders have decided that the best way to ensure peace and to increase stability is to embrace the former opponents. Where once it was Germany, today it is the former communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe—though Russia itself may never be invited to join.

EU enlargement promises benefits for both the older member states and the newer members, and it is no wonder that the leaders in most of the new member states were eager to join as quickly as their countries were able. The EU points to five particular benefits of enlargement:

- The extension of the zone of **peace, stability and prosperity** in Europe will enhance the security of all its peoples.
- The addition of more than 100 million people, in rapidly growing economies, to the EU's market of 370 million will **boost economic growth and create jobs** in both old and new member states.
- There will be 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 will enrich the EU through increased cultural **diversity**, interchange of **ideas**, and better **understanding** of other peoples.
- Enlargement will **strengthen the Union's role in world affairs** - in foreign and security policy, trade policy, and the other fields of global governance.

## Who can join? Enlargement criteria

There are three key criteria according to which prospective member states are judged:

*Democracy:* Is the country a stable democracy, with a rule of law, respect for human rights, and the protection of minorities?

*Market Economy:* Does the country have a functioning market economy, able to compete in the EU's common market?

*Adhering to EU Regulations:* Can the country adopt all the common rules, standards, and policies that make up the body of EU law and participate in political, economic, and monetary union?

**Activities: A)** With the eastern enlargement of the European Union on May 1, 2004, ask how those countries joining the EU are different from the present members. How does the way the EU adds members differ from the way states are added to the US? **B)** What happened in 1989 that changed the relationship between the US and Europe (West and East)? Why is 1989 a defining date for Europe?

## What are the key issues in EU enlargement?

The following four issues are among the most important challenges posed by taking 10 new members into the EU. These four issues will also serve as the focus of students' web research on Day 3 in preparation for the simulation on Day 4.

*Institutional reform:* One big question for the EU as it enlarges is how institutions that were designed to govern a union of 15 states will be able to work with 25 members. Many countries are therefore calling for the EU's core institutions to be reformed. However, the reforms countries desire can actually vary significantly from country to country. The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) is one example: this policy subsidizes farmers very heavily in some states (such as France and Spain), but given that new member states such as Poland have very large agricultural sectors in their economies, subsidies should switch away from benefiting the older member states in favor of the newer, poorer members. France and Spain are understandably reluctant to see their farmers' subsidies dwindle. Yet given that the CAP is already hugely wasteful in terms of both money and agricultural production, it must be reformed in some way to make it equitable. Equality also plays into the issue of institutional reform through the weighting of member states' votes in the important decision-making body known as the European Council. Under the current arrangements, Germany receives 29

votes, as many as Italy even though Germany's population is larger by 20 million. More controversial still is that Spain and Poland receive 27 votes though their populations are half that of Germany's. Reforming this weighted voting is difficult, though, because states are extremely unwilling to surrender their voting power—particularly since smaller countries such as Denmark or Lithuania are afraid of letting the big countries dictate the EU's policy. To ensure that all countries are represented fairly in some way, then, the voting system must also be reformed.

*The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP):* The EU's attempts to speak with a unified voice on the international stage is a prominent goal of deeper integration. Here again, though, different countries have very different desires for what a CFSP should be. Some, such as France, are intent on creating a European military force that could eventually lead to the EU becoming a global superpower in many of the same areas as the US. Other countries, among them Britain, do not want to see this much coordination in the foreign policy and military fields.

*External relations:* Closely related to the last issue, the question of external relations is complicated by the fact that some countries are much more friendly to the US than are others. Obviously, France's relationship to the US is more problematic than are Britain's or Poland's relations with America. Relationships with Russia can also vary widely in their importance to member states, as can relationships with other countries, such as Cyprus' with Turkey. Possible divisions between what has been called "New Europe" (i.e., the newer EU members) and "Old Europe" (the more established members) are one of the major difficulties that the enlarged EU will have to manage.

*Democratic support for European integration:* The fourth key issue deals with what is known as Europe's "democratic deficit." Scholars, European policymakers, and European publics have alleged that the EU is too much a collection of unaccountable bureaucrats who take decisions without consulting the people. Bringing more democracy and transparency into decision making is another important goal of the institutional reform process. Enlargement adds another dimension to this issue, since publics in the new member states have had to vote on whether or not to join the EU. While these votes have all passed, some commentators have claimed that people in these countries did not really understand what they were voting for—in short, that EU enlargement is also an elite-driven process that can be seen as almost forcing policies upon apathetic populaces.

### **Questions for students:**

1. List at least 3 challenges the EU will face after the expansion to 25 countries.

2. What problems will the political leaders of the newly admitted countries confront domestically when they implement the entire body of EU laws and policies?
3. In your opinion, what should the requirements be for inviting nations to join Europe's monetary union? Why?

**Questions for teachers to discuss with the class:**

- What will be the budgetary, administrative, and operational challenges when the EU expands to 25 countries this year?
- Will the new members be able to implement the entire body of EU laws and policies? In other words, they will now be committed to procedures and decision that may bear little or no relation to their domestic policy but reflect instead the politics and policy choices of the EU and its earlier member states.
- The candidate countries have experienced democracy for a short period. What impact will that have upon their new status as EU members?
- What would be the sensible way of deciding when new EU countries should join Europe's monetary union and why?

**Optional homework assignment:** Have the students begin their research for the Day 4 simulation. See instructions for Days 3 and 4 on how to begin this assignment.

**For further reading:**

<http://www.eurunion.org/infores/euguide/euguide.htm>  
[http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/intro/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/intro/index_en.htm)

## **DAY 2: WHAT IS NATO ENLARGEMENT?**

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### **Backgrounder**

#### **What is NATO?**

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is the principal defense alliance linking North America and Europe since World War Two. Brought into existence by the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949, the original intention behind NATO was to ensure Western Europe's security against the Soviet Union: in other words, to keep the US in, Russia out, and Germany down. Though often called "the most successful military alliance in history" after the fall of the USSR, NATO in the post-Cold War period has been searching for a new role to play in European security and to serve as the main plank of the trans-Atlantic alliance.

In 2004 NATO's membership expanded to 26 countries from North America and Europe. These countries have all acceded to the North Atlantic Treaty, which commits members "to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law." The Alliance also commits member countries to a policy of collective defense for the preservation of peace and security (see treaty text: <http://www.nato.int/docu/basic/txt/treaty.htm>).

The most notable element of this pact for collective defense is Article 5 of the Treaty. This article states that an attack on any one member state is an attack on them all, and that in the event such an attack occurs, each member state will respond to protect the security of the Alliance. Intended as a kind of tripwire in the event of a Soviet attack, this Article was actually never invoked until the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

NATO does not have a single military of its own. Rather, its forces are a conglomeration of the forces of individual member states. The United States contributes by far the largest portion of these forces, and as a result an American has always served in the post of Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR). The non-military functions of the Alliance are headed by the Secretary General. This organizational structure makes NATO an inter-governmental body, as is the European Union. In contrast to the EU, however, NATO is a consensus organization: all decisions are reached by unanimous agreement, whereas in the EU most decisions are made by a majority vote.

## How and why has NATO enlarged?

There were twelve countries that originally formed NATO in 1949: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Greece and Turkey became members in 1952, then West Germany in 1955 and Spain in 1982. Following the end of the Cold War, the first countries to join from the former Warsaw Pact—NATO's one-time adversary—were the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland. (A current map is available at <http://www.nato.int/multi/map.htm>.)

