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PROBLEMS AND COSTS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION EXPANSION WITH OVER 27 STATES

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Abstract: *Once on his way to enlargement, the European Union has taken a road of no return. History has shown that all candidate countries have become a point of EU Member States. The question thus is not where you go to the European Union enlargement, but how it will look after the enlargement of the Union politically, economically and socially. The objective of this paper is to analyze potential problems and costs of enlargement beyond the 27 states. Thus, we performed an analysis on the implications of enlargement to the Balkans to Asia Minor and even to the former Soviet bloc countries.*

Keywords: EU enlargement candidate countries, potential candidate countries, the Balkans, Turkey.

JEL Classification: Y80

1. INTRODUCTION

"The relationship between the EU and its citizens may seem complicated. From daily experience we can say that it is very simple. EU serves its citizens and its aim is to meet the needs and concerns." (Margot Wallstrom, European Commission Vice-President).

This paper aims to reflect on a future EU enlargement in terms of costs and problems that it could rise. With the purpose to analyze the potential costs and problems of EU enlargement, the paper examines the economic, social and political candidates and potential candidates, going even further with the reasoning for such states as Russia, Belarus or North Africa. European Union's motto is "United in diversity". A unified, even at the level of institutions, people with history, language, traditions, different cultures, has been a considerable effort and a goal to meet necessities for a world in constant motion, with nearly exhausted resource, which must begin function as a whole to face the future. Integration has become such an active and reflective process that involves the inclusion of parts into a whole, and its harmonization with the incorporation of overall

vision. The European Union is a unique social and economic partnership between 27 democratic European countries, whose objectives are: peace, prosperity and freedom for the 495 million citizens with a safer and fairer world.

2. OVERVIEW OF THE PROCESS OF ENLARGEMENT OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Where will stop EU enlargement? This question is especially relevant as the European Union was created to expand, it is open to all democratic European states that are able to cope with economic challenges that would involve a possible membership and are willing to learn the rules that govern the European Union. European countries have in turn expressed a desire to be part of this great European family share the same values and objectives as democracy, prosperity and freedom. EU enlargement, especially to the east, is reconciliation with Eastern Europe especially after the events after the Second World War and after the Cold War (Kok, 2003).

This enlargement of the Union's former communist states was the largest action taken in this respect by the pan-European forum. Thus, in just three years, the European Union expanded from 15 to 27 countries. A future expansion, but with over 27 countries is as problematic as it would take place in a time when the European Union is facing major challenges in terms of its economic performance, internal cohesion and its external role. The global economy of the European Union and its Member States are going through difficult times. With the crisis of 2008, states that are part of the EU are in economic decline, growing unemployment, social unrest. Also, the target set by the Lisbon Strategy, of making Europe the most dynamic and competitive knowledge-based economy in the world was not carried out. International business world today is faced with two realities: globalization and change. So the world is not waiting for us, and the European Union must face a world of increasingly globalized and dynamic. Thus it must consider in the process of expanding both states have already acquired the status of candidate countries and of the potential candidate countries. But not only the candidate must be prepared to be part of the European Union but the EU must be 100% ready to accept them. (Full, 2010)

Thus, we should not ask whether the EU will be extended or not, because that decision was already taken, but we wonder when this process will take place as the European Union will certainly decide that it is beneficial when the balance will tilt in favor of benefits at the expense of risk. Expansion is unlikely to be achieved soon, and this is due only to a certain degree of incompatibility that exists between European standards and the realities of potential member states. The European Union must first regain her stability, because only a few years and has doubled the number of members. Then, the criteria by which the European Union analyze the benefits and

risks no longer the same in 90 years. Need to start with the interests of each Member State to merge into a general interest of the European Union, and this seems to be increasingly difficult, sitting last show went through difficult times in the last five years the European Union: the ratification Member States of the European Constitution and the Treaty of Lisbon.

