

In search of new guidelines for East-West European migration in the light of EU's “Wider Europe – Neighborhood” policy (the case of the Republic of Moldova)

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This article reviews current migration trends in Europe in the light of EU's “Wider Europe – Neighborhood” policy concept. The problem of growing migration flows is particularly important for enlarged Europe, where economic, social and political reforms are in direct dependence of realization of the fact that migration will be a permanent part of Europe's future, and the EU states cannot afford to neglect the talents of migrants already in the workforce. . One of the biggest tests for the enlarged European Union, in the years and decades to come, will be how it manages the challenge of immigration.

World labour migration in the context of global transformations

The second half of the XX century marked the unprecedented, by their scale and value, global system transformations. The world order based on the rule of sovereignty of national states gradually yields to the new architecture of global world order.

These root-and-branch changes of international political, economic and social spheres are directly connected with the increased scales of international migration processes that involve all regions of the world, all social layers of population.

In spite of the fact that mass movement of people at long distances had been an inseparable characteristic of the historic development of mankind, the real migration boom began only with the end of the Cold war, the beginning of formation of modern world order. Gigantic flows of people daily overcome immense distances directly influencing the configuration of the states and people's communities. The collapse of the former Soviet block, the failure of the regime of apartheid in the South Africa, the outbreak of civil wars, of local and regional conflicts, continuous famine, extreme poverty and economic collapse in many countries of the world, particularly on the African continent, rapid economic development of a number of Asian countries, the replacement of many dictatorial regimes in Latin America by still weak democratic forms of government depending on external financing, extension of the process of economic and political integration in Europe – all these factors led to unprecedented scales of world mass movement of people. We can easily suppose that this tendency will go on and, within certain limits, will dominate the first decade of the new century. According to the recent findings of the specialists, there are approximately 120 million international migrants in the world. It makes up almost 2% of the world population.¹ In spite of fact that the figure does not seem significant on the global scale, the influence of transnational and interregional migration on the new global architecture is immense. Labour mobility is a key issue in the WTO negotiations and it looms over deliberations on a range of matters including economic development of the poorer parts of the world, demographic trends

¹ Stephen Castles, Mark J. Miller. The Age of Migration. – Great – Britaine, 1998, p. 5

in the West, the ageing of societies and the related need for new workers, competitiveness and corporate strategy, border security, financial security and even terrorism and terrorist financing.

The problem of growing migration flows is particularly important for enlarged Europe, where economic, social and political reforms are in direct dependence of realization of the fact that migration will be a permanent part of Europe's future, and the EU states cannot afford to neglect the talents of migrants already in the workforce.

Declining work forces and a mounting number of retirees in many Western countries have led some researchers to conclude that migration may provide the best means to replenish the stock of workers. Supporters of immigration also see it as a means of enriching and invigorating national cultures and societies. In a global era, immigration instils Western societies with new international perspectives that potentially, at least, help host societies operate in global settings. Others worry, however, that mass immigration is eroding historic national identities and giving rise to more divided, inchoate and uncertain societies which, if anything, are likely to find it ever more difficult to act confidently internationally. The recent decision in France to proscribe the wearing of veils and other emblems of faith in public schools and workplaces is seen by some as another manifestation of unease with migration and the potential it has to undermine national identity, consensus and social harmony².

One of the most important reasons for labor migration is disparity in the level of development between countries not only in the European context but on the world scale as well. It is completely proved by statistics and concentration of modern migration flows along the line "South" – "North". Thus, in 1993 the number of absolutely poor people in the world made up 1,3 billion, approximately 800 million people suffer from malnutrition. The income of 5% of the richest people of the world exceeds the income of 5% of the poorest people in 114 times. The proportion of income of the United Kingdom to Bangladesh is 100:1. A girl born in Japan has 50% chance to live in the XXII century, while her peer in Afghanistan - one chance in four to die before she is 5.³ In the second half of 1980s 30-32 million people all over the world died of famine, at the beginning of 1990s – 40 million, in 2000 – 80 million children died before they reached the age of 16.⁴ In the world the gap in incomes of the poor and the rich has doubled for the last 30 years. The gap between the North-West (rich western countries) and the South-East (the rest of the countries) trebled. In 1995 wage per hour in India and China made \$0.25, in Russia - \$0,6, in Poland - \$2,09 – against \$17, 2 in the United States, \$23, 66 – in Japan, \$31, 88 – in Germany.⁵ The difference is 130. Thus, it is evident that for many countries of the world mass migration is the manifestation of different aspects of social and economic crisis that accompany their effort to integrate in the globalizing world market and to soften the existent disparity in the levels of development of the world countries. In the absence of strong economic growth in developing countries of origin, it is unlikely that irregular migration will decline on the considerable scale. Besides, migration policy of the countries – recipients of migrants (or the absence of such a policy) and the demand for labor resources play an important role for the immigration in these countries.

