

The Role of the Lisbon Treaty for Deepening of the European Integration

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Abstract: Now that the issue of Brexit is highlighted once again in the media and the talk of the Lisbon Treaty, including the law relating to the exit from the Europe Union is one of the references, which is referred in the discussions, a review of the role of the Treaty for deepening of the European integration seems to be necessary. In this paper a historical background of the Lisbon Treaty as well as a background to the treaty developing form will be provided. This is for an overview of the issue in general, and to better elucidates the paper's key issues. Then there will be focused on the Lisbon Treaty's role in the European integration through the European Union. The key question in this paper will involve a more specific issue with aspects that can be considered to be more objective than being subjective and analytical, in the sense that the paper's data often relate to the factual events. Therefore, the data virtually have an orientation character and that is also why there are not used many sources with source references, but instead inspirations from these various information materials for a better understanding of the EU in general and the Lisbon Treaty specifically illustrate the key issue.

Keywords: The European integration, the Europe Union, the Lisbon Treaty, the Maastricht Treaty, the Rome Treaty, the Treaties of Amsterdam, the Treaties of Nice, the Union's Parliament.

1. INTRODUCTION

Lisbon Treaty has been a major step in the European integration, some believe that it has "brought the European Union (EU) into a new era" (New York City Bar, 2010: 3). This treaty, in which after long discussions and changes in the original treaty has successfully came into force. According to many of the European leaders this treaty is an important step in the EU's life. It is a treaty based on two other treaties. One can say that Lisbon treaty came to include both the Rome Treaty and the Maastricht Treaty in a comprehensive way in which the whole EU structure came to be affected by the new treaty, whose draft was adopted by the member of states in the late 2007.

In the development process of the Lisbon Treaty, there have been two other previous treaties, which are the Treaties of Amsterdam and the Treaties of Nice can be considered as the basic building blocks for the construction of the EU controversial treaty.

In the Treaty's design process; there are many positive and negative attitudes towards the idea of reforms in the EU's form and content. The gravitational of the opponents went out on the argument that changes towards a more uniform EU which can harm individual countries' autonomy and independence. It worried the opponents in such, that an overall power center will eventually decide over the head of each individual member. In any case, a process that was started in 2001, could give its fruit eight years after. The supporters of the reforms had launched a process primarily by argumentations about more democracy and more transparency in the EU. They had the desire for a "more democratic, more transparent and more official" (Nugent, 2006: 116) union. The process had passed 3 rejections; Germans and Frenchmen in 2005 said no to the presented ideas, but the supporters of the reforms through modifications of the ideas sought to achieve compromise with the opposition. The process survived, but in 2008 there came another blow. It was the Irish "no" to be part of it all. The reform process did not stop, but it continued its attempts. The modifications also continued until the joint modified ideas as a platform finally was adopted by all EU member states.

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The European Union, which primarily and essentially was an organization for economic cooperation, was also known as the most successful example of this kind of cooperation throughout the world.

During the Cold War and in the U.S. undisputed authority on geopolitical and strategic policies in the Western world, the Europeans could not be a completely independent voice on this area, but they were in a great degree in the shadow of Washington. After the Cold War, the European Union besides the economic integration tried also in developing its political integration and, finally, to find its own role and status in the international system.

In any case, one can say that the Lisbon Treaty has been one of the most debatable issues in the EU's more than 60 years history, especially because at that time, the feeling of an imperfection of the results of Treaty of Nice was occurred.

2. THE TREATY'S HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The goal of the Lisbon Treaty was actually in response to three pressing needs that arose in the European Union.

The first need was a streamlining of decision-making processes, these processes eventually did not meet the demands of the time. The system was used for years, but no longer could it be able to meet the then needs.

The second need was to increase the legitimacy of decision making by the European Union. The idea was that it should be done by giving more power to the Union's Parliament. The reason for the controversial issue of the legitimacy of the European Union's decision was the heaviness of the decisions lay by the Council of Ministers, consisting of a collection of the member countries' representatives. The Council acted in order to take position in various issues. The Council took decisions, which were enforce as laws, and which came into force in all EU countries.

The direct representatives of the people of Europe, who sat in the European Union Parliament, did not have a major role in decision-making.

