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**UNITED DEMOCRACIES:
THE ENLARGEMENT OF A UNITED EUROPE**

Bachelor's Thesis

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ACRONYMS LIST

EU	European Union
UE	United Europe
UD	United Democracies
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EURATOM	European Atomic Energy Community
EPC	European Political Cooperation
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
EC	European Communities
JHA	Justice and Home Affairs
PJCC	Police and Judicial Co-operation in Criminal Matters
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
UN	United Nations
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
LN	League of Nations

ABSTRACT

The main objective of this research is to attempt at answering whether or not the EU can be in a position of being interested in initiating the establishment of a union of world democracies. The paper indicates that this prospective unification process could require four distinct stages and each stage will progress with the completion of an inward and outward expansion.

The study also states that the first stage of the unification can be achieved after the completion of full integration and enlargement process for the EU. Thus, official candidates to join the entity, their accession process and the relations with the EU are analyzed within the enlargement process. Apart from the other official candidates-nations, Turkey, due to its political weight and regional significance, has been singled out in this research.

The study claims that the accession of all European candidate-countries to the EU is only a part of a larger European integration. When the EU reaches its full capacity in regards of enlargement, the integration process will turn the entity into a United Europe, which refers to a fully integrated federation of European democracies. The paper also indicates that this prospective formation will be having a unifying political nature, contributing to the establishment of a federal union of democracies.

In addition, a number of valid arguments against the EU's further enlargement are described in this work. There are also segments of this research dedicated to prospectively inevitable benefits for the enlargement's continuation. Becoming one nation will be considered the final stage of this unification progress that has a degree of inevitability.

Keywords stages of unification, European Union, United Europe, supranational union, United Democracies, one nation

INTRODUCTION

European integration officially began over six decades ago. It has started with the Treaty of Paris (1951) and the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community, continued with the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy Community. Neither EEC nor EURATOM had ever been as promising as today's EU in terms of a complete European integration. Claiming that the EU has a complete integration system might not be fully accurate, but it has nevertheless been one of the most successful and effective organizations ever created.

The EU and its predecessors were initially concentrating on economic integration, while gradually developing a common market understanding . These can be considered as the initial process of the European integration. On the other hand, the Schengen Agreement – as it was signed in 1995 – was one of the first initiatives created to justify that the community provides more than only a common market system. The acceptance of the Schengen provided the abolishment of borders within a significant part of the European continent. Today, over 400 million people of 26 countries are allowed to cross borders without any visa requirement in the so-called Schengen Area.

In 1999, the Euro currency was introduced, which was a step further in the process of European integration. Integration is, however, a thorny path and it did not take long until Europe's first common currency had its crisis in 2009. It was also the first struggle that the community ever faced. There are currently 19 countries in the Eurozone, excluding the states that the EU has monetary agreements with (European Commission 2015).

This European crisis did not emerge suddenly, but when real measures were about to be taken, the economies of many European countries had already crashed. Greece had the most serious impact comparing to other European states; meanwhile, the national debts of other countries such as Spain have reached extreme numbers. The financial fall of Greece required aid from other states, yet these had their own problems as well. Crisis was followed by certain measures and consequences; recession and inevitably, high unemployment and homeless rates witnessed mainly in Greece.

Enlargement has been applied by the European community for a long time already. Accession of new countries into the union brought not only political power, but also an expected economic development in the region. Especially in 2004, with the strategy of the so-called great enlargement, which consisted of mostly former Soviet bloc states; the EU has evidently shown its future policy. The process of the EU's enlargement did not stop at this point though, the last enlargement to the entity was the acceptance of Croatia as a Member State, completing the EU's seventh enlargement wave.

In order to become a member state of the EU, there are certain criteria that a state must meet first. These were mainly introduced at the European Council in 1993 in Copenhagen. Basically, the Copenhagen Criteria contains everything that a democratic state must already have such as democracy, the rule of law, human rights and the rights of minorities, a functioning market economy and the ability to implement the obligations of membership (European Commission 2015).

Aside from the criteria, the acceptance of a country into the union is highly related to the interest of the community in a certain state. This interest obviously concerns political and geographical strategies. Moreover, the union has different interests in every state that desires to join the EU; likewise, candidate countries have different expectations from the EU.

The integration of the continent started with only six countries, enlarged with the addition of 22 more states. Hence, it has shown that such policy will be continuing in the future as well. In theory, every European country must have the chance to be a member of the union; but practically, the expansion of the EU is expected to decelerate gradually and stop eventually. It will need to stop at some point, because the number of European countries are limited. In other words, a continually expansion is not possible for any community.

At some point this will inevitably occur – as the European community cannot enlarge inside the continent anymore – the only possible expansion will be outside the continent. Further expansion is obviously not an option through the formation of new states in the European continent and in case that there will be no population burst; the wealthy and long living, but the aging population of the European continent will lose its work force gradually; subsequently, feeding retirees with much less productivity. This is already happening in the western part of the union. Although high migration rate helps to stabilize the situation in the aging states of the EU.

In a sense, the world will most likely come to a point where there will be no other choice but unification. On one hand, this is not the responsibility that the EU must take alone; on the other hand, the union desires to preserve its own interests. Along with other global organizations and communities, a union of European countries is suggested in this paper to be required to contribute to the establishment of a new working global community.

There are not many candidates that could possibly take such responsibility. Apart from the EU, the UN can be considered another example. However, the UN is an intergovernmental organization not aiming at a goal such as unification, but rather at a cooperation regarding various topics. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is a military and political alliance with 28 states including most of the EU states. NATO, however, does not concern itself with any economic unification besides certain military-based economic cooperation.

The EU was essentially the accumulation of all other gradual steps in the history in respect of European integration. Hence, it is more rational to consider that the union can and will be required to contribute to the formation of the mentioned global organization rather than forming the organization itself. All other examples that can be given in order to contribute to creating such an international organization would not be as appropriate as the EU is.