Trying to analyse positive and negative moments in the mass labour migration we can conclude that there are quite enough positive moments for the country – recipient. First of all, immigration can loosen tension in the local labour market (this aspect is particularly important: the workers migrate to escape the unemployment in their countries). In the middle of 1990s there were 30 million labour immigrants who

² NATO PA, Sub-Committee on transatlantic economic relations. "The economic and trade implications of migration and outsourcing: a transatlantic challenge", draft report, 23 April 2004

³ Our Global Neighborhood. The Report of the Commission on Global Governance. – Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 14

⁴ Тарасов А. ДГД: Вселенский бунт. // Коммерсант Plus, № 4, 6 февраля 2004

⁵ Тюрюканова Е. Трудовая миграция в контексте глобализации / Трудовая миграция и защита прав гастрабайтеров: практика посткоммунистических государств. / МолдГУ, Кишинэу - 2003

sent approximately US\$67 billion to the countries of their origin annually.⁶ Remittances are funds immigrants or naturalized citizens earn in host countries and then repatriate to their country of origin. They have become one of the most important sources of foreign exchange for poor countries (twice the amount of) foreign aid in 2001. The general liberalisation of capital markets has also contributed by greatly facilitating the movement of capital across borders. The opening of capital markets has sharply reduced black currency markets, and this has both encouraged remittances and made it so a higher percentage of remitted earnings now appear in official statistics. In an important sense, remittances also create pathways for investment and trade and can help forge or deepen economic links between the country of emigration and host countries. Here differences between long-term and short-term migration becomes important, since temporary emigration tends to generate more remittances than long-term migration. Thus, according to the data of IMF, the portion of money transfers, for example in the Republic of Moldova, made US\$320 in 2003 or 17% of GDP. The experts of IMF arrive at the idea that if every Moldovan migrant-worker transfers annually US\$1000 it means that annual volume of transfers will reach, according to scientists' "modest" estimates, US\$600 million or 31% of GDP. According to the data of Mr. Marian Lupu, the Minister of Economy in the Republic of Moldova, in 2004 the transfers from labor migrants will come to US\$1 billion. The money can be considered investments in the economy of the country. Labor migration in many poor countries minimizes demographic pressure, settles the problem of unemployment, directs finances to the country of immigrants' origin, influences favorably on the spread of new ideas and technologies.⁷

This has a second indirect effect. In situations characterized by labour abundance, there tends to be less investment in capital because cheap labour can compensate for capital goods scarcities. Yet, when the labour pools are reduced by emigration, and with other things being equal, the marginal productivity of labour will rise, as will wages. This, in turn, can help stimulate investment, technological advance and growth as firms respond to the change in relative production input prices.

The host country also stands to benefit from immigration. Here, the gains and losses partly depend on the ratio of labour relative to resources. If the country possesses a large capital endowment and resources relative to its labour supply, additional workers result in higher production, in other words, there are increasing returns on labour inputs. Immigration also broadens the tax base of the host countries, and this can bestow a range of fiscal benefits. Of course, this assumes that immigrants are filling vacant positions and are not simply displacing other workers nor working illegally. The degree of financial benefit also hinges on whether these workers will retire in the host country or return home, and the extent to which they are eligible for state benefits as well as the generosity of those benefits. Immigrants who do not come for work and who remain unemployed and yet qualify for benefits can obviously create fiscal burdens. Illegal immigrants, who find work, pay taxes and contribute to the pension system, but who cannot qualify for benefits will most likely prove fiscally beneficial, although the existence of grey labour markets itself poses other problems and those who work in the untaxed black or grey market raise even more potential problems by contributing to a climate of illegality. Yet immigrants can fill critical gaps in the work force. A highly productive society, for example, may have few indigenous workers willing to accept unskilled but still essential work. In such cases, immigration can be very helpful. In recent years both Germany and the United States, have opened the door for certain highly skilled software programmes because of domestic skill shortages.⁸

⁶ Stephen Castles, Mark J. Miller. *The Age of Migration. – Great – Britain, 1998, p. 5*

⁷ James H. Mittelman. *The Globalization Syndrome: Transformation and Resistance. – Princeton University, New Jersey, 2000, p. 62*

⁸ NATO PA, Sub-Committee on transatlantic economic relations. "The economic and trade implications of migration and outsourcing: a transatlantic challenge", draft report, 23 April 2004

However, the influx of foreign labour force can lead to some negative consequences of this process. If a host country is burdened with high unemployment, immigration can actually impede economic development. A large influx of workers in that case can reduce the marginal product of labour (the additional amount of production that a new worker adds to total output). This can either drive down wages or generate even higher unemployment. If new immigration also burdens the social safety, it can reduce aggregate income and create fiscal problems. The host country may also have to invest in infrastructure such as public housing, new transport and schools in order to accommodate the immigrant community. This puts pressure on public budgets, unless the immigrants are adding to the tax base.

It is worth mentioning that migration, besides deep economic consequences, has an influence on socio-cultural dimension of societies. It is known that geographical proximity, historic and cultural ties, previous patterns of migrations, as well as economic relations, form the relationship between the country of emigration and the host country. Once a particular migration pattern is detectable, it is likely to persist because family links will tend to encourage further immigration from those regions. The presence of family in a host country greatly eases adjustment costs for new immigrants and they become poles of attraction. These "chain effects" are of great importance because they tend to reduce the capacity of host countries to pick and choose their immigrants. Moreover, different source countries introduce different skill sets and cultural predispositions into the host country. Ultimately this can have a profound transformative impact on the host country's own culture, political life, economy and foreign policy.