On March 29, 2004, seven new countries joined NATO: Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia. The three Baltic countries (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania) were formerly republics within the Soviet Union, which demonstrates how NATO has brought into its fold parts of Europe that Russia considers in its sphere of influence.

The argument for enlarging NATO to take in these countries is much the same as that for EU enlargement: including former communist countries in the peaceable, prosperous, secure European institutions is the best way to ensure that these new countries themselves become peaceful, prosperous, and secure. NATO, as a successful security alliance, is regarded as having the power to stabilize the new member countries, to guarantee their defense and to help promote the development of democracy and market economies throughout Central and Eastern Europe.

NATO also has partnership arrangements with a number of other countries through the "Partnership for Peace" (PfP) program. The objective of PfP is to build links and military cooperation between NATO members and the partner countries. This cooperation facilitates coordinated responses to issues such as crisis management, peacekeeping, and even managing stockpiled weapons. Membership of PfP is a prerequisite to join NATO formally, as the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland did. Membership is not, however, a guarantee of an eventual invitation. Russia is one of roughly 30 PfP members; for a complete list, see <http://www.nato.int/pfp/sig-cntr.htm>.

**Activity:** Identify the current members of NATO.

## What are the key issues in NATO's enlargement?

The following four issues are among the most important challenges in enlarging NATO. These four issues will also serve as the focus of students' web research in preparation for the simulation on Day 4.

*The relationship with Russia:* This is perhaps the most complicated facet of NATO enlargement. Many experts have argued against NATO's enlarging for fear that it could antagonize Russia. Indeed, some Russian politicians have spoken against NATO's "encroachment" upon Russia's borders. From NATO's perspective, while it is important to ensure the security of Eastern Europe from a huge and unstable country like Russia, it is equally important to avoid starting a new Cold War. To the latter end, a new framework has been created called the NATO-Russia Council to help manage amicable relations between these two powers.

*The relationship with a European security force:* Another delicate relationship NATO must negotiate is with an emerging, purely European defense identity. Over the last several decades there have been various attempts to strengthen the European contribution to defending the European continent, but little has actually been achieved. In recent years the attempt to create a European defense capability separate from the United States has gained momentum. For countries such as France and Germany, and particularly following trans-Atlantic tensions such as the 2003 Iraq war, a European "Rapid Reaction Force" not controlled by the United States has become a priority.

*Strengthening NATO's military capabilities:* In order for NATO's enlargement to be successful, a NATO of 26 members must not be weaker than it was before. But some way must be found to pay for enlargement. This issue is made more difficult because many of the new members' military capabilities are minimal; the contribution to European security made by Estonia, with a population of 1.5 million, is questionable. So new states must find a role they can play in NATO, and they must modernize their militaries in order to play that role.

*Defining NATO's mission:* NATO itself is having to re-consider its role as well. Since the USSR has disappeared, the Alliance has been working to define its new security objectives. Thus NATO has been involved in peacekeeping operations, such as in the Balkans, as well as other humanitarian missions. These new kind of missions demonstrate that the notion of what constitutes European security is itself being re-defined. A larger NATO has to grapple with new problems it has never met before, such as ethnic cleansing or terrorism, and enable all the Alliance members to contribute in some way.

### **Questions for discussion:**

- What does the acronym NATO stand for?
- Why was NATO formed?
- What type of governments does the treaty safeguard?
- When was the NATO Charter signed and how many nations originally signed it?
- How many nations are in NATO today?

- What do they have in common?
- What does NATO guarantee?
- What kind of tasks does NATO undertake with countries that are not members?
- In your own words, describe the meaning of Article 5?

**Optional homework assignment:** Have students answer the above questions as a homework assignment.

**For further reading:**

<http://www.nato.int/>

## **DAY 3: GUIDED WEB RESEARCH**

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This day will be an in-class guided WebQuest session to research issues for Day 4's EU/NATO simulation.

Begin by choosing which issues you will have the students discuss in their simulation. (Please see the instructions to the simulation for the list of issues). Then group the students into six countries: France, the United Kingdom, Spain, Poland, Estonia, and Cyprus.

Once the students know which country they will be representing, they can begin researching that country's position on the issues you have chosen. Below are some suggestions on websites for each country where students might start to gather this information.

### *General*

[http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/doemoff/gov\\_eu.html](http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/doemoff/gov_eu.html)

<http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/enlargement.htm>

<http://www.nato.int/issues/enlargement/index.htm>

[http://www.dw-world.de/english/0,3367,1433\\_A\\_1180570,00.html](http://www.dw-world.de/english/0,3367,1433_A_1180570,00.html)

### *UK*

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/eu/story/0,7369,1092918,00.html>

<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/uk.html>

<http://www.ukrep.be/links.html>

### *France*

<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/fr.html>

<http://www.france.diplomatie.fr/Thema/dossier.GB.asp?DOS=EUROPGB>

### *Spain*

<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/pl.html>

<http://www.eumap.org/library/content/724/10/1>

### *Poland*

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/eu/country/0,14489,1193436,00.html>

[http://www.bized.ac.uk/current/mind/2003\\_4/120104.htm](http://www.bized.ac.uk/current/mind/2003_4/120104.htm)

<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/pl.html>

<http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/poland/>

### *Estonia*

<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/en.html>

<http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/estonia/>

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/eu/country/0,14489,1195679,00.html>

*Cyprus*

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/eu/story/0,7369,634513,00.html>

<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/cy.html>

<http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/cyprus/>

**Optional homework assignment:** Assign each student or a pair of students to specialize in one of the issues for their respective country. For the homework assignment, ask each student or pair to find and report on that issue. Collect all written reports into a file for reference. As an optional activity, students can deliver oral reports on their findings and post graphs or visual displays on the board.

## **DAY 4: SIMULATING A EUROPEAN UNION SUMMIT**

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Objective To investigate the key issues behind EU and NATO enlargement

### Procedure

1. For the role-play and game, the class is divided into six groups. Each group represents one of six countries (chosen from the twenty-five states represented at the convention). The six countries are France, the United Kingdom, Spain, Poland, Cyprus, and Estonia. Distribute the handout so each group receives information about its country: the size of the country, its population, and its position on three issues.

The teacher should pick four total issues from the following:

### **EUROPEAN UNION**

- EU institutional reform
- The Common Foreign and Security Policy
- External relations
- Democratic support for European integration

### **NATO**

- The relationship with Russia
- The relationship with a European security force
- Strengthening NATO's military capabilities
- Defining NATO's mission

At least one argument in support of each position should be given to help students get started.

2. The positions ascribed to each country represent the way the country actually views the issue.
3. Distribute 'Negotiating at the Summit' handout. Divide students into country groups and instruct them that they are members of a national delegation and are obliged to come to an agreement by a majority vote with the other countries on all issues. Assign delegate chairpersons and designate messengers and secretaries.
4. After students study their country's position carefully, they can, in discussion with their country's delegation, work up additional arguments to support their positions. The groups can send messengers to other delegations to

find out whether other countries support or oppose their views. These caucuses between countries will help each country determine the issues on which it is already in a majority and those on which it is in a minority.

Messengers report to their country delegations the results of their findings and the country then prepares its oral report to the European Convention.