Furthermore, a perpetual peace for humanity cannot be achieved if a strong cooperation and connection between nations are not succeed. From the theoretical perspective, this paper's main argument shows similarities with the Kantian perpetual peace theory. For instance, noted that “for liberals, peace is the normal state of affairs: in Kant's words, peace can be perpetual. The laws of nature dictated harmony and cooperation between peoples. War is therefore both unnatural and irrational, an artificial contrivance and not a product of some peculiarity of human nature” (Burchill 2005, 58).

The main argument here is whether the EU has capacity to become an initiator of this gradual global unification process by completing the integration in itself, which should lead the continent to a United Europe (UE). The concept of the UE refers to a union of European countries or a fully integrated EU under a federal form of government. In other words, this is a progress that can be defined as from the United Europe to a format of United Democracies (UD), which refers to the federal union of world democracies. The development of the process is not a consequence of expected benefits. This can be regarded as an inevitable progress, because the globalization and democratization that humans achieved will need to bring the world to a peaceful and inevitable integration.

This research argues that a complete unification could progress in several stages, each inward expansion (a full integration) will also require an outward expansion (enlargement outside the region) after its completion. In other words, when/if the integration process is to be achieved successfully until a certain boundary, outward expansion will be required. The presence of a UE is the first stage of this unification. This stage has been already progressing since the beginning of the EU. Although before the EU becomes a UE, it will need to enlarge within the European continent and complete its integration, which will be an inward expansion. When the enlargement will reach its boundary that further enlargement will no longer be possible, will also be the time for the union to move into the second stage: the outward expansion. Before the second stage, the union will need to complete its full integration process, which requires it to become a UE.

Accordingly, this federation of European democracies can be stronger than today's EU. It could make the union enough powerful to contribute to the establishment of an international organization (global supranational union) or become a perfect role model with its strength, formation, years of unification and integration experience. As the study indicates, the expansion here will be again outward. After the completion of the third stage, a UD or a federation of united democracies can be formed. As democratic peace theory claims: democracies do not fight each other because norms of compromise and cooperation prevent their conflicts of interest from escalating into violent clashes (Pugh 2005). In order to complete a full global integration process, it requires one last inward expansion within the UD. This unification is becoming one nation, which is the forth and the last stage of unification. The union of democracies can have capacity to be economically and politically strong enough to make the world one nation.

From the academic point of view, one could present a prospective unification process in the following manner (see Figure 1):

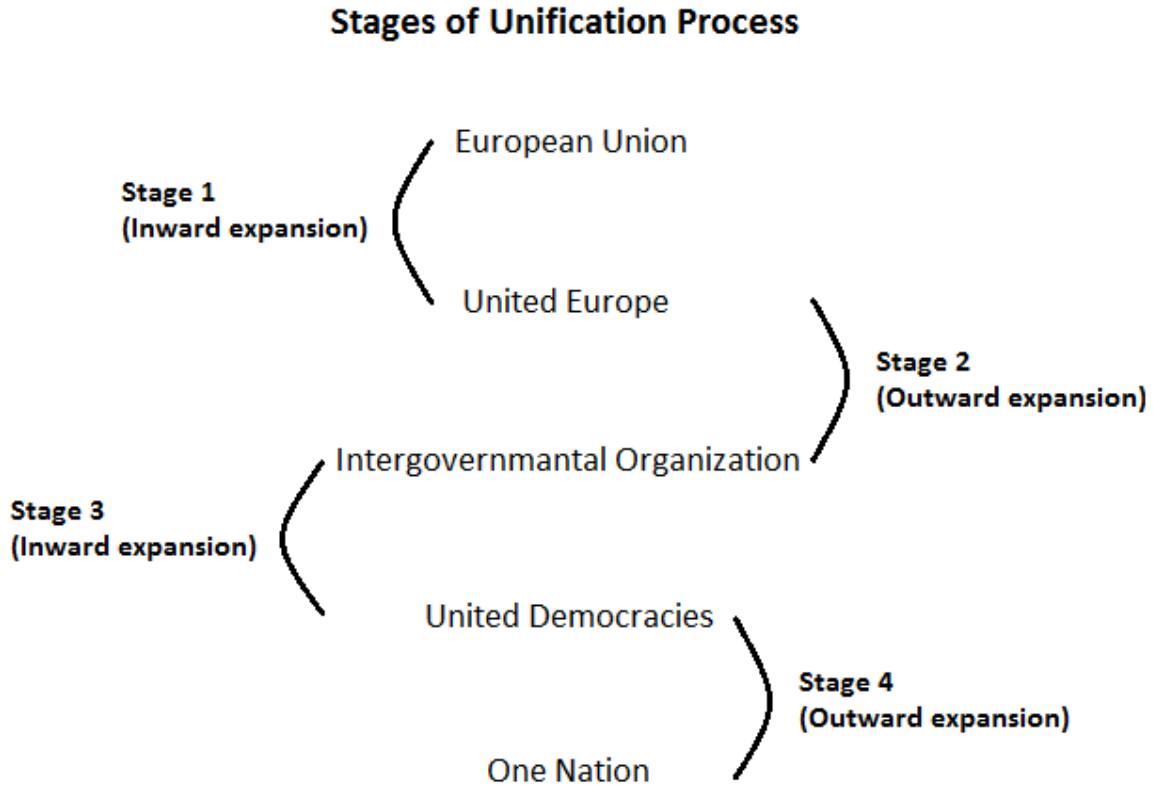


Figure 1. Stages of Unification Process

Source: (Türkdogru, 2016)

Stages of unification are shown above. Stage 1 has been progressing since the beginning of the EU. When/if the integration process is to be achieved successfully until a certain boundary, outward expansion will be required, which is indicated as the stage 2. The UE can become an initiator of an intergovernmental organization by completing the stage 3 with an inward expansion. Finally, the UD can have capacity to unite the nations, which is shown as the stage 4 and the last outward expansion.

1. UNITED EUROPE

The aftermath of the WWII, Europe was demolished. A unification plan became essential; subsequently, French foreign minister Robert Schuman declared his “Schuman Plan” in 1950 for this purpose. It was a unification plan, but also the first step towards European integration. One year later, European Coal and Steel Community was formally established by six Western European countries. Today’s EU is a supranational union, however, ECSC is the origin of this structure. In 1957, the establishment of the ECSC was followed by two other communities: EEC and EURATOM.