Hence, analysing the impact of globalization on the world migration flows we can make the following assumption on the development of tendencies of world migration within the next 20 years:

- *The globalization of migration* – simultaneous engaging in world migration processes of greater number of countries with different economic, social and cultural bases.
- *The intensification of migration* – acceleration and growth of migration processes in all regions of the world. However, this tendency makes the regulation of flows difficult for national states. An increased flow of international illegal migrants underlies the limited possibilities of national states to control their borders. It demonstrates the changing character of state autonomy and sovereignty in the modern globalizing world.
- *The stratification of migration* – the majority of the world countries are characterized by a variety of forms of international migration (labor migration, repatriation, departure for permanent residence, refugees, etc.). It becomes typical for migrant chains to begin with one type of migration and end in another one. This kind of stratification represents one of the most important obstacles in the way to effective regulation of world migration by national states.
- *The feminization of migration* – recently a growing number of women's involvement in migration flows has been marked. In the past men made the majority of labor migrants. However, beginning with 1960s this tendency has gradually begun to change.
- *The politization of migration* – the phenomena of the world life like national politics, national safety, bilateral and multilateral interstate cooperation get more and more affected by international migration
- *The migration of "elites"* – mass migration of high-qualified specialists is connected with the increased role of transnational corporations and with the reduced meaning of national economies for the world economy. It fundamentally changes the configuration of the principle "supply" and "demand" of labor force on a global scale.

Migration challenges for the enlarged Europe

Instantaneous process of EU's enlargement has touched directly or indirectly almost every citizen living within the geographical space called "Europe".

May 1, 2004 marked a new historic era of the European Union. The enlarged Union of 25 states with the population over 450 million people and total GDP € 10000 billion will considerably strengthen political, geographic and economic influence of the EU on the European continent. In the opinion of ideologists of European enlargement this process will stimulate economic growth of the EU, and consequently new work places will appear within common values and respect to main freedoms. Beyond the EU the enlargement will change the essence of economic and political relations of the European Union with other regions of the world. According to UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, "One of the biggest tests for the enlarged European Union, in the years and decades to come, will be how it manages the challenge of immigration".⁹ Today, more than 21.5 million foreigners live in the 25 member or acceding states of the EU and represent roughly 5.2% of the population.¹ In absolute terms, the principal host countries are Germany, France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. Relative to their population size, however, Luxembourg, Germany, Sweden and Austria have the highest percentage of immigrants relative to the native born population.¹⁰ Migrants, moreover, come from a far wider range of countries, and bring a greater diversity of languages and cultures, than in the past. Some European states have only recently become countries of immigration, with no experience of integration strategies. The extension of the EU's borders makes them more and more difficult to protect. As it was mentioned above, the gap in the level of life between the rich and the poor countries has become one of the dominating reasons for mass labor migration. The process of immigration to the EU countries will probably be even intensified. The analysis of the objective statistics proves this assumption. New members of the EU are the poorest in the union. An average level of GDP per capita makes up 47% of the index of 15 old members of the EU. While the population of the European Union grew by 20%, the total GDP increased by 4%. In the past even poor, in terms of European measures, countries were relatively richer. Thus, in 1973 at those time poor Ireland joined the EU with the GDP that made up 60% of the average EU GDP. Currently Latvia and Lithuania with 40% GDP per capita became members of the EU.¹¹ According to the estimates of research center Economist Intelligence Unit, the process of coming up with their European neighbors will take Cyprus - 20 years, Estonia - 30 years, Slovenia - 30 years, Malta - 35 years, Hungary - 35 years, Slovakia - 35-45 years, Czechia - 35-40 years, Lithuania - 50 years, Latvia - 55 years, Poland 55 years, Bulgaria - 65 years (on the condition that it will become the EU member), Romania - 80 years (on the condition that it will become the EU member).¹² The enlargement of the EU to the East, in the opinion of many Western economists, will cost the tax-payers of the European Union € 27, 5 billion or on the average - € 25 per capita a year. For comparison, the expenses in the unification of Germany made up €600 million.¹³

On the other hand, even greater asymmetry in the level of development of the EU countries' economy and countries neighboring the EU will strengthen the dynamics of migration flows from the East to the West. According to the official statement of European experts the Republic of Moldova is still the poorest country in GDP per capita in the zone of close European neighborhood, while the level of GDP in countries like Byelorussia, Egypt, Morocco and Syria is 3-4 times higher than that of

⁹ Kofi Annan, "An immigration strategy would make Europe fairer, richer and stronger," European Voice, January 24-February 4, 2004.

¹⁰ NATO PA, Sub-Committee on transatlantic economic relations. "The economic and trade implications of migration and outsourcing: a transatlantic challenge", draft report, 23 April 2004

¹¹ Кокшаров А., Линтон М. Радость со слезами на глазах. // Эксперт, № 17 (418), 10-16 мая 2004, с. 47

¹² ibidem, p. 46

¹³ Евробарьеры или евровозможности? // Office, № 17 (202), 5 мая 2004

Moldova¹⁴. This situation predetermined such a considerable number of Moldovan citizens working abroad, legally or illegally, mainly in the well-developed countries of the European Union. According to the IOM report about 600 000 citizens of Moldova work abroad. In data of the IMF, referring to the Department of Migration in Moldova, at least 240000 citizen of the Republic of Moldova are employed as unskilled labor force in the Russian Federation, while the maximum figure can reach 270 000 people. According to this very source, 150 000 people work in Italy, 40 000 in Czechia, 30 000 in Portugal, 20 000 – 50 000 in Turkey, 20 000 in Spain, France, Israel.¹⁵ About 100-200 villagers in every village of Moldova work abroad. There is only half of the population left in some of the regions. Unfortunately, the tendency to mass exodus has recently got firm and stabilized at a constant level. From the data of the Department on the Development of Tourism 10 000 people monthly go on tours, but they do not come back, they turn in illegal “gastarbeiters”.