Union has already decided that the eastward expansion has not ended with the accession of Romania and Bulgaria in 2007. Thus, there are currently four states that have applied and been accepted to become the official candidate countries and it is Iceland, Croatia, Turkey and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and in addition there was also so-called potential candidate, enrolling in this class states like Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia and Kosovo. But Turkey is seen by many as an outsider because it is deemed incompatible with the values of Western cultures, although they are fundamental principles by which the Union was built. Although Turkey has made many advances, any realistic prognosis on EU membership can not be optimistic. Croatia, although negotiations began in 2004, seems to have more opportunity in the rapid accession than Turkey, this being due to the good political and economic reforms.

Moving eastward, it is currently difficult to identify a potential future member of the Union, after the current candidate and potential candidate countries have acceded (Pop & Gherghina, 2007, p. 53). Ukraine's candidacy was rejected by the European Commission due to extensive corruption within state institutions and because of political instability. Moldova is far from what we might call a real democracy. In addition, there are pressing economic problems and the unresolved problem of Transnistria. Only Caucasus states seem to have a chance of being considered for expansion in the near future due to high economic potential, but in this region there are security concerns. With this European Union states cooperating in various fields, "Belarus is too authoritarian, Moldova too poor, Ukraine and Russia too large for the European Union too scary to contemplate any offering membership time soon."(The Economist, 2004).

During the following sections we try to report some of the features of the candidate and potential candidate countries and the implications that would bring these countries to EU accession.

3. PROBLEMS AND RISKS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION EXPANSION WITH TURKEY

Turkey has a long history with Europe and the European Union alongside the default. The beginnings of its participation on the international stage are given the time it entered the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, namely in 1952. It can be considered the first step towards the European acceptance and was soon followed in 1959, Turkey trying to get into what we now call the European Union, the European Economic Community (Hasan, 2010). In 1963 the signing of the

Ankara Agreement, and thus Turkey became an associate member of the European Economic Community. Although in 1987 he was refused membership of the European Union, Turkey continues to struggle to achieve this objective. From 1 January 1996 entered into force Turkey Customs Union - European Union, which Turkey has adapted its trade regime and other legislation important to what the European Union, becoming the only member country that has signed a Customs Union the EU. In this context, Turkey has eliminated tariff and non-tariff protection against the European Union for all goods covered by Customs Union, progressively align Common External Tariff of the European Union over the EU's preferential trade system with Free Trade Agreements with the third world countries. Only in 1999 in the Helsinki Summit, Turkey has moved from status associated to the candidate. This means that Turkey is headed, slowly but surely, at the rule of European Union member state.

The European Union has established numerous requirements that need to be met before accession. These requirements were established by the European Council meeting in Copenhagen, in 1993, which bears the generic name of the Copenhagen criteria. These relate to:

- Political criteria: the Member States should be democratic, to use the rule of law and respect human rights and protection of minorities;
- Economic criteria: the economy should be based on market principles, and should be able to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union;
- The possibility to adopt the obligations of membership (community aquis): this refers to a detailed list of areas in fifteen EU policies.

The reports in recent years as both the European Commission and the European Parliament highlights Turkey's European vocation, progress, but made a series of recommendations along the way showing they still have to go state.

A first breakthrough was achieved by Turkey signed the protocol extending the Customs Union with ten Member States in 2004, meaning here Cyprus. Although this step, the Cyprus problem is far from being solved, because customs does not involve signing and formal recognition of Cyprus, Turkey continues to deny the sea and air transport with the Greek flag on its territory (Burcioagă, 2006). In this regard, in 2005 Turkish Foreign Minister Abdullah Gul said: "There is an EU member that does not recognize them. Appears in this context, a paradox of how States could be two states in conflict, to join the European Union. Javier Solana said that "If you want to become part of a family, you should recognize that family members institution, otherwise you can not become a member of that family" (Talmon, 2006).