In the year of 1970, EPC was introduced to achieve Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Therefore, the integration of Europe became not only economic, but also political. JHA (named as PJCC after 2003) was established as the last pillar of the European Communities (EC) with the establishment of the EU in 1993. After all these steps, European continent slowly became “one nation” with regard to foreign and domestic policies.

The UE is the first stage of the unification process. But as it requires, the entity first will need to complete its enlargement process. Thus, it is essential to analyze the enlargement of the EU. Accordingly, the union has been a successful achievement of economic growth and lasting peace in the region with the enlargement policy that has been applied by the entity for decades. This plan could not be successful without the participation of other states in the continent. As mentioned, the largest accession was occurred in 2004 with the former Soviet bloc countries. After decades, the EU still maintains its enlargement policy. There are currently five states recognized as official candidates. Three of them are under entry negotiations: Montenegro, Serbia and Turkey. Albania and Macedonia are official candidates. Besides, Bosnia and Herzegovina is the official applicant since 2015 and Kosovo is under potential candidate status since April, 2016.

Enlargement, official and potential candidates of the European Union by years in the following manner (see Figure 2):

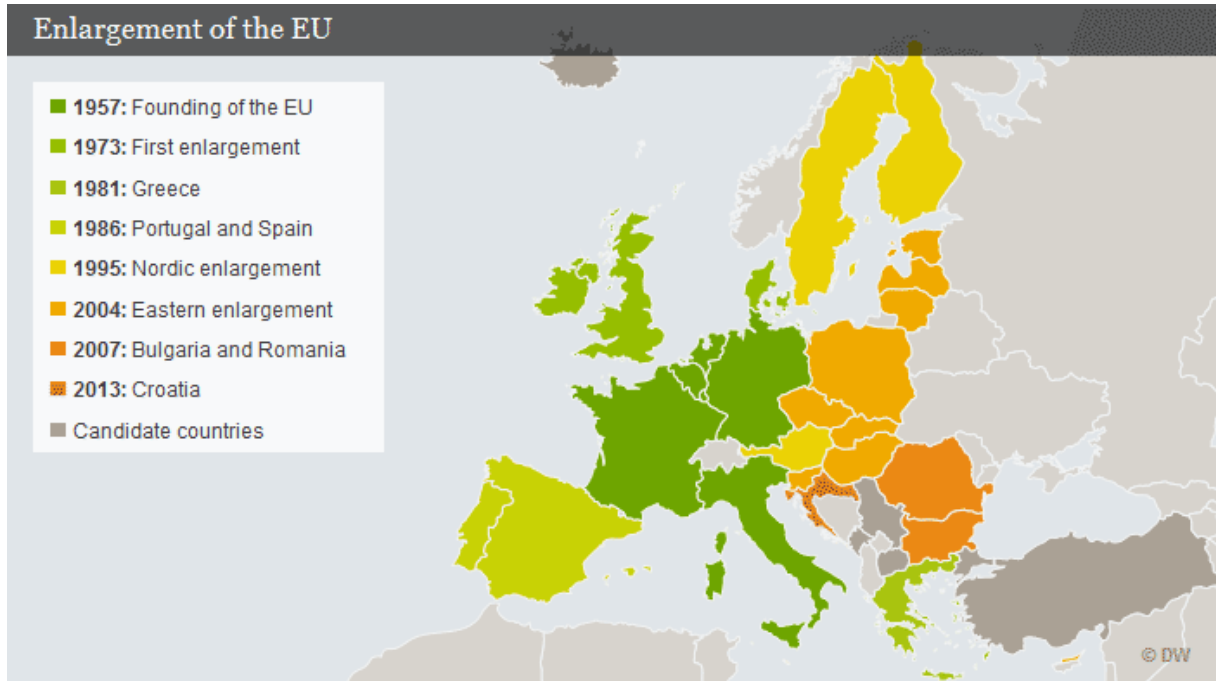


Figure 2. Enlargement of the EU

Source: (Riegert, 2014)

1.1 Candidates of the union

All official and potential countries' territories lie within Balkans, the only exception is Turkey. Only a small part of Turkey is located in Balkans Peninsula. This has been one of the main arguments against Turkey's accession. Because only 3% of Turkey's territory lies in Europe, whereas 97% of it belongs to the Asian continent (Debating Europe 2016). Aside from Turkey, all other candidate countries in Balkans have either become a member or official and potential candidate states of the EU.

Macedonia was the first state that applied for the membership among current Balkan states, in 2004. The country, however, has not started the negotiations with the EU yet. As a matter of fact, the accession has become a priority for its current government, thus Macedonia is strongly willing to be a member of the EU. Ongoing dispute with Greece in terms of Macedonia's name is one of the biggest issues against its accession. Republic of Macedonia is the constitutional name of Macedonia; nevertheless; the EU officially recognizes the state as FYROM. Accordingly, this dispute has become one of the biggest obstacles against its membership. As a result, Macedonia's accession is not expected in the short run.

Another Balkan candidate Albania has made its application in 2009. Same year, Albania's NATO membership with Croatia has become official. Albania is the other candidate that has not started negotiations with the EU. Unlike Macedonia, Albania's issues are mostly domestic. In 2003, Albania started negotiations on a Stabilization and Association Agreement, which was signed in 2006. Besides, the negotiations for the accession with the EU has not currently started.

Two other Balkan candidates Montenegro and Serbia were together under one state between the years 1992 and 2006. Both states formed a federation after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, which was named as FYR. Their federation was reconstituted under the name: State Union of Serbia and Montenegro in 2003. Unlike Albania and Macedonia, both countries have reached negotiation process, Montenegro in 2012 and Serbia in 2014. After the accession Croatia – even though Montenegro is considered having an economic advantage in comparison to Serbia – it is hard to claim that any of the candidates are close to become a member state of the entity. Under the negotiation process of Montenegro, two out of 33 chapters have been closed successfully. Whereas, chapters that have been opened in regard with the accession of Serbia are only two. In addition, Montenegro has unilaterally adopted the Euro currency.

Potential candidate Kosovo has not even been recognized by all the member states within the union. Kosovo's currency is also unilateral Euro. Other candidate Bosnia and Herzegovina is currently in applicant status.