These factors predetermined the understanding of the fact that the European Union needs special approach to its close “neighbors” – Byelorussia, Ukraine, Moldova and Russia in dependence of national specificity of each country.

March 11, 2003 the European Union via the European Commission officially proclaims its new policy in relation to neighboring states – *“Enlarged Europe – Neighborhood: new frameworks of interrelations with Eastern and Southern Neighbors”*. The policy tends *“to avoid the demarcation lines in Europe and promote stability and prosperity inside and outside new borders of the Union.”* Besides, this conception underlies the fact that *“the enlargement will serve to strengthen relations with Russia, ... Ukraine, Moldova, Byelorussia ... on the basis of continuous approach promoting reforms, stable development and trade... The goal of the EU is to develop the zones of prosperity and friendly neighborhood”*¹⁶. According to the official documents, the purpose of the EU is to create a zone of prosperity and neighbouriness along the perimeter of the organization – “a ring of friends”.

It is planned to give an access to the inner market of the EU to the Russian Federation, the European countries of the CIS and of the South Mediterranean. They will also be granted the possibility to stimulate free movement of people, goods, services and capital (so-called “four freedoms”). From the Address of the European Commission to the European Parliament “Enlarged Europe – Neighborhood: new frameworks of relations with our Eastern and Southern neighbors” follows that the EU and its neighbors are mutually interested in bilateral and regional cooperation in order not to admit migration policy, custom procedures and control at the borders to hinder crossing the borders by people or goods legally. Among the most obvious advantages of the new policy of the EU in relations with its eastern neighbors we can call the conception that mentions the existence of long-term possibilities for neighbors to benefit from four freedoms (freedom of movement of goods, services, capital and people) that are fundamental for “single market”. Thus, the concept of “Enlarged Europe - Neighborhood” lays emphasis on the fact that *“by way of concrete progress in the sphere of values and effective implementation of political, economic and institutional reforms... countries, neighboring the EU, would have a perspective of a more close economic integration in the EU”*¹⁷. On the other hand, the enlarged spread of the mandate of the European Bank of investments is in prospect for countries-neighbors of the EU, and also the launching in 2006 of a new financial “neighboring” instrument “Financial Perspectives”. The

¹⁴ Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament: "Wider Europe- Neighbourhood: A New Framework for Relations with our Eastern and Southern Neighbors", Brussels, 11.3.2003, COM(2003) 104 final. http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/we/doc/com03_104_en.pdf

¹⁵ МВФ «прикинул» доходы Молдовы.// Аргументы и Факты – Moldova, № 9 (401), март 2004

¹⁶ Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament: "Wider Europe- Neighbourhood: A New Framework for Relations with our Eastern and Southern Neighbours", Brussels, 11.3.2003, COM(2003) 104 final. http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/we/doc/com03_104_en.pdf

¹⁷ Ibidem

participation in the program “New Neighborhood” offers additional possibilities of cooperation with the EU, including the project United European Market. It is no doubt that for the Republic of Moldova “Enlarged Europe - Neighborhood” means additional step towards integration in the European Union, taking into consideration official orientation of the country to join the European Union.

In January 2002 the Government of the Republic of Moldova adopted the Programme of the social and economical development of the republic till 2005, which determines state’s participation in the processes of the European integration as the primordial one.¹⁸ In July 2002 after the summit of the presidents of the Central and Eastern Europe in Slovenia the President of the Republic of Moldova Mr. Vladimir Voronin declared: “*The time of finishing with the declarations of EU accession has come, it is necessary to take concrete steps. Only the concrete actions will assist us in achieving this goal*”.¹⁹

On June 5, 2003 the European Parliament adopts a resolution, according to which calls the EU’s structural directions to examine the possibility of including the Republic of Moldova in the Stabilization and Association Process. In August 2003 Moldavian state objectively proclaims the official vector of European integration of its external policy in “*Conception of the European integration of the Republic of Moldova*”, taking into account evident advantages of the accession to the common European space, which can solve all the main problems of the state’s transitional period in the shortest terms.

The Department of European Integration attached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs plays the leading role in coordinating the European integration of Moldova. The actions, that will be undertaken in order to fulfill the strategic goal of joining the European Union, will be reflected in the National Strategy on European Integration and the Plan of Actions “The Republic of Moldova – the European Union”.²⁰

The efforts of the authorities of the Republic of Moldova aimed at the integration in the European Union have a stable social basis: according to the results of the recent public opinion poll, more than 70% of the respondents supported the European vector of Moldovan foreign policy. There are positive pro-European shifts in the sphere of external economic relations of the Republic of Moldova. During 2003 the volume of foreign trade grew by 29%, at that the growth of export to the countries of the EU made up approximately 29%, to the countries of South-Eastern Europe – 41%.²¹

In this context, there are some positive impulses from the side of the European Union, which are maintained by the recent declarations (March, 2004) of the European Commissioner on the enlargement Gunter Verheugen within the frameworks of Ministry Conference in Bratislava, Slovakia, where the prime-ministers of the states-members of the EU and countries on the way to the European Integration participated.²² According to the high European official, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine play “the leading central” role in the policy of Brussels “New Neighborhood”, at the same time Russia is one of the most important Eastern-European neighbors of the EU, but Byelorussia, while maintaining present political regime, has a chance to approach the European Union through the consolidation of its civil society. Besides, in his speech Mr. Verheugen mentioned the openness towards the EU manifested by Chisinau and Kiev, and the efforts of administrations of the countries to elaborate necessary instruments to create partnership with Brussels. In the continuation the Commissioner on the enlargement underlined that the Republic of Moldova, as well as Ukraine, records progress in relation to integration in the policy

¹⁸ Гудым А. Республика Молдова и Европейский Союз как партнеры. – Кишинев, 2002, с. 20.

