
AICEI PROCEEDINGS

Migrations in the European Union: Looking Ahead to 2050

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Abstract

Migration can be defined as a process whereby people move from one place to another, either for a certain period of time or forever. Europe was built on migrations and its peoples have helped populate other continents. The European Union (EU) is an international organization sui generis which has a new form of migration – intra organizational migration. If the EU decides to close its doors to further immigration from outside the EU (or to end the process of enlargement), its economic development will be at risk. Its aging population will not be able to compete in the global market as successfully as now. Shrinking numbers of workers and employees will not be able to produce the resources needed to bear the burden of the pensions of those retired or for the repayment of the sovereign debts of various EU nations. The financial crisis will continue, leading to emigration from Europe to other parts of the world. If, on the other hand, the EU decides to open its gates to greater immigration, especially from the developing nations, it would be helping not just the immigrants themselves but also its own people. States and international organizations exist to provide services for their people, increasing their standards of living within international solidarity. This paper shows that a reduction of natural population growth will affect the EU and the world, that the candidate countries (Turkey excluded) are in a population crisis greater than that of the EU, and that global solutions for peace and prosperity should be leading ideas in creating future migrations policies. Europe will need a larger population, from its candidate countries and

beyond, in order to maintain its position in the world. Further academic research as well as consultations among EU and non-EU nations on migration will provide the main avenue to a better world.

Keywords: Immigration, EU policy on immigration and enlargement, population size, aging population, labor shortages, pensions crisis, debt crisis, war and population, moratorium on warfare, United States of Europe, defining Europe.

“Migration is a part of our past, present and future. It has always been and always will be a part of what makes Europe, and if looked upon as an opportunity, rather than a threat, migration can make us grow stronger, economically, culturally, [and] morally.” (Malmström, 2012).

These are the words of Cecilia Malmström, EU Commissioner of EU Home Affairs, on the occasion of the 2012 International Migrants Day. She is the EU official who proposes policies within the Commission and deals with the complex issues of immigration. It is almost a truism to suggest that EU immigration policies affect future developments within the EU and throughout the global community. The policy choices are not easy, especially since the EU is still in the midst of an economic and financial crisis. That crisis, and the EU’s inability to reach decisions on how to solve it, affects every aspect of the EU, preventing it from formulating a clear concept of its enlargement, of necessary future institutional reform, and of its foreign and security policy as a global power. With respect to immigration there is the same lack of clarity. The EU’s growth through immigration is both accepted as needed and rejected on various grounds as being too difficult.

In the next pages we will seek to describe: a) EU immigration policy today; b) present and future population development trends; c) the situation of the candidate countries, and d) some proposed solutions based on traditional ideas of peace and prosperity. Looking ahead toward the year 2050, the mid-century, there are important questions to be answered: Does the EU need a population increase? Does population growth ease the tax burden, the debt burden and the pension crisis? How is population growth related to war and peace, if at

all? What contribution can today's researchers, intellectuals and citizens make?

EU Immigration Policy Today

Immigration, refugees and asylum are a part of the same EU policy, formerly contained in pillars one and three, now within the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice. The scope of EU action has steadily widened, most recently with the Stockholm program (2010-2014). Since the conclusion/implementation of the Lisbon Reform Treaty, decisions have been made by the Council by qualified majority, with an expanded role for the Commission and the Parliament. The free movement of persons is a fundamental right guaranteed by the Treaty of Maastricht (The Treaty on the European Union, The Consolidated version, C 321 E 1). Migrations cover three categories: nationals from each EU nation, nationals from other EU member states (27/28) and third country nationals. The EU's task is to strengthen the external borders of the Union, regulate legal entry and residence of non-EU nationals and adopt a common immigration, refugee and asylum policy.