1.2 Turkey's accession process

The Ankara Agreement in 1963 was the beginning of Turkey's application process. Official application for the EEC was made in 1987. In the following two years, European Commission confirmed Turkey's application. In 2005, the EU has started negotiations with Turkey. Nevertheless, the accession process of Turkey has progressed slower than any other candidate. Turkey demands the membership in the union for over five decades.

1.2.1 Benefits of Turkey from membership

There are certain benefits of Turkey from the accession to the EU. First of all, the major expected benefit concerns economy. At the end of 2015, Turkey's GDP per capita (PPP) has barely reached \$20,000 (OECD 2015). This number is essentially low in comparison to other OECD states, nor can Turkey be considered rich among European states. The European crisis had a significant effect in terms of Turkey's accession for both sides. Europe could not take any economic risk with the further enlargement policy and Turkey's doubts increased regarding the economic benefits from the membership. In addition to these doubts, Turkish economy grew faster than any other European state. Turkey's GDP annual growth rate was reported 12.6% in the first quarter of 2010 (Trading Economics 2010). During the year, Turkey's growth rate was much higher than any other European state. Today, it is still above the average of the EU. Nevertheless, the union is Turkey's main partner when it comes to trade. Accordingly, freeing up the trade became one of the main interests of the country.

Furthermore, Turkey is struggling with certain domestic issues, which are major obstacles against Turkey's accession. During the accession process, the EU has played a guide role for Turkey in order to fix the issues such as democracy, human rights and the rule of law. Also considering the financial funds and the public support, this process even showed that the desire of Turkey is actually holding the candidacy stage rather than becoming a member state, for the Turkish government.

The main interest of most Turkish citizens is the accession to the Schengen Area. This will give them right to travel within the EU, without any visa requirement and even to settle any country that is a part of the Schengen. A readmission agreement was made recently between Turkey and the EU. Accordingly, Turkey needs to complete 72 requirements in order to have a right for free travelling and the EU accepted to grant a certain amount. In case that all the requirements will be fulfilled successfully by Turkey, agreement will become fully applicable in June 2016 (European Commission 2016). Even though Turkey has a long way to go to become a part of the Schengen area, free movement of goods could also be very beneficial for Turkish businessmen. This could give new opportunities to both employees and employers.

Apart from the business, based on the Eurostat statics: Turkey has one of the lowest numbers in terms of the gross domestic expenditure percent on Research & Development (0.86%, in 2011) among European states. The accession thus could even create an opportunity for Turkey to be able to compete among other powers with regard to technology. Because it is well known that Turkey's R&D is far from competitiveness.

Another big issue of Turkey has been its sensitive regime for years. The revolt in 2013 was the most serious indicator of this unspoken issue. This revolt is followed by the constant warnings of the European Court of Human Rights due to the disproportionate use of force. The harsh measures that were taken by Turkish government had serious impact upon the freedom of people. In the following year, a report showed that Turkey was ranked 154th out of 180 countries in terms of press freedom (Reporters Without Borders 2014). The accession to the union could not bring instant solutions into Turkey's underdeveloped democracy, although many people considers this as an assurance of its regime or an opportunity for its development.

1.2.2 Arguments against Turkey's accession

Turkey's first application to the EU was made five decades ago. Therefore, it is hard to claim that Turkish citizens are hopeful for the accession. On the other hand, Europe's counter-arguments are stronger than Turkey's. As mentioned, only 3% of Turkish territory lies within the European continent.

For that reason, Turkey is not even considered in Europe according to opponents. Eastern Thrace, which is a very small territory of Turkey officially lies in Europe. In fact, some other opinions claim that Europe is the western part of Asia and a political continent, rather than geographic. Morocco was an applicant to the European Communities in 1987, but the country was rejected due to its location (European Parliament 1998). Unlike Morocco, Turkey's application was approved and the country became an official candidate under negotiations today. In addition, Cyprus is even farther to Europe than Turkey and mainly considered as a part of the Middle East; nevertheless, Cyprus is a member state of the entity since 2004.

In addition to Cyprus, there is also an ongoing dispute, which was the reason that Turkey was rejected repeatedly. Cyprus claims that its land was invaded by Turkish military force, whereas Turkish government defends its action. Even though certain steps were recently taken in order to normalize the relations with Cyprus, the dispute has not been resolved yet.

As mentioned, one of the major reasons of Turkey's desire for accession concern economy. Perhaps, this is also one of the main reasons against Turkey's membership for the EU. The proposal against the EU's argument is the economic situations of mainly three new candidates of the union: Romania, Bulgaria and Croatia. Based on the World Factbook of CIA, Turkey's GDP per capita (PPP) is shown nearly the same level of Croatia and Romania and higher than Bulgaria. Other members: Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Hungary and Greece are ranked slightly above Turkey in the list. According to Trading Economics, Turkey is shown above both Bulgaria and Romania. Nevertheless, Turkey is indicated as the state with the highest income per capita among all current candidate states in both sources. When it comes to the growth rate; as mentioned, Turkey is shown higher than the EU average.

To be frank, Turkey has a serious issue in terms of human rights, democracy, the rule of law and gender-income equality. It is hard to claim that economically underdeveloped states of the EU are also flawless in regard to mentioned topics. This does not change the fact that Turkey needs more effort in order to solve its issues. This requires time as well as the desire of mainly government and citizens. The union's guide is also a big benefit in this stage for Turkey.

Finally, the biggest issue against the country's membership can be regarded its large population. Based on OECD stats, Turkey's population is 76.9 million. This is nearly the same as the Europe's biggest country Germany, with 80.9 million. Accordingly, in case of an accession Turkey might have the largest number of seats in the European Parliament in the next few years. In other words, Turkey would become the greatest political power in the decision making of the EU. Although there is no written rule that a country cannot be accepted based on its population. Therefore, this can only remain as a political argument.

1.2.3 Benefits of the EU from Turkey's membership

The EU has also certain expected benefits from Turkey's membership. Turkish military force can be shown as an example to this. Turkey is also ranked as the 8th strongest military power in the world, above Germany (Global Fire Power 2016). Turkey is one of the oldest members of NATO and based on the same source, Turkey has the 4th strongest military force and the 2nd largest army in NATO. Surely, the EU is not a military-based organization and there is no common military force. However, military power also brings political power.