¹⁹ Президент готов к европейской интеграции. Обращение Президента РМ В.Воронина// «Экономическое обозрение», 7 июня 2002

²⁰ Гудым А. Республика Молдова и Европейский Союз как партнеры. – Кишинев, 2002, с., с 6

²¹ Nota informativă privind comerțul exterior al Republicii Moldova cu țările Uniunii Europene în anul 2003. – Ministerul Economiei, ianuarie 2004

²² Gunter Verheugen: Republica Moldova si Ucraina au roluri centrale in politica Bluxelles-ului “Noua vecinatate”// Știri interne ale Parlamentului Republicii Moldova, 30.03.04

of the EU “New Neighborhood”. According to Mr. Verheugen the European Union “has to direct a clear signal to the Byelorussian community to make Byelorussians understand that their integration in the European family is welcomed”. In the opinion of Mr. Verheugen: “It is impossible to foresee what the situation in Europe will be in, let us say, 20 years”, - it leaves space for the creation of a certain portion of optimism relating to possible euro-integration.²³

However, the objective analysis of the policy “Enlarged Europe - Neighborhood” raises some questions that cannot be easily answered at present. The fact that the term “Neighborhood” includes different countries like Ukraine, Byelorussia, and the Republic of Moldova on the one hand and Syria, Morocco on the other hand, suggests that the term “Europe” has not been formulated clearly, it can create problems in the elaboration of strategic approaches to the interrelations with new “neighbors”. It is unlikely that the funds directed to “neighbors” will be considerable, taking into account the fact that the inclusion in the EU of new members creates serious financial restrictions for the European Union itself. At that additional financing begins after 2007, concurrently with the beginning of the new budget cycle of the EU. Before the beginning of a new cycle 2004-2006 for the development of conception of neighborliness the EU plans to apportion €255 million. In the European Union the apportioned funds are of a very contradictory character. In the following years Polish or Hungarian farmers will get only the quarter of the agrarian subsidies that farmers in France or Spain are getting. The freshmen of the EU will not get a lot from the structural funds - it is 10 times less per capita than per capita in Spain or Portugal. The lack of agrarian subsidies can have negative results on their agriculture. For example, in Poland the agrarian sector involves 27% of the employed. The crisis in this sector can lead to the fact that Polish farmers will increase the rate of unemployment that makes up 17,5% of the population able to work.²⁴

Certain problems can appear in respect of “four freedoms” of the EU, because some states already oppose the idea of free movement of people. For example, the Minister of the Interior of Germany Otto Schilly dreams of a fortress, in a way, under the name “Europe”. In his opinion, refugees should be detained at the exterior borders and sent to the so-called safe Third World Countries. This position was confirmed at the informal meeting of the Ministers of Interior in Dublin, February 2004.²⁵

Probable scales of migration are among the politically explosive problems of the EU advancement to the East. Germany and Austria, bordering the countries-candidates, as well as Scandinavian countries are afraid of mass migration that is possible if new members will be granted freedom of movement. Migration can destructively influence labor market of the EU countries. Really great difference in salaries (the average wage in the countries-candidates makes 40% of the average wage in the European Union) can theoretically lead to mass migration to the West. That is why bordering countries (Austria and Germany) propose to introduce transitional period up to 7 years. During these years the citizens of the newly joined states will be limited in their right to free movement within the EU. One of the prognoses has it that immediate granting of the right to free movement from the Central and Eastern Europe in the EU in 2002 would lead to immigration of 335,8 thousand people: including 218,4 thousand (or 65%) – in Germany, 146,9 thousand (12,1%) – in Austria. In the course of time the flow would cease: in 2010 it will come to 149,9 thousand, in 2030 – to 2,4 thousand people. As practice shows, 2/3 immigrants will be demanded in the labor market. But it should be mentioned that immigration gives the enterprise of the EU to produce more investing less in labor force. Thanks to this fact GDP in the countries of the EU will increase. The highest growth will be marked in Germany – 0,25% in 2010, in Austria - 0,15%. Migration will influence the distribution of national income as well:

²³ Республики СНГ в Евросоюз пока не зовут. // Аргументы и Факты – Молдова, № 20, май 2004

²⁴ Кокшаров А., Линтон М. Радость со слезами на глазах. // Эксперт, № 17 (418), 10-16 мая 2004, с. 48

²⁵ Мигрантам нужна Европа, а Европе – мигранты. // Коммерсант Plus, № 4, 6 февраля 2004

in old members of the EU the income will increase due to wages, in new members the reverse tendency will be marked.²⁶