In addition the Cypriot diferendum, distancing himself as still unsolved problem with Armenia. An important step was made by Turkish-Armenian Agreement signed in 2009 which led to the first result, opening of borders between the two countries. The main purpose of this

agreement is to create a joint committee consisting of international experts, to elucidate the "size of the historic" relations between the two countries. The historical diferendum which is based on the 1915 Armenian genocide issue is not recognized by Turkey. Recognition of past mistakes and crimes is undoubtedly a sign of maturity and democratic society, but it seems that Turkey has not reached this level. Recognition of the Armenian genocide should be a symbol of Turkey's willingness to break with his military past and to be recognized so that an effective democracy.

There is an undeniable progress that Turkey has made towards integration: changing some articles of the Constitution adopted in 1982 and human rights law. The pressure from the European Union, the constitution and amendments were made important strides which were made for eliminating some elements illiberal and undemocratic. The most important changes relate to the death penalty, authorization education in minority languages, new legislation on the Christian minority and expanding the scope of civil and political rights and freedoms (Gönenç, 2004).

From another point of view, scientists, more (Flam, 2003) argues that the most important reasons for refusing to negotiate EU membership for Turkey over the years were: implications of budgetary policy of this country because of the size and its cultural problem.

The French newspaper Le Figaro conducted a survey in the European Union citizens, in 2005, of which Europeans are more favorable reise entry of Ukraine into the European Union than Turkey (Mandeville, 2005). This public skepticism is shown in various reports of the European Union. Various reports of the Generalized Eurobarometer surveys in the European publics worry about Turkey's Accession.

Some Europeans have a problem with the fact that only 5% of Turkey's population is on the European continent, the remaining 95% being in Asia. For example, the former internal market commissioner Frits Bolkenstein said that "Europe is not a geographical but a cultural continent, and in this respect Turkey is another continent, who is in permanent contrast with Europe" and warned the European population, of Christian origin, that will be threatened with "Islam's entry into the European Union." Turkey's numerous accusations against him and respect minority rights and equality of citizens regardless of origin or religion. Thus, Turkish law to provide that access to public office need to have the Muslim religion and you change the name of Islamic terminology and religion is inscribed in Turkish passport. Kurdish oppression is still ongoing, standing evidence that Kurdish television transmits only in Belgium, and of this state has often been pressured to close this post. An example of violation of rights of the minority is the fact that the former Kurdish deputy Leyla Zana was sentenced to fifteen years in prison because he spoke Kurdish at the inaugural ceremony of the Turkish Parliament in 1993.

It can not be denied the positive role played by Turkey during the Cold War, but the political context has changed dramatically. Today, the fight goes against another enemy, namely

terrorism. In this context, Turkey's entry into the area of free movement provided by the Schengen agreement brings uncertainty, taking into account that Turkey shares borders with countries like Syria, Iran, Iraq or Chechnya. Due to the fact, Turkey has become a transit country for immigrants who want to reach EU territory. In a study by Ahmet İçduygu, director of the Office of Migration Flows Investigation of Koç University in Istanbul showed that since 1990 the approximately one million people have crossed or tried to cross Turkey to Europe ajnge (El Periodico, 2008).

Other views consider that Turkey has a strong military tradition that is unable to establish a pure democracy in the country. Also, Europeans are scared of the poverty level in Turkey (Lee, 2004). For example three of the nineteen regions of Anatolia were the GDP of 7% and 16% of the average European. GDP level in the whole state is at about 30% of EU average in 2007 according to information provided by official website of the European Union.

In addition, it will feel the impact that the Turkey's European Union will have in the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) due to its size and number of inhabitants. Further more, since a third of the Turkish workforce is employed in agriculture, it will take approximately 8.200 million for 2025 to launch programs for rural development (Duplancher, 2008). The impact it will have on the EU budget and the CAP are costs that the EU will have to assume.