The economic growth rate of Turkey can be considered as another benefit of the EU. According to article of Turkish Statistical Institute in 2014, Turkey is the youngest country among the EU states with 16.6% young population. This could be remedy to Europe's aging population. Aside from the population, Turkey's unemployment rate in 2012 was 2.1% lower than the average of the EU's 28 members. In 2014, the unemployment rate of Turkey stayed on 9.9, where the average of the EU was 10.2, this number was 11.6 for the Eurozone (Eurostat 2016). Although these official rates are given by the Turkish government, reliability of the numbers are another issue.

The biggest benefit of the EU from the membership of Turkey can be considered as political, social and economic connection to the Middle East and Islamic states. Turkey is located between Europe and Asia. Thus, Turkey can be regarded a bridge between continents. In consideration of the never-ending tension of the Middle East, it would also increase the capability of the union to involve and avoid a conflict in the region. This could also break the Christian-community appearance and possibly aid the democratization of the Middle East more effectively.

2. ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE ENLARGEMENT POLICY

Enlargement policy has been in discussion since the establishment of the EU. Economy has been undoubtedly one of the biggest arguments against the enlargement in the entity. The foundation of the EU was made by several leading countries. Even the beginning of the European integration was mainly based on economic reasons. Therefore, it would not be surprising that the economy is still a priority for the union.

Economic development of the states has been decisive in their membership process. Wealthy states have either already joined the EU or withdrawn their accession process. For instance, the application of Norway has been rejected twice by the referendum also withdrawn, as well as the accession of Iceland. As for Switzerland, as a result of the rejection of EEA membership in 1992 by the referendum, negotiations for the EU accession has suspended by the Swiss government.

No doubt; Norway, Iceland, Switzerland would not want to share their economic sources and wealth with other European countries. Norway is Europe's largest petroleum liquids producers and the world's third-largest natural gas exporter (Eia 2015). In short, "the Norwegian economy is strong, unemployment is low. Norwegians therefore see no economic argument in favor of EU membership." (Euronews 2013). This is more or less the reflection of the membership opinion for Switzerland as well as Iceland. Actually all those countries are members of the Schengen Area, and also have certain economic agreements with the EU.

This may also indicate the fact that the tools of the EU in order to expand through wealthy states are not sufficient. So, it is hard to claim that the entity can be tempting for such states. Yet the accession of wealthy and developed states to the union could be very beneficial for the EU.

When it comes to the EU, there is not any huge economic benefit from the accession of underdeveloped states. They could even create a burden over the EU. Benefits from their membership are not high enough in order to grant the financial support for the union to all new candidates. Their accession can also not be that beneficial for the members as well. Economically underdeveloped states have no capability in order to become a part of competition in European free market economy. Accession might create certain side effects in their economy, as well as it could also bring them more economic and politic dependence to big brothers in the union.

Furthermore, there will be a population issue for the EU. If the entity becomes bigger, it will also become more uncontrollable. More states in the union will be the reasons of more problems within the union. So, the arguments are not only economic, they can also be very political. There would be a cost of any action within the EU. Integration might bring perfect benefits but it also means togetherness. An economic crisis in a state – as it was witnessed with the European debt crisis – can affect other member states and worsen their economic conditions. Moreover, if new members are not developed enough, their political actions might also damage the reputation and prestige of the entity.

3. BENEFITS OF THE ENLARGEMENT

Positive reactions within the EU are also decisive. The union, with its average \$37,800 per capita; is also among the richest states (CIA 2015 est.). So, the union would most likely not be willing to share its wealth. Although Median age of the EU's population is over 40, which is considerably high. Population growth rate in the EU is also not very promising. Europe is aging year after year as the standards of living in the continent is improving.

Low growth rates do not only occur in terms of population in the continent. Europe's economic growth rates are also lower in comparison to other states. It is a fact that bigger economies usually grow slower than smaller economies. This situation, however, can change and China with its extreme growth rate is already ahead of the EU in terms of GDP. This fact has already been bothering Western states for a long time.

On the other hand, the EU is the largest single and the most open market of the world. Moreover, Europe is the world's largest exporter of manufactured goods and services. European Union's 28 members account for 16% of world imports and exports (European Commission 2014). Hence, it is clear to understand the size of the European market. Surely, such power allows them to control the global economy and also provides political power. In fact, open market benefits the union more than it benefits underdeveloped candidate states. Because, the big companies of the EU can reach more population freely in order to sell their goods without the burden of high taxes. Accordingly, fresh blood, younger worker population and the new business opportunities can increase the economic growth rate of Europe.

In addition to free trade, this has always been supported by liberal international relations theory. It is believed that establishing free trade would not only serve nations economically, but also breaks down the divisions between states, which should contribute to improving integration. That being said “free trade, however, was a more peaceful means of achieving national wealth because, according to the theory of comparative advantage, each economy would be materially better off than if it had been pursuing nationalism and self-sufficiency (autarky). Free trade would also break down the divisions between states and unite individuals everywhere in one community” (Burchill 2005, 63).

The EU is a democratic supranational union, which consists of democratic states of Europe. Regardless of the political reasons, if a candidate state demands and deserves by fulfilling the requirements and criteria of accession to be a part of the EU, membership must be provided. So, the entity cannot and should not reject any candidate for that matter. Additionally, there is a political cost as well. In case a European state is not kept close to the union, state can be dragged into other communities very easily. This risk is inevitable especially for the Eastern European states.

Europe is another part of the enlargement for the EU. However, the risk of losing states remains in any continent. In fact, a state that is not in the union can become against the union. Since the EU is democratic, it would surely desire other states to be democratic as well, this cannot be possible if the states are not guided by the EU. Therefore, global peace is as important as achieving the peace in a region in order to establish a perpetual peace.

Regardless of the fact that the bigger EU will become more uncontrollable, unions always desire to grow. This growth is currently not very optional without maintaining the enlargement policy, which will eventually come to the end. So, the bigger union can gain more power and become stronger. If the EU does not grow, it can very likely lose its competitiveness and strength among the rising powers in the global market. Aborting the enlargement strategy might even cause the collapse of the EU in the long run.