Besides, countries of the enlarged European Union faced the fact that the process of ageing of the nation accompanied by demographic decline, further development of globalization and specialization led to the necessity of the creation of mechanisms that would let the workers to move from one territory to another where their high qualification is demanded, though the movement of people with the purpose to find a job remains a long-term problem. According to the data of the Commission on Demography of the Council of Europe, 50 years ago the population of the European countries made up 22% of the total world population. Today the index descended to 12 %, within the next 50 years it will reach 6,5 %. At the beginning of 2003 in comparison with the first months of 2002 the birth rate in the European countries was 0,08 %. In 1990 the deficit of birth rate was marked only in Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary, in 2002 it spread to 12 countries of the Central Europe.²⁷ Demographic trends provide one of the principal arguments in support of immigration. Europe is a rapidly ageing continent; its citizens are living longer and bearing fewer children. Without immigration, the population of the 25 member states would drop, from around 450 million now to under 400 million by 2050. This is especially worrisome since it means an overall contraction of the working age population. In Western Europe, the number of people aged 65 or more will increase from 63.4 million in 2002 to 92 million in 2025 and then gradually decline to 84.3 million by 2050. In Central and Eastern Europe, the respective numbers are 16.6 million in 2002, 23.6 million in 2025 and 29.9 million in 2050. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), in the absence of mass immigration, the largest contractions of the active population are to be expected in Germany, Poland, Italy and Spain. In 2001, Germany's Independent Commission on Migration concluded: "We need immigration to Germany because the population is getting older: life expectancy is increasing while the number of children born per family remains low and the number of births is decreasing".²⁸ It can seem paradoxical but a considerable part of European citizens are aware of the possible negative consequences of this demographic trend. By public poll, 56% of Europeans consider that the EU needs migrants in certain sectors of economy, 41% do not adhere to this opinion. The necessity to attract migrants is supported in countries like Luxembourg (82 %), Sweden and Ireland (78 %). On the other hand the majority of opponents are registered in Greece (56 %), Germany (52 %) and Belgium (50 %). At the same time 80 % are pro toughening control at the state borders.²⁹

However, the European government refuses to consider any further opening of the EU borders for immigration taking into account the high level of unemployment and social resistance to a large-scale migration. Because of fear of mass inflow of people who are looking for a job and increased load on the system of social insurance there were introduced restrictions on the placement of such people for a term of 3-7 years.³⁰ There were taken measures on the restriction of free movement of labor force from the Eastern Europe to the Western Europe for the following 7 years. According to new rules, people, who were refused to get asylum in one of the countries-members of the EU, cannot be regarded for revision of their dossier in another country – member of the EU.³¹ In the plan, 15 EU countries will completely open their labor market in May, 2009. States – members of the EU will have a right to keep to restrictions only in case of existence of a proved serious or considerable threat to the balance in local labor market. Finally, in May 2011– in 7 years after the enlargement – all members of the EU will enjoy

²⁶ NATO PA, Sub-Committee on transatlantic economic relations. "The economic and trade implications of migration and outsourcing: a transatlantic challenge", draft report, 23 April 2004

²⁷ Мигрантам нужна Европа, а Европе – мигранты.// Коммерсант Plus, № 4, 6 февраля 2004

²⁸ IOM "World Migration", 2003

²⁹ Stirile interne ale Parlamentului Republicii Moldova. // Aprilie, 2004

³⁰ Евробарьеры или евровозможности? // Office, № 17 (202), 5 мая 2004

³¹ Кокшаров А, Линтон М. Радость со слезами на глазах.// Эксперт, № 17 (418), 10-16 мая 2004, с. 46

freedom of movement, residence and employment in any country of the EU. Several days prior to the joining of 10 new members to the EU, the UK introduces new restrictions for immigrants. First of all, they will be refused social dwelling if they are unemployed. The Prime Minister of the UK, Tony Blair, declared the toughening of the migration policy. In November 2002 France experienced a wave of strikes. Unions representing truck drivers blocked highways in pursuit of higher pay, bigger bonuses and shorter working hours; they expressed the belief that their wages have been undercut by cheap labor from Eastern Europe.³² In Germany the mounting difficulties in the localities to provide for what appeared to be necessary for rising number of new arrivals, successes for right-wing parties at regional elections and nasty incidents of xenophobic violence reflected a fundamental shift in German public opinion. Austrians went to the polls on November 24, 2002 to elect a new government. A coalition government that included the anti-immigrant Freedom Party of Joerg Haider took office in February 2000; it collapsed in Fall 2002. Haider and other anti-immigrant parties have had an impact in Europe, even though few have entered government. The Swiss People's Party and the Danish People's Party are examples of other anti-immigrant parties in Europe. The degree of their popularity reflects deep the problem of immigrants affects the people and how efficiently the government is trying to solve it. In the opinion of former head of the European Bank of reconstruction and Development, Jack Attaly, "Many misfortunes are threatening Europe. Mass migration of Africans and troubled eastern Europeans to more prosperous states will lead to the building of a new Berlin wall. Privileged centres will begin to create all possible barriers trying to protect their wealth and inner stability".³³