The EU common policy, which is currently under development, is built on the basis of mutual solidarity and responsibility of the member states, their labor force needs, the immigrants' integration into host country societies and the avoidance of a brain-drain in the countries of origin. The so called "Immigration Pact" was adopted on October 14, 2008. Immigrants from third countries should belong to one of the following categories: highly qualified workers, subject to the Blue Card Directive; students and researchers; family members of the above categories (family reunification); long term residents (EU Long Term Residence Directive); seasonal workers and intra-corporate transferees (Single Permit Directive, 2011). In some of the situations listed above temporary residence may be granted on the basis of an EU Green card which is an employment permit. An immigrant accepted by one member state can also move to another member state under certain conditions and using the same permit.

The goals of the common policy are to: a) facilitate admission to the EU (harmonize entry rules and residence conditions); b)

simplify procedures; c) attract highly qualified workers; d) enhance EU competitiveness. There are also new common rules for refugees and asylum seekers, all better defined than previously but still not completely agreed upon by all member states. An online information source, called the EU Immigration Portal, has been introduced to explain the new legislation to potential immigrants. Many technical improvements have already been made to implement the new system. In Strasbourg, the Central System I – otherwise known as SIS I (Schengen Information System), which lists all persons inadmissible to the EU, is being transformed into a new Central SIS II by convention. In general, the policy and procedures adopted so far have many advantages over the previous system. The system has become unified and the differences between one country and another, which were sometimes enormous, have been eliminated.

Population Trends

Demographic movements, as is well known, go in cycles. In the 20th century, the world population rose from 1.6 to 6.1 billion. This trend is, however, unlikely to continue in this century. In 2013, the population of Europe is estimated at 741 million (US Census Bureau, IDB 2013). The EU population is estimated at 503.50 million (Eurostat, 2012).

TABLE 1: below contains population figures in 1900, in 2008 and in 2050 projection (in millions):

Country	1900	2008	2050
France	40	60	66
Germany	56	82	71
UK	32.5	54	64.3
Russia	133	142	104
Italy	32.4	59	43
Turkey	31	79	98.8
EU 27 (reconstructed)	308	504	471.4
USA	76	303	397

(STAT/05/48 and Eurostat for 1900 and 2008)

With a few exceptions, there is an increase by 2008 and a decrease by 2050. Additionally, the population of Europe, which constituted 24% of the World's population in 1900, fell to about 11% by 2008 and is projected to further decrease to 8.20% by 2050. (UN World Population Prospects Report, 2005-2010).

The figures above are indicative yet not completely comparable due to constant changes to the borders and territorial size of states, notably due to wars and peace agreements. The great empires were built on the expansion of their territories. This has been the case even for smaller states. Population size changed with territorial changes. In World War II, for example, states' borders changed, populations were exiled, and refugees resettled. Even in internal conflicts, those practices have continued.

Looking at the figures, the population of many states has increased since 1900. The European citizens of today, however, were in 1900 citizens or subjects of empires, such as Austro-Hungarian, Russian, German, and Turkish (Ottoman) Empires. Those empires ceased to exist after 1918. The EU of 27 member states taken together has grown by 63% since 1900. Meanwhile, the US population has grown by 299%, in large part due to immigration from Europe. Turkey, which remained neutral in the Second World War, and now has a population 155% greater than that of its empire in 1900.

The total population of any country or group of countries depends on its natural growth plus its net immigration (i.e. immigration – emigration). The present worldwide average fertility rate is 2.52 children per woman, while 2.1 is the so called natural replacement fertility. Many European countries are now at the low rate of 1.5; some of them even have a negative growth, that is a population decline. No nation is likely to disappear by 2050, although we know that many nations have already disappeared from the map of Europe (such as Livonians, Ragusians, Venetians and Oldenburgers).

Europe faces many challenges relating to population and migration. There is insufficient manpower available, significant and rapid growth in the numbers of senior citizens, and a resulting support burden on workers and employees (Eberstadt, 2010). Some estimates predict that 50 million working age people will be needed in the EU 27 by 2050, with the figure possibly rising as high as 100 million. The

pace of globalization, the need to attract more highly skilled workers, the need to remain competitive, the need to control illegal immigration all are manifest even today (BBC, EU Immigration Policy, 2008).