Another problem that arises on the community balance is the fact that Turkey's national balance would break so frail and cause serious difficulties Member States. With a population of 72.5 million inhabitants (Eurostat, 2010), which doubled between 1960 and 1990 and will continue its growth as in 2015 reaching 100 million people, so one in five Europeans will be Turkish and Turkey will be one of the most important member of the European Union. Turkey Will Be a natural leader of Group Cohesion countries, with 14.2% of the total EU population, 11.2% of the seats in Parliament, 7.8% of the votes in the Council of Ministers, But only 3.0% of GDP (Paphre & Uçaray, 2005) Thus, Turkey will be represented in Parliament more than France or Germany, and the most important country in Europe will be a Muslim. These are considerations than the Europeans; the vast majority of Christians can not move and cause to be so critical of Turkey's accession.

That will take effect on the entire European Union. It will produce significant changes in all areas of the composition of the CAP budget, the policy mix of defence and foreign affairs and to the functioning mechanisms of the entire European Union's institutional system. Because the Islamic religion in this country there are many voices who refuse to accept a Muslim state. For example, Valery Giscard, former president of France says that "if a Muslim country like Turkey into the European Union will be the end of Europe." Angela Merkel before winning election and said she would do "everything it can to prevent Turkey's accession to the European Union."

However Turkey has made many improvements and reforms made so far should be continued and strengthened if we are to acceptance by the European forums. In this context, we wondered if the Copenhagen criteria are an appropriate benchmark for assessing the relevance of the Turkish candidacy. Naturally, the phrase used by the European Commission considers that membership criteria is sufficient, leave open the possibility to interpret and shade responses.

Taken together, these reforms are unprecedented in Turkish society that tries to define its European orientation. They should not become mere surface commitments undertaken towards the European Union, but will be supported by a change in mindset and practices in the political class, the government and ordinary citizens.

4. PROBLEMS AND RISKS OF EXPANSION OF EUROPEAN UNION MEMBER OF THE WESTERN BALKANS

Besides Turkey, Western Balkan countries are now at the gates of the European Union and want a swift accession. To define the Balkans must first make it clear that part of Europe both geographically and on the cultural and political, that is located at the junction of Europe and Asia, it is a transit region and area encounter between people and cultures in the same position under the influence of the West and East. Western Balkans term was officially introduced into the vocabulary of the European Union at the European Council in Vienna in 1998 and initially covers five states, and in 2006 the states, namely: Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro (La Documentation française, 2010).

The wars that led to the collapse of socialist Yugoslavia had serious consequences on economic and social impact on the entire region. Balkans after the fall of communism went through four wars that led to the destabilization of South-Eastern Europe and the European Union must take into account those previous to create a climate of peace and safety that is consistent with the values promoted by that. Thus, the current requirements of the European community refer primarily to the achievement of political and economic reforms, but also to take measures to maintain regional peace and stability. The European Union is the engine of political and economic transition process and guarantees not only continuity of the reforms started, but much needed peace and stability after years of war. The integration of this region in the European family is the perfection of a territorial unit to the north of the Mediterranean, but the Union's enlargement policy comes up against the inflexibility of the Community institutions and euro-skepticism among the population today, which began to manifest itself ever more strongly after two waves of EU enlargement has gone through in recent years. For the population of the Western Balkans, enlargement, however, hope to find a way

to rapid economic growth and enable them to achieve a high level of life similar to existing EU states.

Referring to the economic parameters that characterize this region in 2000 to record a slight growth primarily based on consumption of households (Bilek et al., 2008). Thus, in 2008 GDP growth was 5.7%, the highest GDP growth was a Montenegrin, it amounted to 7%. However, in 2007 the average GDP of the Western Balkan countries represented only 20% of the EU-27 countries, with strong differences within the group. Thus, the leader of Croatia was an average of 54% of the EU average, while Albania is at the opposite end with an average of 24% (European Commission, 2009). With the outbreak of the global economic crisis, the Western Balkan countries are facing major economic problems facing extreme poverty and high unemployment in many of these states (expansion strategy in 2009 on the Western Balkan countries, Iceland and Turkey, 2009)

In terms of dividing the working population by sector in the developed countries of the European Union about 2-3% of active population engaged in agriculture, and approximately 70-75% in the tertiary sector. The Western Balkan countries but figures show that 25% of active population engaged in agriculture and only 50% in services. In this area, that the progress must stress Croatia in other Balkan countries, studies indicate that 10% of the working population is employed in agriculture and 65% in services. The contrast between the Western Balkans and EU member states indicates the disparity that exists between them and the fact that these countries must continue reforms started way to soon be able tends to join the European community.