The prospect of possible problems results in the appearance of "camp of euro pessimists" who are very skeptical about the further enlargement of the EU. They regulate relations with their eastern neighbors through the programs like conception "Enlarged Europe – Neighborhood". To the so-called "europessimists" we can refer the Commissioner of the Common EU Market Fritz Bolckenshtain. He does not view "new neighbors" as members of the European family, at least in the near-term or middle-term perspective. In the opinion of Mr. Bolckenshtain, the Republic of Moldova, along with Ukraine and Byelorussia, can become "the buffer zone" to guard the European Union from Russia, and Turkey – from the countries of the Middle East. The commissioner of the common EU market stated his views on the future arrangement of the Union in his book "The Boundaries of Europe", where he expresses the idea that the enlargement of Europe to the East will hinder the process of intensification of integration, though the EU will preserve its main functions – common market and trade policy.³⁴ This group of high European officials is joined by Mr. Romano Prody, the head of the European Commission, who excluded the possibility of future integration in the EU of CIS countries. Romano Prody in his interview to British mass media declared that after the possible integration of Romania, Bulgaria, Turkey and Croatia the European Union can move only to the Balkans with the perspective of taking in Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Macedonia and Albania. "And that is the end" the head of the European Commission said, excluding the possibility of acceptance Russia, Ukraine and Byelorussia. "We can cooperate in migration policy, food safety, in all possible spheres, but these countries cannot be members of the European Parliament and European Commission" – Prody declared.³⁵

Thus, we may conclude that the conception "Enlarged Europe - Neighborhood" foresees the necessity of cooperation between the EU and eastern neighbors in the sphere of migration, in spite of the problems connected with the inclusion in the EU of eastern European countries. In this context the EU

³² Godard, Jean-Marie French March for Immigrant Permits, Associated Press, October 19, 2002

³³ Жак Аттали. На пороге нового тысячелетия. – Москва, 2000, с. 112

³⁴ Европейский эксперт предлагает использовать Молдову, Украину, Беларусь и Турцию в качестве «буферной зоны». // www.interlik.md, 09.03.2004

³⁵ Республики СНГ в Евросоюз пока не зовут. // Аргументы и Факты – Молдова, № 20, май 2004

will most likely address the possibility of making the crossing of the external borders easier for people who do not threaten the security of the country, who participate in the programs and projects of the EU.

It can be argued that opening the doors to unskilled labour would reduce illegal immigration. Managed immigration could provide one alternative to policies now set by criminal networks and engaged in the smuggling of people into Europe. Certain scholars and politicians, usually right-wing-oriented see the primary solution of unwanted migration in the legal restrictions for migration and efficient border control.¹ However, these practices usually do not have expected effects. However, sometimes, the efficiency of these methods can be disputed, especially if they are imposed with human rights violations. Paradoxically, but democratization made leaving the country of origin easier and hence increased migration.³⁶

This illustrative example shows that legal measures can only prevent unwanted migration for a certain time, not eliminate the reasons for people to migrate in such amounts as we can observe in recent decade.

In this respect, taking into consideration the fact that the main “trigger” for the large scale migration of the population is difference in the level of life, we may conclude that financial assistance and introduction of different programs of development with the propose to sustain the EU eastern countries could be one of the most efficient ways to benefit from immigration. a good example serve the words of Carlos Salinas, the President of Mexico, who expressed hope that the mass exodus of people will result in *“the increased number of work places that will mean raised pays in Mexico, that will consequently result in smaller flow of Mexican migrants to the USA and Canada. We want to export goods, not people”*. Using more colorful language, Salinas expressed the preferences of Mexicans *“to export tomatoes, not the tomato pickers”*. Although it was the most expensive element of the EU system, this policy in its time ensured in certain degree that the labor from poor regions of Europe would not inflow their richer neighbors, creating unemployment, crimes and social unrest.

It can be seen from the experience of Poland that migration flows depend on the level of income. Illegal “tourist” immigration from Poland reached its peak in 1980s, when the negative growth of the GDP was registered. As soon as the growth became positive the illegal migration decreased.

Another possible solution could come from non-governmental sources such are multinational corporations, which investing in the manufacture production abroad could create sufficient number of the jobs to reduce unemployment and attract labor to work within national borders.

In this respect membership in the European Union resolves many existing social-economic problems of the countries-candidates, like the Republic of Moldova, that is eager to join the EU. The Eastern-European countries might like to repeat the experience of Ireland, that, being one of the most underdeveloped countries at the periphery of Europe, turned out to be one the most dynamic and rapid-growing economies – since 1973 the Celtic Tiger managed to increase the GDP per capita from 60% to 117% in comparison with the average European level. The experience of Spain is also of interest. During 18 years of its membership in the EU the country managed to increase its GDP per capita from 55% to 84%.³⁷ The joining of the European Union gives its new members the possibility of potential access to huge inner (domestic) market and abrogation of export tariffs and limitations. Besides, it presupposes financial assistance from structural funds of the EU. In the opinion of senior staff scientist of London Center of European reforms Heather Grabber, countries that joined the EU after May 1, 2004 *“formed business-environment that is aimed at economic growth”*.³⁸ It attracted considerable investments in the

³⁶ Marshall, Barbara. The New Germany and Migration in Europe, - Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York, 2000, 29 January 2001

³⁷ Кокшаров А., Линтон М. Радость со слезами на глазах.// Эксперт, № 17 (418), 10-16 мая 2004, с. 47