5. Each country reports its positions and argues for them. After the positions have been stated and all debate heard, each country sends one delegate to vote for the country on each issue. An agreement is determined by a majority vote. Voting should take place by secret ballot with an assigned scorekeeper recording and announcing the results issue by issue. If a stalemate occurs, students may need another short caucus session to break the impasse. They might be urged to search for a compromise plan. If, after a predetermined time and a second vote, no decision can be reached, declare the issue unresolved. When all four issues have received a majority vote, these issues will be considered as written into the EU Constitution. Any country voting against its assigned positions should be ready to say, if challenged, why it changed.

6. As a conclusion, the teacher will tell the students of the actual decisions and compromises on issues that have been reached in drafting the EU Constitution.

Country:  
Population:  
Area:

Delegates from this country think the European Union should

1.

2.

3.

4.

Because

1.

2.

3.

4.

## Negotiating at the EU Summit

Your country \_\_\_\_\_

### Positions of other countries

	Issue 1	Vote	Issue 2	Vote	Issue 3	Vote	Issue 4	Vote
France								
United Kingdom								
Spain								
Poland								
Estonia								
Cyprus								

## Game of Negotiation

### Rules

1. Each issue must be voted on.
2. A majority vote is considered an agreement.
3. The winner is the country with the most points after agreements are made on all issues.

### Scoring

1. If your country votes for its position and that position wins, your country gets full votes for that issue.
2. If your country votes for another country's position and that position wins, your country gets half of the points for that issue.
3. If your country votes for its position and that position loses, your country gets no credit.
4. If a compromise is voted which includes some features of your country's position, your country gets half of the points for that issue.

A country always has to weigh giving up its position to a majority to get only half of the points, or risking it all in an attempt to get full points.

### Points

- Issue 1      Worth 20 points  
Issue 2      Worth 5 points  
Issue 3      Worth 5 points  
Issue 4      Worth 5 points

### Voting Record

Issue	Summary of winning position	Final Vote For	Against	Number of points received for your country

## **DAY 5: FUTURES**

To wrap-up the unit on EU and NATO enlargement, teachers can lead students in a discussion of what the future may hold for both the EU and NATO.

### ***Backgrounder***

#### **EU Futures**

Experts talk about four main potential future trajectories for the European Union. These futures revolve around questions of whether the EU should continue enlarging or focus more on intensifying its integration (the “wider versus deeper” debate) and, similarly, what the end goal of European unification should be, either a superstate or a looser confederation of national states.

*Future 1)* A “United States of Europe” superstate: In this scenario, the EU continues to deepen its integration, eventually becoming a federal state with a structure similar to that of the United States. Individual countries would lose much of their sovereignty, though they would retain limited powers in some areas such as education and economic policy, much as states in the US have. As Brussels becomes more powerful vis-à-vis national capitals such as Berlin, Madrid, or Warsaw, so the power of the EU as an international actor would also increase. Hence the idea of a United States of Europe tends to presuppose that the EU would increasingly become a global superpower rivaling but not hostile to the US.

*Future 2)* A continuation of the status quo: This scenario sees the EU embarking on some further enlargement, including Romania, Bulgaria, and perhaps eventually other countries like Croatia, Turkey, and Ukraine. The current level of integration among the member states, however, would not increase significantly. The EU would remain largely an economic bloc, with some aspects of political unity such as centralized regulation of environmental and social policy. This option obviously favors widening over deepening.

*Future 3)* A “two-speed” Europe: A kind of compromise between the two previous possibilities, in this scenario a core of willing member states proceeds to deepen political integration while the other members remain in the status quo. The “core” countries—usually envisioned as France, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and possibly others like Italy or Austria—would work to create a common foreign policy and military force and cooperate ever more closely in other areas such as justice and home affairs, definitively dismantling national borders in governance and approaching true unification. The remaining countries like Britain, Denmark, and many of the new Eastern European members, would be content with the benefits of economic cooperation and not seek to join this core.

*Future 4) A disintegrating Europe:* While far-fetched, some experts do not rule out this possibility, which sees the dreams of true European unification as overambitious. It could be that an EU of 25 members will suffer from “overstretch,” trying to incorporate too many countries with too many different histories, economies, and policy objectives. The governing mechanisms as they now exist in the EU may not work with such a large Union, and due to disagreements about what form future European integration should take (the widening versus deepening debate again), those mechanisms may not be reformable. There is even the outside possibility that some members could eventually secede from the EU, which would gradually lose its powers, decaying into ineffectiveness.

**Activities:** **A)** Write ‘United States of Europe’ on the board and ask the students to react. **B)** With help of students, list the reasons why many Europeans believe a ‘United States of Europe’ would be desirable. List the reasons why some Europeans are opposed to the idea.

### **The Future of EU: Questions for Students**

1. If you had to speculate, what do you think will be the future of the EU? Will it become a United States of Europe?
2. What other countries do you believe the EU may invite to join? What problems might they create?
3. Why hasn't Turkey been invited to join the EU yet?
4. What should the EU's relationship with NATO be? Should there be one foreign policy for all EU members

### **Questions for teachers to discuss with the class:**

- What should the EU be in the future? Should it become a United States of Europe, totally unified and a superstate, or should it be a looser union not much deeper than now? Should the EU become a global rival to the United States, a second superpower to balance the US internationally?
- Should EU enlargement include Turkey? Should it include Russia? What about Ukraine or Croatia? What are the reasons for either including or excluding these countries?
- Can the EU function as a union of 25 members? Can decisions be taken effectively to get anything done? Can consensus—the basis for most decisions among EU members hitherto—be achieved among 25 countries? How should the power to make decisions be balanced between

big countries and small countries? Is a two-speed Europe an acceptable alternative?

- Should there be a Common Foreign and Security Policy? What should its relationship to NATO be? What should be Europe's security relationship with the United States?

## NATO Futures

The possible futures for NATO are generally less complex than those for the EU, and without excessive oversimplification they can be boiled to an either/or: does NATO continue to serve as the main European defense organization, or does it not?

*Future 1)* NATO continues to enlarge, but not to include Russia: After the 2004 enlargement, NATO may eventually take in a few new members such as Ukraine, Albania, Macedonia, or Croatia. Even if NATO grows larger, though, it will have to address the question of how to make all of the member countries militarily effective. A larger NATO does not necessarily mean a more secure NATO. Indeed much as some fear with the EU's expansion, NATO's enlargement may make the organization unwieldy and useless for defense. It could instead just turn into a security "talking shop" without any capability to act, since it makes all decisions by consensus.

*Future 2)* NATO enlarges to include Russia: This scenario would in some ways be the ultimate irony, if the organization that was formed to oppose Russia/the Soviet Union actually ends up taking Russia into its fold. Many experts argue that it could also prove to be NATO's ultimate doom, since Russia's security priorities will generally have a different focus than those of the United States and the other Western allies. Though the rationale of including Russia—creating a comprehensive security body for the entire European continent—may have some appeal, the likelihood of such a body being capable of military action is probably nil.

*Future 3)* NATO gains a new lease on life: If NATO's members can agree on a way for its European countries to shoulder their share of the military burden, the possibility exists that this most successful military alliance in history could remain vital way into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In order for that possibility to come to fruition, however, the European members will have to increase their defense spending significantly to contribute to the organization's operational capabilities. Also, NATO must decide what its mission will be for the future, and how best to accomplish that mission. Whether combating terrorism or running peacekeeping operations, NATO's members must agree on the purpose of the organization now that the USSR no longer exists.