A high importance has an unemployment rate that is observed in the Western Balkans. Thus, although there is a decrease in unemployment, it has high rates in the region, the lowest recorded unemployment rate in Croatia is more than 10% (Bilek et al., 2008). The highest unemployment rates recorded in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia where the unemployment rate exceeds 30%. In addition to these states is worrying situation in Kosovo, where it reaches 40% (La Documentation française, 2010).

Another problem of the Balkan states is the rate of inflation. Thus, in 2008, in three of the six countries has been an inflation exceeded 10% and the highest values recorded in recent years. The largest increases in inflation occurred in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia. The year 2009 is expected that there will be a process of disinflation in Western Balkans, but this assumption was contradicted by the outbreak in the fourth quarter of 2008 economic crisis. In the context of increasing inflation in these countries, the Balkan Union demands the execution of monetary policy more stringent.

According to information provided by the European Barometer 2008, citizens of the European Union accession states in favor of the Western Balkan countries, as 49% percent of citizens are in

favor of accession of Macedonia (36% against), 48% approve accession Bosnia Herzegovina (37% against), 47% said Serbia's EU entry (39% against) approved the accession of Croatia and 56% (versus 30%). The only country to score a disadvantage is Albania, 44% of Europeans are against its membership, compared with 41% who are favorable.

An important aspect that should take into account those states for further EU enlargement to Western Balkans refers to full cooperation with International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. This stage is considered by the European Union as a fundamental to justice for victims, but also for regional reconciliation.

Among the Western Balkans, two countries that have candidate status and real opportunities to attendees in the near future the European Union, namely, Croatia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Thus, after thirteen years after the war ended nine years after achieving complete sovereignty, Croatia has a stable democracy with a functioning market economy. Croatia formally applied for the quality of being member of the European Union in 2003. However since 2001 the EU concluded a Stabilisation and Association Agreement which established rules that must be met by Croatia to join, including financial aid that will benefit this country (which in 2006 amounted only to 140 million) and technical assistance to be granted to meet the requirements for membership of the European Union.

Notifications most recent European Union indicates that there has been an improvement in Croatia's political system, a breakthrough in terms of human rights and minority protection, and improving economic prospects over the medium term, provided that the road continues started on the path of reform. It also has a vital importance to judicial reform and fight against corruption, both are essential to a democracy there may be a viable and healthy economy to attract foreign investment.

Croatia is the state which is most likely to join the European Union in 2011, showing Union is willing to expand to a second state in the former Yugoslavia. This is especially likely since the country has made progress in meeting various membership criteria, although it must be resolved before accession impediment represented by Croatian officers tried for war crimes in the conflict in former Yugoslavia. Another impediment was that on the existing diferendum with Slovenia on the border issue which was resolved by an agreement signed in 2009.

Because the standard of living and economic development went far beyond existing levels in Romania and Bulgaria would have to allow a rapid accession of Croatia to the European Union. But, the point to the fact That Corruption, judicial inefficiency and Organised Crime Serious Problems Remain in Bulgaria and Romania, two Balkan countries Other, Which Entered the EU in 2007. Croatia, too, has difficulties in tissue areas - one reason why negotiations Zagreb membership is taking longer than expected once (Barber, 2010). Acceptance of this state, however, was delayed

and political reasons. Yet progress has been made to do so by stabilizing Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro's independence, the declaration of independence by Kosovo, Serbia closer to Europe and the teaching of Croatian war criminals to Hague.