³⁸ ibidem, p. 49

region due to lower, than in the EU, income tax and profit tax, to simpler procedure of company's registration. The total volume of investments in 1989-2003 made up \$117 billion. Principal countries – recipients became Poland (\$42 billion), Czechia (\$38 billion), Hungary (\$21 billion). Foreign investments brought not only capital, but the innovations and western management. Thanks to this fact, new members of the EU experience 5-7% growth of production.³⁹ The influence of the effects of trade within the united Europe on GDP will be 10 times bigger for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe than for the old members of the EU. In Hungary, for example, GDP will totally grow during 2001 – 2010 by 4,5%. In Poland and Czechia the analogous growth will be twice smaller because of less developed trade relations.⁴⁰ This way of development is very attractive for Moldova because it, from the one hand, potentially permits quite rapid tempo and dynamics of the economic development of the country that would create favorable conditions for the inflow of investments of both large companies and middle and small businesses from the “old” EU, and, from another hand, permits to solve the problem of mass illegal migration in the EU countries. No doubt, the increased level of life in the Republic of Moldova will automatically resolve the problem of illegal migration of Moldovan citizens in the European countries. You may find the reality paradoxical but countries like Czechia and Hungary, having received foreign investments and rapidly growing at present, currently welcome labor migrants from the side of big Western companies. In this respect, the growth in the economic sphere is one of the key strategic conditions that are able to draw the Republic of Moldova near the membership in the European Union. The slogan of the European integration in this case will be: *“we implemented the following political and economic reforms in order to approach the EU”*. The idea that “the EU is ready to share with its neighbors everything with the exception of institutes” should not be considered in the negative light only. In the middle-term and long-term perspective the Republic of Moldova can ask for representation (initially without the right to vote) in other European structures (for example, the European Parliament, Social and Economic Committee of the EU, etc...) than in the European Union or the European Commission. These initiatives will be probably perceived positively from the side of many other countries-candidates, as well as from the side of the European Parliament. Besides, present moment practically by all countries – “eastern neighbors” of the EU is viewed as efficient and reasonable advancement of schemes with partial integration (the opening of trade markets) that represents, in the opinion of Dario Teburn, the analytic of the research center World Markets Research Council, *“a more concrete mechanism of possible future relations between the EU and eastern neighbors in comparison with amorphous common European space that Brussels proposes, for example, to Moscow today”*.⁴¹

It is necessary, of course, to be realist and be aware of the fact that the way to the Eurointegration for the Republic of Moldova, as well as for the rest of its eastern neighbours requires certain consolidation of society, involvement of political will of the authorities and readiness to share evident advantages and regular obligations of the European community. In this respect initial countries of the EU could, parallel with the financial assistance and investments in the economy of the eastern neighbours, consider the possibility to extend labour migration in Europe of both: qualified and unqualified workers, taking into account the European demographic problem and needs in additional labour force. This idea was reflected in the statement of Kofi Annan, the UN Secretary General, at the presentation with Sakcharov award for protection of the freedom of opinion in Brussels, February 2004.⁴²

In order to encourage people to stay, national governments in cooperation with more developed EU countries and international bodies should coordinate their policies and provide the financial aid in a

³⁹ Кокшаров А., Линтон М. Радость со слезами на глазах.// Эксперт, № 17 (418), 10-16 мая 2004, с. 47

⁴⁰ Ibidem

⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 46

⁴² Мигрантам нужна Европа, а Европе – мигранты.// Коммерсант Plus, № 4, 6 февраля 2004

larger scale. Relatively wealth population usually does not understand these long-term goals and suffering from migrants' competition usually is not very cooperative and loyal to such issues. Political elites in Europe in their turn cannot set these expenses as their national budgets' priority because they will not be elected. People usually are more concerned about national social security funds and wages' rates, and will not support significant expenses without obvious results, which of course is not going to happen in a short period of time.

Thereupon, the countries of the EU should be more consecutive in the implementation of migration policy, taking into consideration the importance and long0temr effect of this phenomenon. In order to understand and support, people should be sufficiently informed about the threats of the problem, and the benefits of the policies. Scholars emphasize that in Europe more information campaigns are needed to, on one hand, provide real data and figures to counteract fears and exaggerations; and, on the other hand, information about jobs and employment conditions to address labor market needs need to be developed. Another key moment in the regulation of migration flows could be equal distribution of migrants in different European regions. If the EU cannot come to terms about the quotas on redistribution of migrants among state-members, migrants will probably reach the same European regions.

The cultural and technical exchange may be facilitated by a special visa policy (politics) of some countries - members of the EU who would allow long stay on the territory.

It is important to notice that support of such European financial architecture which would enable working migrants from less developed countries to transfer financial incomes in the cheapest and transparent way that would bring significant financial benefits to less developed countries. It is necessary for western countries to promote immigrant communities with the improvement of language and other skills through more vocational training. It is necessary to direct also efforts to fight discrimination of migrants. The issues of naturalization, citizenship and democratic rights of immigrants may and should be a part of strategy of the EU functioning.

The EU should render necessary assistance to help neighbouring countries in their effort to struggle illegal migration and to establish effective mechanisms for returning, in particular illegal transit migrants.

The above-mentioned ideas are only a small part of the issues of paramount concern. The settlement of these problems would weaken tension created by migration flows from the Eastern-European countries into the EU. It would consequently let normalize relations between the regions, including the conception "Enlarged Europe – Neighborhood: new frameworks of interrelations with our Eastern and Southern Neighbors".

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