*Future 4)* NATO withers: This last scenario is obviously compatible with the first two Futures as well. NATO could simply become irrelevant if the European partners fail to upgrade their military capabilities. A failure to do so could convince American policymakers that the US cannot count on its European allies for security in any meaningful way. Alternatively, now that Europe is for the most part stable and US security priorities lie primarily elsewhere, the American commitment to NATO may weaken, which would decisively scuttle the

organization. Finally, if the EU is successful in creating its own military capabilities, NATO may become redundant.

**The Future of NATO: Questions for Students:**

1. Should NATO continue to expand? If so, where? What would Russia's reaction be to NATO continuing to expand eastward?
2. What do you anticipate will be the most important security issues and concerns for NATO?
3. What should NATO's role be in the War on Terror?
4. Without the Soviet threat, does NATO need to continue? Why or why not?

***NATO Enlargement Futures Questions for teachers to discuss with the class:***

- What should NATO's role be in the future? What should be its primary mission or missions? What should its relationship to the EU or an EU defense force be?
- What sort of relationship should NATO have with Russia? Should NATO expand to include Russia as a member? What about Serbia, Croatia, Albania, Macedonia, or Ukraine? Should NATO enlarge further to take in more countries that used to belong to the Soviet empire? Was the 2004 enlargement a good idea, geopolitically?
- What are the most important security issues for NATO in the future? How important are concerns about terrorism, instability in Europe's backyard (Albania, Turkey, Chechnya), or peacekeeping missions?
- What role should the US play in European security? Should it remain the principal guarantor of European defense, or should the EU assume that role? Should the US pull out of Europe completely, or remain committed to NATO?

**Homework assignment:** Have students write a short essay answering one of the Future EU or NATO questions.

## **APPENDIX**

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The appendix includes: 1) a bibliography of web resources for teachers to gather information; 2) newspaper articles for students to read, along with suggestions for discussion questions; 3) a map exercise for students, including a political map and a blank map; 4) a detailed EU map; 5) a timeline of the EU, and 6) a handout “What is the EU?”

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[http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/intro/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/intro/index_en.htm)

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From the *New York Times*:

**March 11, 2004**

THE NEW EUROPE

*Union, but Not Unanimity, as Europe's East Joins West*

By JOHN DARNTON

PARIS — When the European Union expands eastward this spring, it will end the 65-year divide caused by the 20th century's hot and cold wars and shift the union from a plush club of 15 like-minded nations into a street bazaar of countries differing in wealth, stature and outlook.

What is today a tight configuration huddled around France and Germany that seeks to offset American power will on May 1 become an amalgam of 25 highly diverse states, including eight strongly pro-American former Soviet satellites.

Therein lies a paradox. The new European Union, stretching from the rocky shores of Ireland to Poland's forest border with Ukraine, will be in a better position than ever to serve as a counterweight to the United States. Yet the incoming members look more to Washington than to Berlin and Paris.

"In historical terms it's an extraordinary moment," noted Timothy Garton Ash, an Oxford specialist in European studies. "It's been said that Europe has had a name for 2,500 years but is still in the design stage.

"France and Germany have led European integration for 40 years, and now that's clearly over. We have to wrestle with the question of who is going to set the agenda for this huge, sprawling entity of 25 states and 455 million people."

Scarred by their postwar existence in the shadow of the Soviet Union, most of the new members bring a different mentality and different habits. They are apt to be suspicious of distant bureaucracy in Brussels, as they were of Moscow, but eager to receive European Union handouts.

They tend to be idealistic, wanting to spread freedom and oppose totalitarianism, but also cynical about politicians and accustomed to corruption in everyday life.

"When we say Europe in Eastern Europe," said Andrei Plesu, a former Romanian foreign minister, "we usually think about something in the past, something we lost and have to regain.

"It's something in an old, faded photograph, the world between the two World Wars, a nostalgia, a longing. In the West, Europe is a project. In the East, it's a memory."

For both groups it is a bit of a chore.

In Eastern Europe, the once paradisiacal vision of "rejoining Europe" has lost its sheen, whittled down by years of slightly humiliating negotiations to join the union and new fears of being swamped by the powerful West.

In Western Europe, support for the enlargement is tempered by concerns that the Eastern countries will drain away wealth and jobs, complicating problems of economic stagnation and tensions over illegal immigration. The door is being opened reluctantly, with a shoulder-shrugging sense of noblesse oblige.

"We're not in a very good mood right now," said Olivier Duhamel, a professor at the École des Sciences Politiques in Paris. "We're worried about unemployment, immigration and the French identity, and when you put all that together, you fear enlargement. The only people talking about a bigger Europe these days are those talking against it."

In the formerly Communist East, the sense of anticlimax is almost palpable. "Entering the E.U. was always a dream," said Maciej Karpinski, a film producer with Polish Television, "but now that it's here it just doesn't feel substantial."

Few people in Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and other new member countries would go so far as to try to slam the door closed. Many still see the advantages — especially the young, who will now be able to travel to the West more easily — no passport required, just a quick flash of a national ID card — and to join student exchange programs.

But those of working age are particularly bitter that almost all of the 15 current Western members are imposing restrictions to keep out Eastern workers for several years. Others worry that Western products will push their own off the shelves or raise prices or push small-scale local farmers into oblivion.

As a result, May 1 — a day for workers observed under Communism with mandatory parades and lackluster banner-waving — is not likely to see a spontaneous outpouring of celebration. Even some dramatic official plans have fizzled, like one in Warsaw that would have wrapped the skyscraper called the Palace of Culture, infamous as Stalin's gift to postwar Poland, in gold.

Europeans have waked up to the fears and palpable differences that arise when borders come down, as seen in the unification of East and West Germany, where after more than a decade, disparities in wealth and spirit persist.

Up to now the belief in Europe was that as in Germany, most economic transformation would flow largely in one direction, from west to east. The unstated assumption was that the 380 million Westerners would be at the helm and that the 75 million Easterners would be lucky enough to be on board.

But now West Europeans worry that too many Easterners may sink the boat. They envision poor immigrants coming the other way, flooding their cities and burdening their bountiful welfare systems.

At the same time, the West is apprehensive about the combative mentality displayed by battle-hardened anti-Communist dissidents in many East European elites, and both sides worry about the political schizophrenia of "old Europe" and "new Europe" that emerged over the war in Iraq.

Poland, with a history of rebellion and its strong pro-American feelings, made plain at a failed summit conference in December that it does not expect to be treated as a second-class state.

"We can't put up with an E.U. in which France and Germany have the final say," said Adam Michnik, the former Polish dissident who now runs *Gazeta Wyborcza*, the major daily. "And we don't want an anti-American E.U."

That position springs, he and many others insist, not from blind lockstep obedience to Washington, but rather from a distinct East European sensibility.

Petr Pithart, president of the Senate in the Czech Republic, described it this way: "Why do we care about solidarity between Europe and the United States? It's the experience of two totalitarian regimes — the Nazis and the Communists. We're conscious of the fragility of democracy. That sense doesn't exist in Western Europe."

In Western Europe, said Jiri Pehe, director of New York University's Prague center, "it's anti-intellectual to think in a simplistic way about good and evil. Here, we say we know what's good and evil — it is simple. We've lived under it. We have a less foggy view of the basics."

It is of course unclear how long Eastern Europeans will cling to their cold war vision of the United States as the gravitational center of the West.