Croatia could have some bad luck in his desires to join the European area. Although, it is better prepared than Romania and Bulgaria, it missed the 2007 integration due to historical causes. The European institutions insufficiently effective and low popularity, Brussels does not seem willing today to accepting other members, or at least in the short term, regardless of their performance. The current system works hard and with 27 members, and one more will not only bring new problems, so the Croats might have to wait for reforming European institutions to their formal acceptance. But in an increasingly prosperous country with an economy that still seems to work better than the average man is too concerned about exact date of entry into the European club. One can even say that in this country falls enthusiasm among the population regarding the EU accession. Thus, in 2005, 85% of the population wanted to join the European Union, now the percentage has dropped to only 34%. This change in attitude has occurred due to people facing financial crisis and Europe because of the inability expressed by the Community institutions to emerge from this crisis.

Relations between the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the EU are covered by the Stabilisation and Association Agreement that was signed in 2001 in Luxembourg. Commission documents draw attention to the need of improving further the legislative framework to permit decentralization of public administration. Macedonia is considered a successful example of cooperation of the international community, but must continue pressuring for normalizing the political situation there.

Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia benefits from substantial EU funds for mainly economic and social development (infrastructure projects, education and specialty programs) and programs relating to justice and home affairs (strengthening of border control, judicial reform and customs administration, organized crime and money laundering).

Unfortunately, the EU still lacks a clear strategy in terms of scale that will have no extension and analysis related to its short-term consequences (INTOSAI, 2006). On the one hand, it was recognized that an expansion into the Balkans would bring more stability of Europe, but still lacks a precise timetable of how the ongoing enlargement process. In addition, an appropriate adherence should be considered carefully because it could create adverse effects, making some candidate countries to adopt drastic reforms that are conditional accession, but will have the effect of destabilizing the region, if not done gradually and with the specificity and capacity for implementation.

Although the Western Balkan countries have carried out many reforms in May, can not be overlooked progress made so far. They have gone through a decade of wars and internal conflicts, and prospects of accession are the best way to enhance regional stability and security in the interest of the entire European continent. Crime and corruption are still scattered throughout the region, but have made progress in the area through police and judicial cooperation. Continuing involvement of the European Union will help the region to solve the remaining problems, because the Union can not ignore what is happening around him and even if those countries are not yet in the European Union they are in Europe and Europe is not may look indifferent to the problems in the region. Enlargement has proven to be very effective in motivating countries to tackle problems of crime and corruption, and committing them to cooperate more closely with the European Union to protect citizens. Enlargement means that the candidate countries to adopt EU standards on border control and management of refugees and immigrants from third countries, therefore, the expansion will provide an opportunity to have more control over the problem of illegal immigration.

5. PROBLEMS AND COSTS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION EXPANSION WITH MORE THAN 35 COUNTRIES

Certainly the process of enlargement will not stop Turkey and Western Balkan countries. Maybe in 2010, seems risky to speak of a future expansion to incorporate the European Union states Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Georgia or Russia, but does not mean that this would not be possible. Thus, many in the European Union accession states that Russia is excluded and this opinion is shared in Russia, but we should remember that decades ago few would have predicted the European Union accession countries like Romania or Bulgaria.

Ukraine began to make major steps toward a rapprochement with the European Union. Once emerged triumphant Orange Revolution, this gave legitimacy to the project's pro-european Victor Yushenko. This victory was a trimf values of liberal democracy and political pluralism, making Ukraine a country that defends the same values as the European Union. The Yuschenko government installed showed a high interest in joining the European Union, but has reduced the other hand, the importance they had ties with Russia. This is also the great challenge of Ukraine to maintain a balance between the relationships we have with Russia and that wishes to establish with the European Union. Although Ukraine has made numerous improvements, particularly in financial and commercial areas, it has numerous delays in respect of human rights, media freedom as regards the judiciary reform. Blame the bias but not to advance not only Ukraine but the EU has identified this country many times with Russia, such as by carrying out joint strategies for both countries. Communication for an enlarged Europe in March 2003 highlighted the existing problems

by practicing an open door policy with the Balkan states, but not with Ukraine. However, Ukraine has a significant strategic importance for the European Union because as he said and Javier Solana, has rich natural resources and good geographical location.