Close relations of the EU with other states is not only the matter of development or fulfilling the accession criteria. One of the biggest achievements of the entity has been its guide and advisory role. Therefore, the EU should desire to keep other states closer to its democratic formation. The process of accession – as it requires meeting the requirements – gives a good reason to other states to create changes and developments in regard to laws, human rights, gender equality. Economic developments might also occur after certain trade agreements with the EU. Even though the needs may vary from state to another; the community usually has more tempting tools to offer underdeveloped states in comparison to developed ones. In any case, even if the accession cannot be completed, process and the cooperation can be very beneficial for both sides.

Apart from the economic and politic benefits, this can also be considered a responsibility. Beside the fact that economy stands in the center of European integration, it is reasonable to claim that the EU can cause a change in other states and aid their development. The EU is too big to be active only in its small region.

Unification or the integration of Europe concerns only one continent. The breach of law, human rights, gender equality and democracy do not only occur in the European continent. Cooperation can be very effective to a certain degree, however, there are limits that a simple cooperation can provide. The EU cannot be unconcerned about the problems happening all over the planet.

Immigration due to current Syrian Civil War is an escalating ongoing issue. “Europe has responsibility to deal with immigration crisis” says Federica Mogherini, who is the foreign policy chief of the EU. She continues; “It is essential in these times for the EU to work as one to save the lives of desperate people looking for a better future, and to fight against the trafficking and smuggling of people.” (Agencia EFE 2015). Therefore, the responsibilities of the EU does not only include the issues within the union, but also international. When it comes to its neighboring states, the EU has even bigger responsibilities – as those issues can become a trouble for the union itself in the long run – thus the only way to achieve it efficiently might be pulling them into the entity.

4. ASPECTS OF UNIFICATION

States have been united and dissolved many times in human history. Some have failed and some have been successful, sometimes even became a super power such as the United States (US). Today's conditions are considerably different than it was in the 18th century. On the other hand, the US became independent with the unification. Common way of thinking has been that the unification of states will provide dependency rather than independence for them. Accordingly, there have been many views against unification as well.

As for independency, this is truly hard to claim whether or not states have complete independence. In fact, states are bounded by international laws. They are partially independent when it comes to international affairs with their predictable reactions and this even concerns their domestic policies. Such dependency does not necessarily have to be compelled by other states, every government has responsibilities for their citizens and for their party members.

Based on the Economic Freedom report of heritage.org, there is only one European country that can be considered economically free, which is Switzerland. Although this report indicates the free trade rights of individuals rather than the dependency of states. As a matter of fact, the actual dependency occurs economically. Countries thus need each other to run their economies. "While the whole of the EU imported 53.4% of its energy consumption in 2014, Germany's dependency was even higher with an import share of 61.4%" (Amelang 2016). Considering the fact that Germany is the biggest economy in the European continent, energy dependency of Europe is considerably high. Therefore, it is not reasonable to claim neither individuals nor states are truly independent.

4.1 Force of a superpower

Unification can also be provided by force of a superpower. The ideology of realism claims humans are inherently hungry for power. Despite the fact that invasion of another land has been witnessed many times, humanity has reached flawed democracies more or less and it still progress. In a sense, current states – as long as they are democracy – need more acceptable reasons in order to take an action such as invasion.

Regardless of the strength of the power, an invasion or war can become significantly costly for a state. Reuters claimed in 2013, when it was two years after the withdrawn of the US forces, Iraq War costs the US more than two trillion dollars. This number is equivalent to the current GDP of Italy (CIA 2015 est.). In consideration of the preparation process before the war, this number increases even more. Plus, casualties and consequently the pressure of citizens; media and other countries, an invasion can easily become uncontrollable even for a superpower.

There is currently no such superpower that could possibly invade other states one by one. On the other hand, invasion is not the only method to have control over states. There are many tools that such superpower could use to dictate other states. This already occurs politically, economically and most of the small states need to tolerate it in order to preserve their Finlandization policy, which can be defined as neutralization of a small country by a superpower, using conciliation (Collins dictionary). The tools of a superpower can be effective, but not quite enough to be successful when it comes to their independency.

Nevertheless, successful invasions have been achieved for the expansion of the land size. British Empire in 1922, on which the sun never sets, has reached 36.6 million square kilometers with around 500 million people (Enki village). Colonialization was the key for the British Empire to expand this significantly, not an ultimate success as for the war against other powers though. Moreover, colonialization is already outdated. British, Russian, Spanish and all other empires have lost their powers and none of the methods that have been used was enough to unite even the half of this planet.

4.1.1 The presence of ideologies

The force of a superpower therefore cannot be successful to unite nations. Unwillingly surrendered nations would not last long together in an unmanageably large land. At the first opportunity, division process of nations would begin. Ideologies can also be used in order to unite nations. Democracy can be a powerful tool, but not a proper tool for unification. Moreover, democracy exists for living, it is not an ideology to die for.

Communism has been one of the most successful ideologies in order to hold different nations together. USSR has been the most appropriate example of such ideology. Nonetheless, people follow ideologies rather than countries. States are not managed by beliefs of certain individuals. Thus, either those individuals need a revolution or an external power. In short, states cannot be convinced or compromised peacefully for a regime change. As it is practically nearly impossible to spread the ideology into the state management, this sort of action would be defined as invasion.

Additionally, communism was successful to hold nations together, but not because these nations demanded to be hold together. USSR mostly used its military force in order to create such unification system as well as to expand. Soviets came to a point where it was no longer possible to run an unproductive system, in which nearly every source is used for the army. Eventually; at the first chance, Soviet states abandoned the union one by one, as their accession to the union was undesired in the first place.

Therefore, the application of the ideologies for the unification became the force of a superpower and highly intervention in the domestic affairs of another country. This cannot be achieved peacefully and would become uncontrollable in long term. Neither force of a superpower nor the power of an ideology can be considered as a possible method in order to provide unification.