Unless natural population growth increases, EU senior citizens will need to remain active in the workforce far longer (therefore implying an increase in the age of retirement age) and/or a much higher level of immigration will need to be allowed if not actively fostered. Additionally, Europe will find itself competing for immigrants with Russia, India (Southern India), China, Japan and the US, as all those nations will need more skilled immigrants due to their own population dynamics (Eberhardt, 2010). Despite the favorable situation today, most regions of the world will have population problems of some kind, the only exceptions being Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America. For the EU, aside from liberalization of third country immigration, an obvious alternative is the expansion of membership in several directions.

In 2008, 3.8 million people immigrated into the EU while 2.3 million emigrated, yielding a net increase in population of about 1.5 million. In 2010, 3.1 million immigrated, while 2 million emigrated for a net gain of 1.1 million (Ecostat, 2011, Statistics in Focus). There were about 8 million illegal immigrants (Eberstadt, 2010).

Looking at 2010 immigration figures, 21% of the total is represented by nationals of EU countries returning home, 31% are nationals of other EU countries moving within the EU, and 48% are third country (non-EU) nationals.

TABLE 2: The largest number of non-national immigrants chose to come to the following four countries:

UK	591,000
Spain	465,200
Italy	458,900
Germany	404,100

In 2010, 810,500 immigrants acquired citizenship of a member state, up 4.4% from 2009. The countries with most new citizens were (TABLE 3):

UK	194,800
France	143,300
Spain	123,700
Germany	104,600

TABLE 4: The total numbers of non-nationals living in the EU in 2011 (millions):

Germany	7.2
Spain	5.6
Italy	4.6
UK	4.5
France	3.8

Those non-nationals come mainly from Turkey, Albania, Ukraine and Morocco, with some 15.5% from the Americas. (Eurostat, 2012, Statistics in Focus / for the above data).

The problem with immigration is that it brings in numbers but not necessarily the high qualifications needed in the host countries. Thilo Sarrazin, in his book published in 2011, argues that the immigrants are “destroying Germany” as they are refusing to integrate. Angela Merkel even said that multiculturalism had failed in Germany (Jacoby, 2011). Germany has taken measures, within the EU and its national legislation, to attract more qualified professionals by such measures as the Blue card, the Green card and several new kinds of visas. The German government has organized so-called “immigration courses” in which language instruction is essential (ibidem). Immigration into the UK, France and Spain also encounters problems of integration too, although immigrants to those countries mostly speak the languages involved (i.e. English, French and Spanish). Immigration to Hungary concentrates on Hungarian-speaking nationals of other countries, two of which are already within the EU (Romania and Slovakia). In Sweden, immigrants are considered more like contributors to the country in terms of economics, culture, and society. Sweden has helped large numbers of refugees, most recently from Iraq, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Yugoslavia, and Turkey. Among the Iraqi nationals, a large number of Mandeans have been saved, an ethnic group of Aramean origin and gnostic religion who

are subject to discrimination and destruction in their country. Sweden has saved many Assyrians as well. Belgium has accepted a number of Turkish citizens, some of whom are Aramean, Lykian, Kurdish and other minorities. Many EU countries, including the largest ones, have acted similarly in so many cases and for centuries.

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There are many other issues that need to be looked at least briefly, at least in passing.

a) *The pensions crisis*. This refers to a predicted difficulty in paying for corporate, state and other pensions. The ratio of active workers and employees to retirees is diminishing, making it more difficult to cover the future pensions of those working today. In the EU, there are now 3.5 workers to one retiree. In 2050, this ratio will be 1.8 to one. In the US, for instance, the underfunded obligations of the Social Security System have been estimated to be 1 trillion dollars. EU citizens aged 65 – 80, will represent 29.9% of the population in 2050, up from 16.4% in 2004, which is almost double. Their number will be 134 million and they will not be able to retire at 65. The percentage of those 80 years old or older will be 10% in 2050, that is some 44 million people. (European Commission, Report on Populations' Projections 2004 – 2050, April 8, 2005).

b) *The debt crisis*. Another problem is that, as smaller populations will have the obligation to pay higher debts. The amounts involved are trillions of dollars or Euros. The larger and richer nations can afford to have debts but the smaller ones cannot.