As long as they do, the scales of loyalty are likely to tip toward the Atlantic alliance so fundamental to British governments of the last 50 years. Yet most believe that those differences will eventually melt away, much as they have as Western Europe knits itself ever closer together.

"Geography will triumph over history," declared Tony Judt, a Europe specialist at New York University. "It will eventually matter more to the Eastern Europeans to be in the favor of Brussels, because day to day they will need Brussels."

Dennis MacShane, Britain's minister for Europe, observed: "The great fallacy is that as Europe gets bigger, somehow it gets more disintegrated. The evidence is that every new previous enlargement has been followed by the need for more sharing of sovereignty and someone to set the rules in Brussels."

Over time, too, the union's voluminous codification of laws and standards, some 80,000 pages long, may wear down Eastern Europe's rough edges, fostering political stability and reducing ingrained corruption.

An unknown factor here is the United States foreign policy. Officially and historically, Washington is on record as favoring a strong and united Europe, but what if the Continent becomes a monolithic competitor in economics and foreign policy?

Already there are divisions over the delicate question of whether the union should admit Turkey, a country of 70 million. Washington is pressing for admission on the ground that Turkey is a NATO member and a secular democracy that needs to find stability in the arms of Europe.

Europeans are deeply split over the question. Some say it would be impossible to conceive of a governing structure that could accommodate, say, Turkey and Germany, countries with comparable size of population but hugely different levels of development.

Others say opening the door to millions of Islamic immigrants — in addition to the millions of Muslims that Europe is already struggling to absorb — is asking for trouble because it will set off religious and ethnic feuding and provide fodder for far-right movements.

For some the question boils down to an often fruitless attempt to fix Europe's natural boundaries. For others it becomes an effort to define what it means to be a European.

Quickly, such conversations turn to intangibles, to talk of the Renaissance, the Enlightenment and definitions offered centuries earlier by Dante and Voltaire. Some talk of a feeling of belonging that overcomes them in a Central European coffeehouse or of alienation when they visit the United States.

"It's paradoxical," Mr. Pehe said. "Here I'm a Czech. But when I go to the U.S., I'm looked at as a European, and then I feel I'm a European. It's one of those concepts that you see better from the outside."

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**March 11, 2004**

**THE NEW EUROPE**

*Union, but Not Unanimity, as Europe's East Joins West*

**Comprehension Questions**

What are some of the ways the new member states entering the EU are different from the more established member states?

Why are some people in the new member states disillusioned about joining the EU? Why are some people in the more established member states disillusioned about EU enlargement?

What is the “distinct East European sensibility” that the new member states are bringing in to the EU?

According to scholars cited in this article, what are the future prospects for Europe’s integration?

From the *New York Times*:

**March 27, 2004**

THE NEW EUROPE

*After May 1, East Europe's 'Haves' May Have More*

By ALAN COWELL

SYTNA GORA, Poland — For 60 years in this place of lakes and forests, Gerard Pakura's life has unfolded in step with Europe's history, from the Nazi occupation of his land to the rise and fall of Soviet Communism.

But when his country enters the European Union on May 1 as one of 10 new members, Mr. Pakura may well discover that this latest redrawing of the political landscape is one upheaval too many for peasant farmers like him with no evident niche in the big and brawny Europe that Poland is about to join.

As Europe expands in a quest for prosperity and elusive unity, many among its new members in the East fear that hundreds of thousands of people may be left behind in a new underclass, throwbacks to the lost era of command economies and state control.

The European Union has always known its relative disparities, and to create a unified whole it has over the decades self-consciously transferred wealth from richer countries like Germany and Luxembourg to poorer ones like Portugal, Greece and Ireland.

But never before has the union invited into its well-padded ranks the kind of economic malaise to be found in rural Poland, the eastern reaches of Slovakia and Hungary and the countryside of the Baltics.

So daunting is the challenge that the 15 current members have decided that leveling the playing field is not an option, at least not fully, not for the foreseeable future.

Most of the agricultural subsidies that take up almost half of the European Commission's annual budget of \$120 billion will not be available to farmers like Mr. Pakura and his neighbors in the other new eastern members, because extending the benefit was deemed too costly.

Farm subsidies for the new entrants will start at just a quarter of the western levels, rising to parity only by 2013. In the meantime, small-scale farmers in the East worry that they will be wiped out by agribusiness in the West, where subsidies on average provide a quarter of the income of most current European Union farmers.

"Everybody is trying to find a job," said Sylvester Frankowski, 18, who earns around \$200 a month as a foot soldier in the Polish Army and has just returned to this hamlet of eight houses from a six-month stint in Iraq.

"They don't want to stay on the farm," he said, "they are afraid that in the E.U. the farms will be too small to exist."

Among new entrants, Poland is a particularly extreme example of dependence on small-scale agriculture and the biggest challenge among the group to the system of farm subsidies that both underpins European agriculture and inspires such furious arguments in the broader debate over the global trade in farm products.

In Poland about one-fifth of the work force is still on the land — five times the current European Union average. More than half of those farms cover less than 12 acres, about a quarter of the European average, according to Andrzej Zedura, a government official.

Poland employs 19 percent of its work force on the land compared with, say, about 6 percent in Hungary or, among the "old" Europeans, about 4 percent in France, according to European Union figures.

It has 45.5 million acres under cultivation — almost as much as the 48.4 million acres of the nine other new member countries combined.

So for Poland the potential disruption to the economy and to generations of rural life is enormous. But even as Poles seek to leave the farm, jobs are hardly plentiful in the rest of the economy, and wages compared with current members are barely more than a pittance.

The European Union, for instance, estimated the relative purchasing power of Poland's 38 million people at just 39 percent of the union's existing average. That put Poland fourth from the bottom, ahead of only the three Baltic states — Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania — which are also joining in May.

As a whole, the 10 new members will expand the union's population by about one-fifth, from 380 million to 455 million, but they will add only 5 percent to its economy.

"Now there are two Polands," said Bogdan Tatarkiewicz, the deputy manager of Farm Frites, a huge plant 50 miles from here in Lembork that makes frozen and packaged French fries for McDonald's and others.

"There's a very rich Poland," Mr. Tatarkiewicz said, "and a Poland B team, who are not accepted by employers because they have no skills. There are those with the ability to work with foreign investors, and the rest, like peasant farmers, left on the ice."

Poles like Mr. Frankowski and his 78-year-old grandfather, Leon, express certainty that the economic juggernaut that is the European Union will overtake the small, slow

rhythms of life that Poles have sustained through centuries of war and trauma, often on the most modest of holdings.

Others, like Mr. Pakura, one of Poland's 1.9 million farmers, appear to be gloomy about their fate.

"During the Communist time we sold everything we produced," he said in an interview in the cramped parlor of his wooden farmhouse, across the way from a barn and a silent, frozen lake. "The state was obliged to buy it. Now it's not even worth trying to sell milk."

Today Mr. Pakura's farm — with its seven acres of poor land, two cows and a modest assortment of pigs and chickens — does little more than feed his family, which includes three of six children still living at home. Mr. Pakura's wife, Jadwiga, milks the cows by hand.

The family budget of some \$500 a month depends mostly on a daughter's paycheck from a clothing store, a \$100 monthly pension for Mr. Pakura and earnings from odd jobs.