As the vision Ukrainians about the EU, it is becoming more favorable joining the European Union, especially since the '90s political values of the state began to change radically, flourishing a departure Russian and Lithuanian culture for Europeanism. This fact makes the Ukraine to be more acceptable to the peoples of Europe than a country like Turkey which has an oriental culture.

But Ukraine begins to resemble in many respects to Turkey as a country aspiring to join the EU but not yet recognized as a European country, NATO's only strategic importance of recognizing and owning (Gower and Redmond, 2001). Despite this, the European Union continues to be an important trading partner and source of investment and assistance for Ukraine. This cooperation is likely to continue at the same pace, because Ukraine has been denied the ultimate goal of its strategy: joining the European Union. Belarus, because of its political regime is unlikely to join the European Union in the near future, but the Union is concerned with the state because of its geostrategical position and the important role it has on oil pipeline route from Russia (Pop Ghenghină, 2007) interest was stressed from the moment Belarus has halted delivery of oil from January 7, 2007 to some member states, thus demonstrating the power he possesses by the fact that these pipelines crossing its territory. But Belarus has problems and demographic, economic and destabilization of the state, deterioration of public services, splitting the elites and their struggle for power. The problem is the situation of Moldova and economic situation in this country and because of existing political instability. The European Union is cautious and because of the conflict in Transnistria, that due to progressive enlargement of the Union went through its borders reached. Russia's accession to the EU is not currently on the agenda in Brussels or Moscow, and the changing situation is expected in the near future. However, it is acknowledged by all European Union members that long-term security and stability on the continent depend on the integration of Russia into European cooperation and to avoid the perception that it is excluded or alienated.

In recent years Russia is beginning to stabilize both economically, due to oil and gas exports, but also politically by stabilizing the political situation. Russia urged to adapt to new realities, ones that relate to the fact that Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are part of the European Union, Ukraine and Moldova have applied and Caucasian republics, notably Georgia and Armenia would be delighted with the opportunity accession. It may be noted that a large part of the old Soviet Union or the European Union is already at its gates. So why do we see in Russia a possible state of the European Union? Although the territorial, political, economic and demographic would be a complicated integration of strategically everything would make sense. It would be attractive but would create numerous problems and imbalances due to its size and complexity. However looking at a more

distant temporal perspective, certainly, in addition to the costs they would entail, and would include many benefits. Russian membership would be an ambitious and attractive, but still premature. Russia is still far from fulfilling the Copenhagen criteria, because the economic and political transition in Russia is far behind most, if not all states in Central and Eastern Europe. Russia's main problems are caused by deficiencies evident in the operation of a market economy and continuing political instability.

For the European Union is almost impossible to predict costs of the CAP and enlargement of structural policies in a country as vast as Russia and the poor. This would not be the limits of the current EU budget. Another important reason for the reluctance of Russia's accession to the eye is the fact that a state so large in terms of territory and population would create a serious imbalance in the political system of the European Union would lift enormous administrative difficulties. Russia's population of approximately 150 million people makes it two times higher than Germany and this create problems regarding the distribution of seats and votes in EU institutions. Although it has many problems, Russia can not be regarded as any normal state, although it is considerably weakened because it remains by far the greatest military power on the continent and a major player in the world. Its geographical position is another obstacle to its accession to the Union, with some reservations silent on European identity.

Lately, it talks about a new project that is Mediterranean Union project, promoted in particular by France and Germany supported conditioning. This proposal involves the generation of a permanent structure involving countries on the southern shore of the Mediterranean, namely the neighbors of North Africa and the Middle East. The stated aim should be more visibility, promote new projects and overseeing their realization.