TABLE 5: Public debt per country expressed as a percentage of GDP (in percentages):

	2012	2050
France	182	82.30
Germany	142	15
Italy	108	25.4
Spain	84	107.6
Ireland	108	234.20
Greece	174	232.9
USA	64.8	152.9

(Based on IMF, World Economic Outlook, 2011).

The situation will get substantially worse with those countries that already have considerable debt problems. The only way to solve this is to increase taxes as a proportion of GDP. Although unpopular, they can be made less unpopular by a more equitable distribution of income and wealth. General welfare increases with more equality. (Governments and Foreign Debt, Global Projections to 2050, Project Link Conference, New York, Oct. 26, 2011). Of course, a tremendous growth of GDP per country could help!

c) *Wars and population.* Wars, both international as well as intra-state conflicts, increase the flow of emigration from those countries at war and immigration into those not at war. Individuals and whole ethnic groups are forced to leave their countries. This phenomenon has been well known since time immemorial. Even limited wars kill people and reduce population even when they are successful in remaining limited. Wars increase national debt and inflation, they prevent trade and development. If some 250 wars have been fought in the sixty-eight years since 1945, it is likely that some 138 more wars will have taken place by 2050, not taking into account a potential Third World War. Right now, there are wars in Congo and the Great lakes Area, in Mali, Niger, Somalia, Sudan (Darfur), Afghanistan, the Philippines, and Syria, to mention just a few.

d) *Economic crisis:* We are assuming that the EU will find a way out of it before too long.

Although we can use currently available projections for the future, we do not know the real shape of the things to come. For instance, how many countries will join the EU before 2050 and consequently how large will the EU be? The enlargement can be limited or it can take the borders of the EU far in every direction. If it doubles the size of the EU's population, it can solve a lot of problems more easily, while at the same time the EU becomes a major global power in its own right. An increase rather than a decrease in population will be the way to go.

The Situation of the Candidate Countries

At the time of writing, one country, Croatia, which applied in 2003 is acceding to the EU and is to become a member state on July 1,

2013. The remaining current candidate countries are Turkey, Macedonia, Iceland, Montenegro, and Serbia. Turkey, which had been an Associate member since 1964, applied in 1987 and became a candidate on December 12, 1999. Negotiations started in 2005. It has been in a Customs Union with the EU since 1995. Macedonia applied in 2004 and became a candidate on December 17, 2005. Iceland applied in 2009 and became a candidate on June 17, 2010. Negotiations started in 2010. Iceland is a European Free Trade Association (EFTA) member, a part of the European Economic Area (EEA) as such implementing already a part of the *acquis communautaire*. Montenegro applied in 2008 and has been a candidate since December 17, 2010. Serbia applied in 2009 and has been a candidate since March 1, 2012.

Albania applied for membership in 2009. Other potential candidates are: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Moldova, Switzerland (EFTA member), the mini-states (e.g. Lichtenstein, EFTA and EEA member) and Cape Verde. Kosovo could also be considered a potential candidate. Norway became a candidate and concluded its negotiations with the EU, but its voters rejected membership in 1994. Norway is a member of EFTA and the EEA. Morocco applied as well but its application was not accepted by the EU due to the fact that it is not a European country.

Population trends among the candidate countries are similar to those among the EU 28, although the decline may be more pronounced in some cases.

TABLE 6: Population of Candidate Countries in 1900, 2012 and 2050 (millions):

Country	1900	2012	2050
Croatia/Slavonia	2.2	4.3	3.9
Dalmatia	0.6	Part of Croatia	Part of Croatia
Turkey/Ottoman Empire	31	79	98.8
Macedonia	1.2	2.06	1.6
Iceland	0.8	0.3	0.3
Montenegro	0.3	0.6	0.6
Serbia	2.6	7.1	5.9

TABLE 7: Other countries in the Area:

Slovenia (EU)	1.0	2.06	1.6
Greece (EU)	2.8	10.8	10.04
Bulgaria (EU)	3.1	7.4	4.6
Romania (EU)	6.6	19.04	18.06
Cyprus (EU)	0.24	0.8	1.4
Bosnia and Hercegovina	1.4	3.8	3.9
Moldova	1.9	3.6	2.3
Albania	0.83	2.8	2.82 (3.1 in 2025)

(US Census Bureau, 2012 some figures from national data used by the USCB, 1900 from encyclopedias).