Soon this mom-and-pop operation will be competing in the same marketplace as better subsidized industrial farmers like Ulrich Pöggel, who manages 7,000 acres of what used to be a state-run cooperative in East Germany spread across flat, damp lands at Altenhof, about 90 miles north of Berlin.

Not long ago it, too, was part of the Communist East. But since Germany reunited in 1990, Mr. Pöggel (pronounced PER-gel) has benefited not only from the hundreds of billions of dollars that the government spent to refurbish eastern Germany, but also from the European Union's ample farm subsidies.

Mr. Pöggel says his German subsidies, calculated according to the acreage of his land, yield some \$1.1 million a year, not counting other contributions from the European Union for each slaughtered cow or animal kept for breeding.

Today his outfit, which combines dairy farming with a lucrative and expanding business leasing tractors, machinery and expertise to other farms, has 800 cows and 750 calves. Each cow in his plump and well-fed herd produces around 2,000 gallons of milk a year.

"I don't think we will have any major competition in the next few years" from the countries newly joining the union, Mr. Pöggel said in an interview.

That is not least because most of the subsidies he receives will not be available to small Polish farmers like Mr. Pakura or any of his East European counterparts.

"We can't compete with subsidized European food," Mr. Pakura said, his words revealing how little he feels part of the "Europe" he is to join.

The European Union has set aside some \$600 million for grants to small farmers in Eastern Europe, encouraging them to use their land for other purposes, like tourism. But that will not be easy.

"There are 20 pages of application forms, and the same for a business plan," said Grzegorz Lepkowski, a consultant in Kartuzy, 10 miles south of here, who specializes in helping people deal with Poland's notoriously arcane bureaucracy. "You need a computer to fill it all out. So for a normal farmer it's impossible."

Some local officials have come to see opportunities for private enrichment in the changeover to West European ways.

"Everybody who is higher up — to the very top level — can take money from the ordinary people for doing something they are supposed to do for free," said Mariusz Kasprzak, 38, a local councilman who campaigns against corruption. "The money doesn't go where it's supposed to go, because it has to go through all these hands first."

Indeed, as the European Commission said in a recent report, corruption is increasing in Poland as membership in the union approaches, and it "is considered to affect all spheres of public life."

By contrast, people like Mr. Pöggel benefited not just from being quicker into Europe, but from being German. Altenhof, Mr. Pöggel said, enjoyed the good fortune of an adventurous and wealthy western investor, Lorenz Peter Stotz, who after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 swiftly struck a deal to turn part of the former Communist enterprise into a capitalist agricultural business.

"The old party functionaries and the western investors found each other very quickly and worked out how to get the subsidies from Brussels," said Klaus Schröder, head of a research group at the Free University in Berlin.

That may yet happen in Poland, or in other new member states like Latvia, where newspapers report that farmland is already being snatched up by investors from Denmark, Finland and the Netherlands. But even in the case of eastern Germany, the new investment was not always to the advantage of all.

In the old days, Mr. Pöggel said, the cooperative employed 50 people to look after some 300 cows and 200 calves. Now, in a development that bodes ill for Poland and the other new European Union states, only 12 people are needed to tend 800 cows and 850 calves.

"There is a lot of envy here now," Mr. Pöggel said, "envy of who has a job by who has not."

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**March 27, 2004**

**THE NEW EUROPE**

*After May 1, East Europe's 'Haves' May Have More*

**Comprehension Questions**

What are some of the economic difficulties in EU enlargement?

Why is farming such a major issue in EU enlargement?

How did membership in the EU affect the German farm mentioned in this article?

From the *Guardian*:

## A lame duck?

In the third of our series on global institutions, we look at how Nato lacks the means or the muscle to argue with a 'coalition of the willing'

**Richard Norton-Taylor**

**Thursday May 22, 2003**

**The Guardian**

Nato yesterday agreed to help Poland set up a peacekeeping force in Iraq. Even a short time ago, the prospect would have seemed bizarre. A new member of Nato organising a multinational military presence in a country whose invasion provoked unprecedented divisions within the alliance would have been regarded as cloud-cuckoo-land.

Before the Iraq war, Nato appeared fatally wounded if not dead and buried. The experience of the Kosovo war convinced many US military commanders that the alliance was not only too unwieldy but could not be trusted to fight a war either militarily or politically. The US accounted for over 80% of the firepower and was deeply frustrated by what Washington - and London - called "war by committee". They resented French objections to the choice of targets. Then came September 11. Few of Nato's founding fathers would have imagined that its dominant member, as opposed to the European allies, would be attacked by a Soviet missile - none that it would be attacked by an international terrorist group. Lord Robertson, Nato's secretary-general, immediately summoned a meeting to invoke article 5 of the Nato treaty whereby an attack on one ally "shall be considered an attack against them all".

Nato thus agreed that article 5 would now cover terrorist attacks on a member state. It also agreed to a package of measures to help the US, including sending early warning aircraft to North America. But these were purely symbolic acts. The Bush administration - and in particular the defence secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, and his deputy, Paul Wolfowitz - did not want any Nato role where it mattered most: military action, ie the bombing of Afghanistan. "Afghanistan was seen in Europe as anti-Nato", says Charles Grant, director of the thinktank, The Centre for European Reform.

The Pentagon drove home the point. "The mission determines the coalition. The coalition does not determine the mission." It is difficult to overestimate the negative impact the doctrine had on the French government. After accusing France for years of destabilising Nato, here was the US saying in future it will ignore the alliance and cherry-pick the friends it wants, relying on "coalitions of the willing".

The fault lines in Nato were deepened by Franco-German opposition to a war against Iraq, leading to both countries refusing to allow Nato to send early-warning aircraft and Patriot anti-missile batteries to protect Turkey from an Iraqi attack. The weapons were eventually sent, after a decision by Nato's defence policy committee, of which France is not a member. Germany by then had dropped its objection. Even with this, Turkey, considered by the US as a vital Nato ally, refused to be bribed to allow US troops to cross its territory to invade Iraq.

The crisis in Nato was compounded by the decision by Bush, Blair, Aznar and eager members of what Rumsfeld called the "new Europe" - prospective EU and Nato members in the east - to sign

an open letter supporting a war. President Chirac and Chancellor Schröder responded with their own letter. Washington, meanwhile, says it is planning to move some of its 80,000 troops in Germany further east, to bases in Romania and Bulgaria. France wants the EU to take a more independent line on defence and security policy, with its own military headquarters separate from Nato. The EU is in charge of a small peacekeeping force in Macedonia and plans to take over from Nato peacekeeping operations in Bosnia next year. But these are soft missions. Most political and military analysts dismiss French ambitions as pie in the sky.

A Franco-German summit in Brussels last month to pursue the idea was attended only by Belgium and Luxembourg. The Europeans are having difficulty in setting up their long-planned rapid reaction force of 40,000 troops able to be deployed in 40 days. EU countries are failing to reach targets for acquiring modern military equipment, with a serious shortfall in crucial areas.

While the US Congress is about to agree to a large increase in its annual military budget to \$400bn (£240bn), most of the major European allies are doing little more than treading water.

Grant compares Nato to a "yellow plastic duck bobbing up and down on the pond". When it gets stormy the duck gets tossed around. But, he says, "the duck never actually sinks".

There are signs that the US and France want to calm things down. Condoleezza Rice, Bush's national security adviser, worried about Rumsfeld's provocative approach, came up with the idea of a Nato rapid response force - more palatable to the US chiefs of staff than any European initiative but signalling that America is prepared to go down the multilateral role. France says it will consider joining a Nato-backed security force for Iraq provided it has the blessing of the UN.