4.2 Position of intergovernmental organizations in respect of unification

Intergovernmental organizations can play a significant role in unification. Although there is no government that can trigger this process. UN has been often criticized due to its inadequate actions. As a matter of fact, UN does not have strong tools in order to handle international issues, it has mostly advisory role. The influence of the organization is also not considerably high. The organization can be more effective when it comes to cooperation. As mentioned, unification is neither its purpose of establishment nor it includes any goal for unification. Yet, considering the failure of the LN, UN has relatively achieved its objective. As for the others, none of the reputed organizations are promising.

There are certain organizations established for that purpose though. Street Council is one of the independent, non-partisan and non-profitable organizations. Its located in Washington DC and the foundation of the organization is based on the book “Union Now” of Clarence K. Streit in 1939. Undoubtedly, Kant has been one of the biggest supporters of the creation of an international organization in order to establish perpetual peace. “Immanuel Kant believed that democracy, economic interdependence and international law and organizations could establish the foundations for perpetual peace” (Russett, Oneal & Davis 1998).

4.2.1 Establishment of a new organization

Establishing a new organization therefore can be considered as the best and the only possible solution towards the third stage, the UD. This new organization must have a goal and aim of unification. It also must be supported by citizens. As a matter of fact, having the support of citizens might not be very easy considering the opposing views. Such union must obviously need to be structured democratically.

Integration of the European continent has already started over six decades ago, this integration has been advanced and expanded ever since. At the beginning of this integration, the ECSC was established by only six states. Today, the EU consists of 28 states. As the expansion of the community continued, it became more and more powerful and also tempting economically and politically for its neighboring states.

The integration process thus does not necessarily have to occur with a complete agreement among all the potential candidate states. Unification can surely begin with the leadership of certain powers. Those powers, however, need to be democratic and developed states. Accession to the union thus would become very tempting for other developing and underdeveloped states especially economically. Organization initially could work as a supranational union, being not very different than the EU's functionality, the major initial difference would be the containment of the states from other continents.

The EU consists of mostly wealthy states. There are also strict criteria for the accession which candidate states must meet. In fact, the countries that can fulfill those requirements are not only from the European continent. It is reasonable to mention that mainly; the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, South Korea, Singapore and more, economically and democratically can be role models in many ways for the European states.

4.3 Influence of the United Europe

European continent numerically contains as many developed states that no any other continent does in the world. This has been sometimes disadvantage with the great battles and sometimes advantage in terms of development and currently the integration for the continent in the history. The EU was the biggest economy last year in 2014. This year, China took the leadership from the EU with over 19.5 billion dollars (CIA 2015 est.). So, China is currently the biggest country in regard to economy and population. It is true that China is growing very fast, but as for the income per capita, overall development, human rights and democracy, China has still a long way to go to become comparable with the EU and US.

The union of the European continent is therefore reasonable to be defined as the union of the most developed democratic states. Besides, the EU has a significant political power. Plus, the further expansion of the entity seems very likely in the near future. European continent is also initiator of many advancements when it comes to human development. Hence, the creation of the union of democracies without assist, any involvement or influence of the world's most developed, functioning and powerful union in many aspects, is nearly unimaginable.

Moreover, the influence of the EU will occur either direct or indirect. Direct effect of the entity can considered as playing an active role in the establishment process. This can also be supportive attitudes, but essentially the countries in the EU have power to trigger this process, democracies outside the continent must be taken into account as well. The power of the countries in the union is the power of the union itself. The integration of the EU can be taken as a role model initially with its formation and structure for the union of democracies, which defines the indirect effect.

As for the UD, the community needs more than the influence of the EU. European continent in its history has not reached such broad unification yet. It is reasonable to believe that the formation of the UE can be achieved in a shorter period of time than the unification of whole continents under a form of democratic union. The UE therefore can be regarded one step further towards global unification and this also explains the need of a fully integrated Europe. As mentioned, the European continent will have reached its enlargement limit by the time, there will be no more European country remained to access to the union. Thus, if the process does not develop in any other unexpected way; the eventual integration of the EU will more likely require first fully integrated European federation; in other words, the UE. Secondly, then it can be expected to become the initiator of the union of democracies. In a sense, the first step of the integration process of democracies can be regarded as today's partly integrated EU and the last step, as the UD.

5. UNITED DEMOCRACIES

The UD is the last outward expansion that the UE will need to complete. This can be considered as an inevitable integration that democracies will be required. This can be regarded inevitable, based on the reality of globalization and democratization. Technological developments have given chance to even an ordinary person to communicate all over the world. Today, people of nations are closer to each other more than ever. Even though conflicts and wars continue, the fact that humanity is developing cannot be ignored. This is also what modern liberal ideology believes. Social liberalism has positive view of human nature and development (Haar 2015).

As the numbers of democratic states increase, it is expected to have less and less wars. This can be explained by democratic theory peace. It claims that democracies avoid to engage in armed conflict with other democracies. This indicates that the achievement of democracy is also a success in peace. Besides, democracies causes a state to be more open and observable to other states, as a result of adopting liberalism. This obviously abolishes the walls between nations, aiding integration.

European Parliament is the current decision making of the EU. The number of seats for each state in the parliament are determined by the population of states. This is essentially a democratic structure, but it also gives nearly no right to the small states of the union. Basically, there are mainly two states that control the EU: Germany and France. Same structure might not be reliable and permanent to maintain under a UD. Plus those powers were even considered responsible for the financial crisis in Europe (Fraser 2009).

Structure is not the only issue when it comes to establishment of the UD. There are significant differences between democratic states in terms of law, education and the system of government. It is also reasonable to mention the differences in Europe for that matter. England is a constitutional monarchy, whereas Germany is a federation; France is semi presidential system, Italy is parliamentary (Zimmermann). More examples can be given, but federation or confederation does not precisely restrict the actions of member states, they can be still independent under the application of democracy and human rights flawlessly.

The last stage of unification is becoming one nation; in other words, a complete equality between humans. Nations may demand preserving their national identities, although unification does not restrict that under the UD either. Becoming one nation requires the completion of several stages beforehand. Creation of a mega country of humanity seems to be achieved only by slow progresses.