Aside from Turkey, countries in the area show a clear decline in population in most cases, some of it greater than that of the EU 27. The EU members from the area remain close to non-member states in their population trends. Taking into account all the candidates other than Turkey by 2014, as originally proposed by Greece in the Thessaloniki Plan, would mean a population increase of 10.6 million for the EU. If Turkey is included, the new members would make up 17% of the EU population. The Thessaloniki Plan is not being followed.

Turkey remains a challenging candidate for several reasons. For some EU members, Turkey is not a European nation (although about 20 million of its people are European). Were it to join, Turkey would become the largest nation within the EU, which would change the balance which has been developed to date among member states. Furthermore, some EU states do not consider Turkey to be sufficiently democratic. There are also some other differences, e.g. Turkey is predominantly a Muslim country, while most of Europe is Christian.

By contrast, Turkey is a member of every other European and Euro-Atlantic organization, including NATO, OSCE, OECD, and the Council of Europe. Historically, Turkey was a major power in Europe from at least the 16th century, and has been a participant in European affairs and conferences despite its Islamic leadership then of the whole world (the Caliphate). Along with other European powers, Turkey was responsible

for peace and war in Europe. It was an imperialist and a colonialist power, shifting its alliances, as others did. For instance, when in 1885 the Congress of Berlin divided Africa, the Ottoman Empire participated in those decisions too. Turkey is a link with Asia and the Middle East, a factor of stability and progress, and a necessary and inseparable part of Europe.

Geographically, the EU is already present on several continents, including in Asia (Cyprus), in Africa (Reunion, Canary Islands, Ceuta and Melilla), America (French Guyana, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Dutch territories). The Mediterranean basin in its entirety was the organizing principle of the Roman Empire and is now linked with the EU within the Union for the Mediterranean. North Africa is traditionally connected to Europe and could logically be an area of EU enlargement provided that it makes the right choices in its further development.

If all of the European nations get equal chances to join the EU, there are only a few remaining non-member states in addition to those already mentioned: Belarus, Ukraine, Russia, Switzerland, Kazakhstan (with a small part of its territory in Europe). By including all of Europe, the EU could have a population of about 800 million.

A number of nations in the East, led by the Russian Federation, are working on a new Euro Asian Economic Union (EAEU), a parallel organization, with a population of 207 million which would compete with the EU. The EAEU is already a customs union, organizing a common economic space and envisioning even a common currency. It was originally established by an agreement signed in Kiev on October 10, 2000. Its member states are looking at Turkey as a potential member, as well as some other countries which have not received or are unlikely to receive EU membership. Could this be the beginning of a new division of Europe into East and West? Would that kind of future be preferable to enlargement or increased immigration to the EU?

Ukraine is divided between those who favor full EU membership and those who are in favor of the EAEU. Ukraine and Armenia have observer status within the new organization, Armenia being a non-European European while de facto and historically European. Russian foreign minister Lavrov said recently that the Euro-Asian integration is a "contribution to the collective efforts to stabilize the world economy" He wished Ukraine would join, thus expanding the market labor force to 160-170 million. (Sergei Lavrov, *The Voice of Russia*, July 9, 2012). He

also said that the EU and the EAEU do not contradict each other “as they are promoting the same economic processes including the free flow of capital”.