"Nato needs to be revived," Nicholas Burns, Nato's US ambassador, said this week. "It needs to go out where the problems are." That means heavy peacekeeping, a task the US is not enamoured with. In August Nato will take over the international security assistance force in Kabul, its first agreed mission outside Europe.

The Nato alliance will have 26 members when seven former communist Warsaw Pact countries join next year. Decisions taken by consensus - Nato's traditional method - will be even more difficult. The US will continue to dominate Nato at least for as long as the Europeans fail to put their money where their military mouth is. It will pick and choose which allies it wants for what military adventure.

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# A lame duck?

Thursday May 22, 2003  
The Guardian

## Comprehension Questions

What was the situation with NATO immediately prior to the Iraq war?

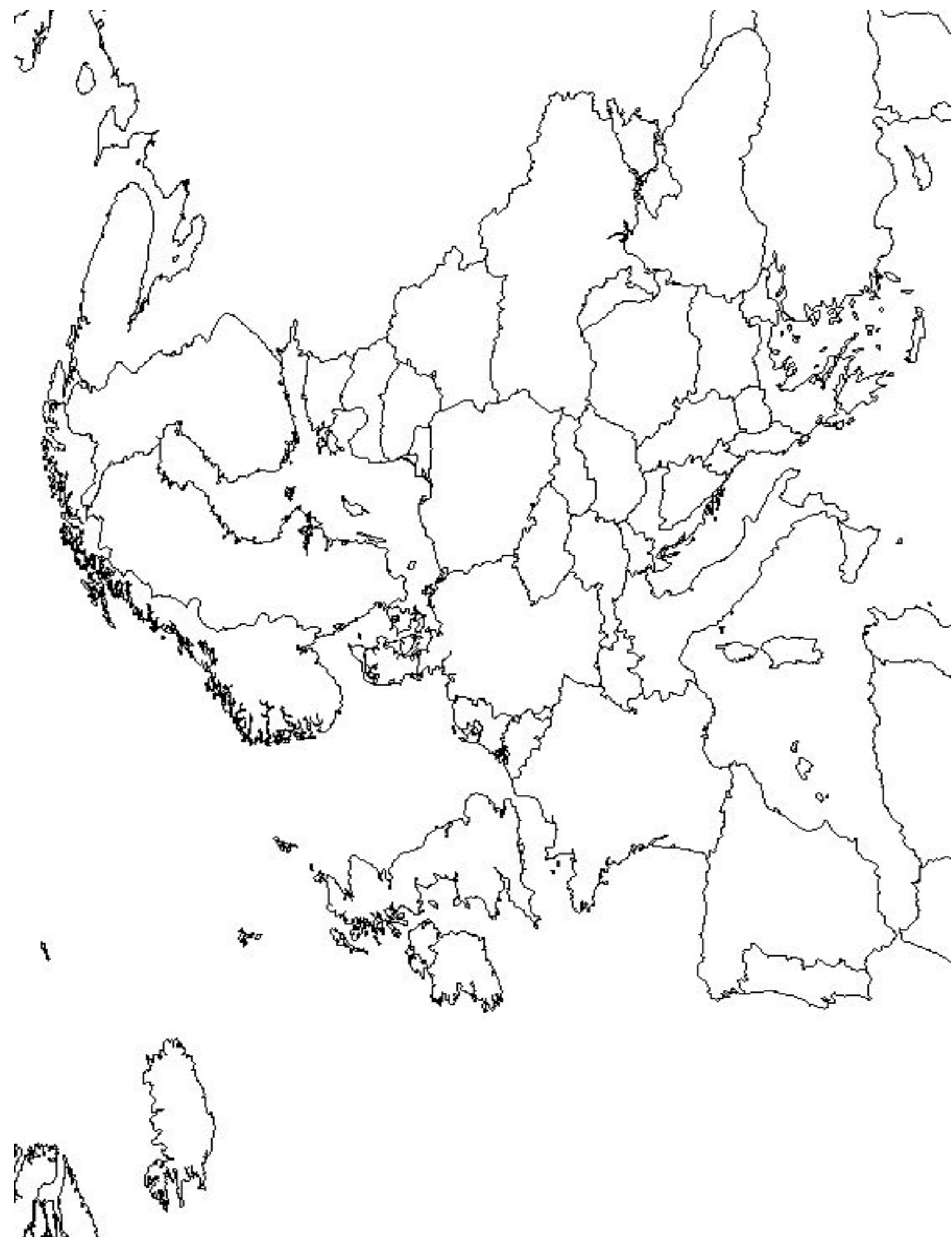
What are some of the internal divisions within NATO between different member countries?

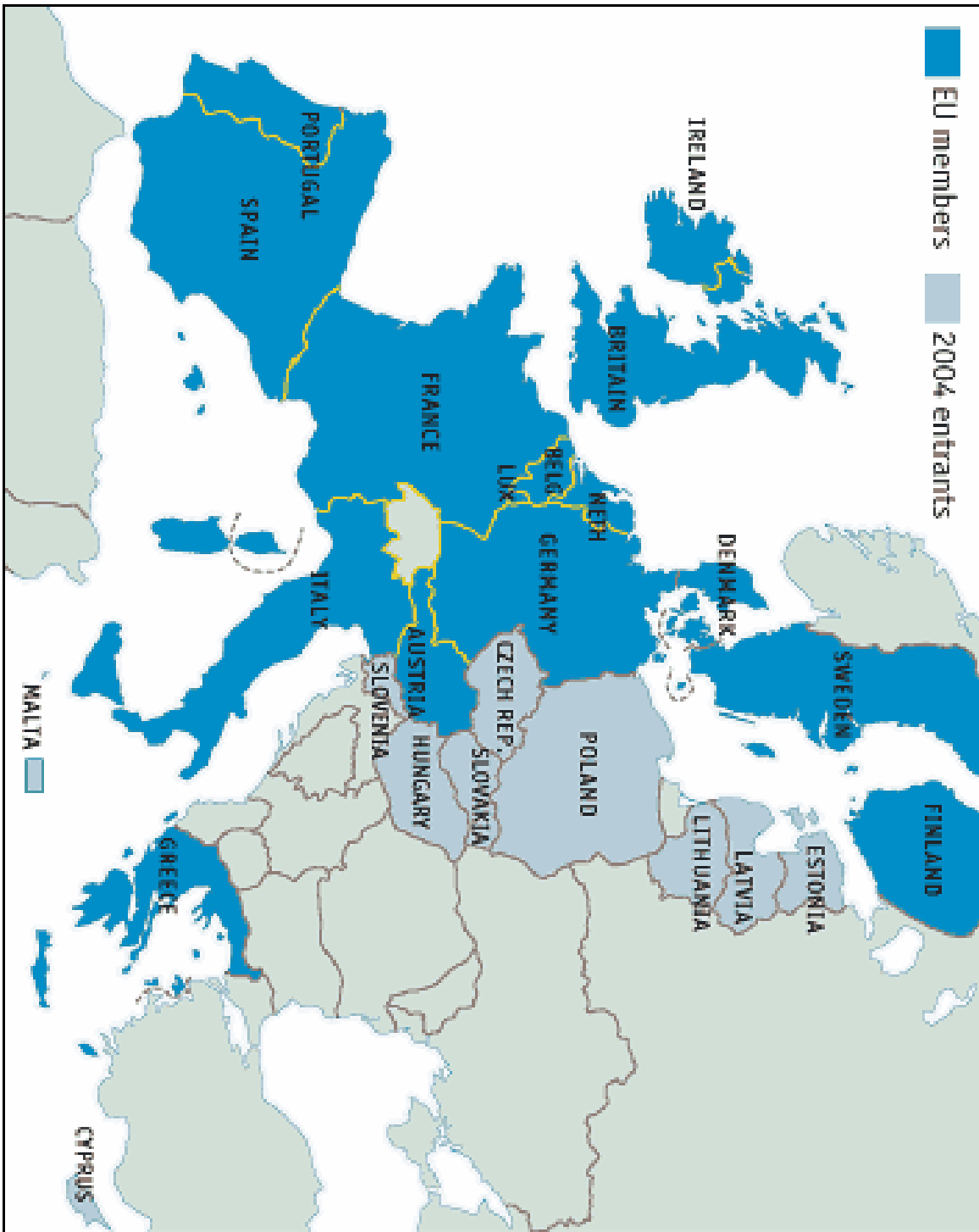
What does the writer of this article see as likely future concerns for NATO?