Finally, the reason that one nation requires the establishment of the UD is to create a force and pressure over undemocratic or unwilling democratic states. A democratic state may also be not willing to join the entity. In fact, there is no state that could resist the continuous pressure and sanctions of the UD that controls nearly all the economic and politic power of the planet. Gross domestic product share of the EU in the world economy is nearly 17%. The US holds over 16% of the global GDP (Economy Watch 2014). It indicates that only the EU and US together have 33% of global income. Share of few more democratic states such as Japan, Korea, Canada and Australia increases the number up to 42% in the world economy. **The UD thus can have a significant power, political and economic force to lead any further unification.**

CONCLUSIONS

The EU has been an achievement for some states and for some others, a guide in order to accomplish democracy and development. The priorities of the union such as the rule of law, gender equality, human rights must also be the priorities of every state. The EU, at this point; can be a perfect driving force as well. At the same time, the community must keep all of its neighboring countries as near as possible. Accession is something only candidate states can achieve; in fact, being in the process of development and playing a part can also be considered as the responsibilities of the EU.

Accordingly, the enlargement policy that the EU has been applying for years has been very successful not only to enlarge, but also providing the formation of common market and serving its economic system. Therefore, the community needs enlargement, and this must not be considered as aiding other states or only as if only benefits them, opening new market opportunities might have positive effects in the EU's economy.

The accession of the entity does not necessarily have to be beneficial for every state. Especially since some countries must reach a certain economic level in order to be able to compete with other economies within the EU. This would not only create a burden for the union, but also might cause regression in the countries with weaker economic system. Plus, many states have complained about the inflation rates and blamed the Euro currency after becoming a part of the Eurozone.

Apart from the competition, the EU has also been one of the most successful organizations in regard to cooperation. It is strongly believed that cooperation is more efficient than competition. Beside the fact that the union has become the creator of the competition, it has also become the reason for cooperation. In short, it is hard to claim that the EU has been inefficient.

The entity has also become the meeting point of different nations. One of the main reasons for the existence of the EU was to avoid future potential conflicts within the continent, which the union has already partially achieved. Moreover, abolishing the borders with the Schengen has kept nations closer to each other. The EU today is not only the union of European democracies, but also the union of European nationalities.

In addition to the benefits, some countries struggle with economic and some others with political or any other issues. Therefore, the EU can also become the problem solver among the European states. Considering both of the world wars began within the European borders and caused millions of death all over the planet, the peace in the continent also aids the establishment of a perpetual global peace.

Certain problems can, however, not be resolved without a complete unification. Democratic states have considerably good relations with each other. They are active when it comes to global issues and willing to cooperate in order to solve the problem. They desire to remove the inequality of income distribution and gender discrimination. Also, most of the democratic states are concerned with the breach of human rights and rule of law anywhere on the planet.

The EU would therefore surely desire global democratization. Even though achieving the peace in the region is very important, the possibility of war will always remain. Democratic states usually prefer to stand neutral in a war. The more democratic the state is, the smaller possibility for the state to engage in a war. Democratization is not only a level of development, but also the consequence of modernization and industrialization.

Democratic states avoid engaging war between each other. They also tend to prevent any potential conflict. Thus, it is believed that the democratization is an achievement of peace. Surprisingly, nearly every state in the world consider itself democratic, respecting human rights and the rule of law. In reality, only a small portion of those countries are truly what they claim to be. Democratization; for that reason, is what democratic states want other states to achieve. The EU is the union of European democratic states, hence, its desire is not different than the desire of any other democratic state.

As for the unification process, three main aspects have been defined. Force of a superpower is clearly an undemocratic method. Since unification must be based on democracy, otherwise the life span of the new global organization would be expectedly low. Ideologies have also become one of the biggest factors being a reason to invade other states. Thus, the power can keep invaded states under control replacing their national identities with the ideology that they impose. Despite the fact that the Soviet Union was a proper example, German national socialist regime used the national identity with the fascist ideology as its tool. Many people also believe that the US has been using democracy as a tool for invasion.

Intergovernmental organizations can also take a crucial part in the unification process. Immanuel Kant was one of the biggest supporters regarding unification. Kant's ideal federation can be described as "the right of nations shall be based on a federalism of free states" (Banham 2009). The mentioned organizations such as the UN and NATO can, however, not be expected to initiate such unification. Considering the fact that the UN has no more than an advisory role and the NATO is mainly limited to military cooperation. Therefore, establishing a supranational union just like an intercontinental European Union can be the key to unite nations, as long as the main objective of the union is to achieve it effectively, and the union will need to be supported.

The main discussion would be the effectiveness of such organization. The LN was established with similar reasons as the UN, the LN could; however, not become effective, so eventually the organization was disbanded. The EU is one of the few good examples of a functioning supranational union in the world. The major problem is that the union is active only within the European borders. The EU today is the union of European democracies. Considering what the union has become and achieved, it could be a great sample.

The union; with over 500 million population and 28 states, is one of the biggest unions in the world. Also, it is reasonable to be considered as the union of the most democratic and wealthiest states on the planet. Apart from the fact that the union is limited to only one continent, it is also not officially a federation. So, the EU is not yet one body. Therefore, the EU also needs time to be integrated even further. The existence of a European Federation or the UE can be expected to be the last step of the evolution of the European integration.

This integration will eventually come to an end when there will be no more state to enlarge for the EU. The enlargement process has already decelerated. Thus, if the inward expansion is no longer possible, outward expansion will need to be considered. At this stage, the EU will either be the union only of its own continent; not growing nor enlarging, but aging or contributing to the creation of a global supranational union, as the stage two requires. Even though the union is not directly responsible for this process, it is also one of the few organizations that can establish global democracy.

As the study explained, this global union will eventually require an outward expansion towards the creation of the UD. The end of stage three will bring an enormous force to these united powers. Controlling global economy can also create the political power. Such power has never achieved by any state and will most likely never be reachable beside a unification process and the EU can be the initiator of this process. Thus, the UD could be the only force to be able to establish one nation. This inevitable integration progress can abolish the borders and armies, which could bring humanity peace and prosperity. As Immanuel Kant stated in his essay “Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch”: “Standing armies (miles perpetuus) shall in time be totally abolished” (Kant 1795).

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