The energy crisis is an increasingly important influence factor leading to the shaping of this union. Until the transition to new forms of alternative accessible energy it is possible that conventional fuel reserves to run out. The North Sea are limited and difficult to operate, the Latin American suppliers have started to claim, the world market is controlled by OPEC members and oil barrel price goes up slowly but surely. European Union, tried to rebuild the cradle of Western civilization, with the hope that it will be able to control the European position. Europe of tomorrow can become a conglomerate of cultures and civilizations. Among the nearly half a billion EU citizens already living, there are a lot of non-europeans that are living there, too. If integration is to build concrete and on the other side, and gradually, money and effort in general, emancipation will be possible tolerance, coexistence and cooperation, we can witness the emergence of an area of peace and prosperity in the Mediterranean basin.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND PROPOSALS

Europe is not a well determined, but may be considered a mental map or image space. This concept of Europe has suffered over time from changing redefine many geopolitical and ideological perspectives she went through. I could make a correlation between these explanations of what we now call the European Union. It is clear that the realities of 50 years ago have changed, that have appeared on the international scene as the new concepts of globalization or terrorism, and the Union must demonstrate its dynamism to be able to pursue goals of its founding fathers. Thus, in Europe the third millennium we must not seem absurd or utopian visionary ideas who see an enlarged European Union and perhaps even beyond the Urals in the Mediterranean South. But the question is whether we will be ready to accept the risks and costs involved in such an expansion, because they will not be limited.

The costs of future expansions over 27 countries of the European Union exist, but this should be viewed correlated with benefits. Union will not be able to finance the enlargement of countries without continuously support its Member States. The current global financial crisis leaves a Europe that know financial census and unemployment is an acute problem. Union will be able to adapt their policies to create good will and continue its enlargement.

When considering the extension, it's important to be raised the political and economic costs, not to meet this expansion. There is the question of military costs, those data will be the attitude of investors, but can not be overlooked that consumers in these countries is a Bonanza for Western European affairs. If they look at the net costs are low, amounting to 0.01% of GDP of the EU budget (Gower and Redmond, 2001) that macroeconomic terms is a small price to pay. The problem is that some members believe that in real terms, will have to pay more than others. Costs are certainly clear to everyone; perhaps only for some members the benefits are less tangible.

Nobody has illusions however about the fact that there are no difficulties of EU enlargement. Most of the candidate or potential candidate is faced with more difficult issues regarding the criteria for membership than their forerunners, this being due to both political and economic transition that demands more and needs to be meet in the *acquis communautaire*. Their relative poverty and economic underdevelopment, compounded by ethnic and those concerning human rights, led inevitably to fierce discussions within the Union dominated by speculation on the costs of enlargement and the occurrence of unacceptable redistribution of budgetary resources at the expense of current beneficiaries.

Before continuing enlargement, the Union must address two fundamental domestic issues: reform of two of the most sensitive EU policies, namely the common agricultural policy and structural funds, enlargement costs for management and institutional reform to ensure

operation Union effective. Road to expand but can not be interrupted by the inability of Member States to agree on reforms to be realized, they equally feared the loss of money and power which they might suffer.

Although the European Union no show enthusiasm for enlargement, some states are worried by the political and financial costs involved, there is still a sense of historic opportunity that must not be lost, not to weaken the rationale for European integration. The final decision will ultimately be a political, and already are steps to move public attention to the costs of expanding the opportunities arising as market expansion, increased security and better pan-european cooperation in solving problems like the environment and organized crime. Grand European project is not only a beautiful dream, but a real necessity for the developed economies of Europe. But with as many players will be at a table, it will be harder to reach an agreement, and if the participants in this game are so different as to be expected, the problems will be worse. However the big problem is not in the EU decision-making, but is represented by the great European instability strategies to adapt according to the project, from stage to stage, as the extent and implications of new players.

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