The question of the two organizations is more political than economic. At this stage, Russia and the EU have bilateral cooperation although Russia has shown no interest in EU membership. Historically, Russia has been a great European power, one of the leading ones in the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. More than Turkey, Russia is responsible for some of the ups and downs in European history. Most of its population is European and it is a natural link to Asia and the Far East. Unlike Turkey, Russia participated in the Second World War and became a superpower thereafter, participating in the division of Europe and the world. The OSCE territory extends “from Vancouver to Vladivostok” which is the broadest definition of Europe and encompasses three continents, including in North America the US and Canada. Ultimately, the OSCE version of Europe could become the world’s largest economic power. It would take a union of that size to match the populations of the world’s most populous nations and continents. Such integration would still be smaller than a world federation. But not going that far, one can say that Russia too is an inseparable part of Europe.

Some Traditional Ideas on Peace and Prosperity

“Our country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind. We love the country of our nativity only as we love the other lands. The interests, rights, liberties of American citizens are no more dear to us than are those of the whole human race. Hence we can allow no appeal to patriotism, to revenge any national insult or injury.” (William Lloyd Garrison, 1838)

By comparison, the predominant modern idea is to exclude foreigners, whether by law or by force. Today’s leaders rarely state those things as clearly as Garrison expressed his idealism. Modern nations use their navies to stop refugees from reaching their shores, they build walls, they use police and border guards, occasionally endorse xenophobia and racism. They encourage those who have already arrived to decide to leave, even by paying them money to do so. Yet, in so many cases, they accept refugees and give them asylum.

The Roman Empire, which covered the territories of some EU member states, candidate countries, the whole Mediterranean area and more, discovered the advantages of immigration and the incorporation of foreigners into the Empire. Cicero, speaking to the Senate in the year 56 BC, said the following: Without doubt, what has done most to increase the power and reputation of the Roman people is the precedent laid down by Romulus, the founder of the City, when he made the treaty with the Sabines and showed us that we make ourselves stronger by welcoming even our enemies as citizens. Our ancestors never forgot his example in granting and bestowing citizenship on others. (Cicero gave as examples the communities in Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, worthy foreigners who helped Rome from anywhere, even slaves). In 212 AD, Emperor Caracala enacted the *Constitutio Antoniana de Civitate*, making all free men of the Empire Roman citizens!

By following Garrison's idealism or Cicero's realism, modern leaders should be thinking about future alliances and federations with other nations, as well as about an increased immigration. The idea of a European federation goes back for centuries, to Dante, to Erasmus, to Kant, to Rousseau inter alia. Both in the US and in France, following their respective revolutions, the idea was linked to pacifism, that is to preventing future wars, especially since wars became increasingly more deadly and devastating. The international community adopted a more peaceful attitude after the Napoleonic wars, and the longest period of generalized peace in Europe emerged in 1815 and lasted until 1914. The American Civil war raised fears of a new war in Europe and prompted the Peace conferences as well as the pacifist movements.

Speaking at the Peace congress in 1849 in Paris, Victor Hugo spoke of the United States of Europe:

A day will come when you, France, you Russia, you Italy, you Germany, all of you, the nations of the continent, without losing your distinct qualities and your glorious individuality, you will merge closely within a superior unit, and you will constitute a European fraternity, absolutely as Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, Lorraine, Alsace and all our provinces have merged within France... The two infinite forces, the United States of America and the United States of Europe will be working together for the good life of all... (Kurlansky, 2008)

In 1867, together with George Sand and Alexandre Dumas, Hugo called again for a supranational state, (“enormous, free, illustrious, rich, thinking, peaceful, cordial toward the rest of humanity”). Wars between Paris and London, Petersburg and Berlin, Vienna and Turin, will be pointless and unthinkable! (Kurlansky, *ibidem*).

The same year, the conference of the League for Peace and Freedom met in Geneva, gathering some 6000 participants, among them William Randal Cremer, Michael Bakunin, Giuseppe Garibaldi, Emile Aollas, John Stuart Mill, and Louis Blanc. They called for the United States of Europe (USE), for the abolition of standing armies, for the right to work and an end to racism.

Later on, in connection with the First World War, a Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom was formed in 1915 after first becoming a US political party. It called for a conference of neutral states to mediate for peace in Europe. That League is still in existence, active within the UN system and within the United States.