## EUROPE MAP EXERCISE

**Correctly locate and label of the geographical locations below. Make a map key as well.**

<b>Countries</b>	<b>Cities</b>	<b>Bodies of Water</b>	<b>Landforms</b>
Albania	Amsterdam	Adriatic Sea	Alps
Austria	Athens	Aegean Sea	Apennines
Belgium	Berlin	Arctic Ocean	Balkan Peninsula
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Dublin	Atlantic Ocean	Carpathian Mountains
Bulgaria	Helsinki	Baltic Sea	Corsica
Croatia	Lisbon	Bay of Biscay	Iberian Peninsula
Czech Republic	London	Danube River	Italian Peninsula
Denmark	Madrid	English Channel	Pyrenees
Estonia			
Finland	Oslo	Mediterranean Sea	Sardinia
France	Paris	North Sea	Scandinavian Peninsula
Germany	Rome	Po River	Sicily
Greece	Stockholm	Rhine River	
Hungary	Vienna	Rhone River	
Iceland	Belgrade	Seine River	
Ireland	Bucharest	Strait of Gibraltar	
Italy	Prague	Vistula River	
Latvia	Sarajevo		
Lithuania	Warsaw		
Luxembourg	Zagreb		
Macedonia	Geneva		
Malta	Zurich		
The Netherlands			
Norway			
Poland			
Portugal			
Romania			
Spain			
Serbia & Montenegro			
Slovakia			
Slovenia			
Sweden			
Switzerland			
United Kingdom			





Source : [http://www.ecdel.org.au/eu\\_guide/enlargement/enlargement.htm](http://www.ecdel.org.au/eu_guide/enlargement/enlargement.htm)

# Milestones on the Road to European Integration

**May 9, 1950**

Robert Schuman proposes pooling Europe's coal and steel industries.

**April 18, 1951**

European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) Treaty signed in Paris.

**March 25, 1957**

European Economic Community (EEC) and European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) Treaties signed in Rome.

**April 8, 1965**

Treaty merging the institutions of the three European Communities signed.

**July 1, 1968**

Customs union completed eighteen months early.

**January 1, 1973**

Denmark, Ireland, and the United Kingdom join the Community.

**February 28, 1975**

First Lomé Convention with African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) countries signed.

**March 13, 1979**

European Monetary System (EMS) becomes operational.

**January 1, 1981**

Greece joins the European Community.

**June 29, 1985**

European Council endorses "White Paper" plan to complete single market by end 1992.

**January 1, 1986**

Spain and Portugal join the Community.

**July 1, 1987**

Single European Act (SEA) enters into force.

**June 26-27, 1989**

Madrid European Council endorses plan for Economic and Monetary Union (EMU).

**October 3, 1990**

The five Laender of the former German Democratic Republic enter the Community as part of a united Germany.

**October 21, 1991**

European Community and European Free Trade Association (EFTA) agree to form the European Economic Area (EEA).

**December 11, 1991**

Maastricht European Council agrees on Treaty on European Union.

**December 16, 1991**

Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia sign first Europe Agreements on trade and political cooperation.

**January 1, 1993**

European single market is achieved on time.

**November 1, 1993**

Treaty on European Union (Maastricht Treaty) enters into force after ratification by the member states.

**January 1, 1995**

Austria, Finland, and Sweden join the European Union.

**June 17, 1997**

Treaty of Amsterdam is concluded.

**March 12, 1998**

European conference in London launches Europe-wide consultations on issues related to Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and Justice and Home Affairs (JHA).

**March 30-31, 1998**

EU opens membership negotiations with Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, and Slovenia.

**May 2, 1998**

Eleven EU member states qualify to launch the euro on January 1, 1999.

**June 1, 1998**

European Central Bank (ECB) inaugurated in Frankfurt, Germany.

**January 1, 1999**

EMU and euro launched in eleven EU countries.

**May 1, 1999**

Treaty of Amsterdam enters into force.

**September 15, 1999**

European Parliament approves new European Commission led by Romano Prodi.

**December 10-11, 1999**

European Council meeting in Helsinki decides to open accession negotiations with Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Romania, and the Slovak Republic and to recognize Turkey as a candidate country.

**June 23, 2000**

A new partnership agreement (2000-2020) between the EU and the ACP countries is signed in Cotonou, Benin.

**December 7 – 11, 2000**

European Council agrees on Treaty of Nice (to be ratified by all member states). EU leaders formally proclaim the *Charter of Fundamental Rights* of the European Union.

**January 1, 2001**

Greece joins the euro area.

**February 26, 2001**

Regulation adopted establishing the Rapid Reaction Force.

**January – February 2002**

The euro becomes legal tender and permanently replaces national currencies in EMU countries.

**December 12 – 13, 2002**

Copenhagen European Council declares that Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovak Republic, and Slovenia will become EU members by May 1, 2004.

**February 1, 2003**

The Treaty of Nice enters into force.

**April 16, 2003**

Treaty of Accession (2003) is signed in Athens.

**May 1, 2004**

Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovak Republic, and Slovenia became EU member states.

Source: [www.eurunion.org/infores/euguide/milestones.htm#milestones](http://www.eurunion.org/infores/euguide/milestones.htm#milestones)

# What is the EU?

- DETERMINED to lay the foundations of an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe,
- RESOLVED to ensure the economic and social progress of their countries by common action to eliminate the barriers which divide Europe,
- AFFIRMING as the essential objective of their efforts the constant improvements of the living and working conditions of their peoples,
- RECOGNIZING that the removal of existing obstacles calls for concerted action in order to guarantee steady expansion, balanced trade and fair competition,
- ANXIOUS to strengthen the unity of their economies and to ensure their harmonious development by reducing the differences existing between the various regions and the backwardness of the less favoured regions,
- DESIRING to contribute, by means of a common commercial policy, to the progressive abolition of restrictions on international trade,
- INTENDING to confirm the solidarity which binds Europe and the overseas countries and desiring to ensure the development of their prosperity, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations,
- RESOLVED by thus pooling their resources to preserve and strengthen peace and liberty, and calling upon the other peoples of Europe who share their ideal to join in their efforts,
- HAVE DECIDED to create a EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

The Preamble to the Treaty of Rome, 1957