After the First World War, there were serious attempts within the League of Nations to make international arbitration compulsory in solving inter-state disputes. In 1929, the French Prime Minister Aristide Briand proposed the creation of a European Federal Union to the Assembly of the League of Nations. This proposal was not well received given the growing nationalism which was ultimately to take over.

After the Second World War, it was Churchill who was the first to propose the United States of Europe in 1946. The EU Fathers – Monnet, Schumann, Adenauer, De Gasperi – were all in favor of a united, integrated Europe. Many accomplishments of the EU lead in that direction: the four freedoms, the single market, the common currency, the European citizenship, the common policies, the Common Foreign and Security Policy, etc. More than the United Nations, the EU is unifying its member states.

What is missing is the will to unify politically, like the US states did, to become one nation. What is also missing is the will to enlarge the union in various directions, yet to be defined; the will to open all its member states to immigration from Europe and other parts of the world; and the will to stop warfare as national policy of member states and globally.

The EU must decide how far it wants to expand: all of geographic Europe with some political corrections, the Council of Europe (47 states working for European integration), the OSCE area (56 states)? The EU needs a leadership that is able and willing to make that decision sooner rather than later.

At the present stage, the EU needs a larger population, something that should be achieved by immigration, in cooperation with other states (candidates and potential candidate countries). Increasing immigration does not have to await further enlargement: The new immigrants may have to be trained and educated in Europe before joining the future labor force. Incentives are needed for immigration to all EU countries, and should be tailored to the needs of those countries while taking into account the needs of Lesser Developed Countries (LDCs), i.e. the process of “brain circulation”, to use the term invented recently by the EU.

Concerning warfare, if it is to be continued in this century, the EU will need a much bigger population. Those intellectuals and philosophers who wanted to relegate artillery to museums in 1867 were mistaken. The EU can trust many nations but not all of them. Strategically, a larger population means more power. At the World Fair in Paris, also in 1867, the most modern canon made by KRUPP was presented by the Emperor of Prussia at a time when no one thought that a war was to follow only three years later, a war that led to the First World War which later led to the Second World War.

A peaceful United States of Europe would have been a much better idea than the subsequent loss of millions upon millions of young people. For one thing: Like Turkey in the Second World War, Europe would not have experienced the population decline, it would have been richer and more developed, and the whole world would have been better off. (Both world wars spread from Europe to the whole world, though not affecting it to the same degree as Europe or parts of Asia). Permanent warfare in the world should be replaced by international agreement providing for a provisional and complete warfare moratorium for 20 years with international prohibition of all civil wars. Nations could have the time to pay off their debts, control inflation, take significant steps in arms control, real disarmament and increase the living standards everywhere. New procedures for changing the status of ethnic groups within nations should also be examined, adopted and applied. International conflicts

should be turned into a chance to develop international friendship, solidarity and cooperation. This could be an EU global initiative.

The EU Reflection Group Horizon 2020-2030 established by the Commission in 2007 and chaired by Felipe Gonzales presented its report in May 2010. The report deals with many important issues, including the organization of the EU, but not the strategic issues which are left to the member states. The Commission presented a "Proposal for European 2020 Strategy" on May 3, 2010. It is a "strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth". The main targets of this proposal are: employment, education, research and innovation (i.e. an "Innovation Union"), social inclusion and poverty reduction and climate/energy initiative. Altogether, seven "flagship initiatives" for more jobs and better lives. The population issues were not dealt with in either document, although there is a report on population quoted above (European Commission, Report on the Population Projections, 2005).

Conclusion

Too engaged in solving the present crisis, which is obviously essential, the EU is unable to confront its long-term future. Although the EU leaders are conscious of the need for political changes to support their economic progress, they are not at that point yet. What is really needed is a reflection group or a convention focusing on the year 2050, with strong participation of the academic sector, of the business community, the major political forces and the NGOs. Both the EU and its neighbors should participate, as the consultations to be dealt with are about a common future. Academic research should be instrumental in this process, at national, regional and European level, including the US and Canada and other OSCE member states.

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