But with the new changes that were applied, the European Parliament's power was increased, and was possible for the national parliaments to comment on legislation before the laws were to be adopted by the general European legislature applicable to all member states.

The third need, which the Treaty had to meet, was to increase the possibility of closer cooperation between the member states in terms of foreign and security policy. It was a subject that had become more acute, because the European Union compared with earlier was transformed into a major international player in the international relations matters. It was therefore important that the European Union could play its role in foreign policy as a strong voice among a number of powerful countries. Changes, which the Lisbon Treaty had planned, could make the accomplishment possible.

In 2004, the EU got several new members. It was one of the reasons that some Union countries began to present the idea of a review of EU's previous frames. One can say that this process had already begun in 2001, when the idea was trying to achieve fulfillment through the Nice Treaty. In this time there were three principal objectives. These three were a more democratic, more transparency in various discussions and thus decision-making processes, as well as the union's more efficiency. It was obvious to the supporters of the idea that it was necessary that the entire union should go through a reform in order to achieve these goals. This necessitated in any case, a renewal of the previous EU constitution.

The term "constitution" for the EU in the beginning seemed very ambitious. Therefore, the implementation of the reforms was necessary. In addition, all EU members were aware that the European Union under the then circumstances could not accommodate all members' needs while the EU should fight against the challenges and manage them.

These circumstances necessitated negotiations in the direction of some reforms, which ended with the Lisbon Treaty or the EU's reformed treaty that was signed by member states.

Identity problem before the Lisbon Treaty was a factor to the Dutch and French people in 2005 with the said "no" to the Europe's draft constitution. This led the federalists' efforts towards a failed a Federal Europe. In the wake of those developments, the European Union confronted with a kind of identity crisis. The crisis highlighted that the European institutions still lacked the necessary political legitimacy, and that these institutions could not be regarded as symbols of the European nations' utter loyalty. The concept of European citizenship was not yet shaped, and Europe was still in a mood of national state sovereignty and thus of behavioral principles and values inspired thereof. In other words, the national governments were still the highest decision-making centers in EU member states, so that they was considered to be the key players in the strategic sectors.

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The idea of a European integration under one umbrella was something that existed in a long time, but it was only after the Second World War, with possibilities for the realization of such an idea more than the past could be seen.

One of the main factors for the motivation behind a close cooperation among European countries was the devastation caused by the war. The European countries could understand that breach of their conflicts with each other was a prerequisite for that they could obtain a real cooperation including economic and political cooperation with a view to transforming the miserable post-war situation into creating of a peaceful and strong Europe.

There were two security points that the Europeans had focused on.

One point was in the idea of creating a security structure so that they could ensure the background for the development of fascist forces, in Germany in particular it was removed. The Europeans felt unsafe for that similar trend and development, which originated in Germany and ended with a devastating war that it could happen again.

The second point was an uncertainty, which Europeans felt from the East; namely a threat feeling from the Soviet Union.

The United States was the country, with the smallest loss and devastation from the war, and could now play an international vital role economically, politically and military. Still, it was not taken for granted that the Americans and the Europeans could come to agreement in their all views. It could necessitate or intensify the realization of the idea of a strong Europe and a European integration in a stable cooperation.

The French economist Jean Monnet proposed a solution, which was based on extensive cooperation with Germany over the coal and steel production. Monet's argument was with regard to the fact that Germany's traditional power mainly was based on the country's heavy industry in the southern areas, which earlier repeatedly caused wars between Germany and France. Monet believed that coal and steel cooperation could slow down Germany's monopoly in that industry and thus could be able to prevent the country's strength.

The result of a series of negotiations in the early 1950s showed themselves in the form of an agreement between France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg in 1951. The agreement, which ended with the establishment of "European Coal and Steel Community", was known as the Treaty of Paris. That agreement eliminated all tariffs in coal and steel production between the mentioned countries.

In 1957, the next step for the approximation of the European countries was taken. That step was the Treaty of Rome, which led to the creation of the economic community. Treaty of Rome opened the way for freer movement of capital, goods, persons and services between member states. The treaty strove for an intensification of adoption of a common policy on other aspects such as foreign affairs, agriculture, fisheries, etc.

Ten years after, The European Coal and Steel Community was changed both in the form and name, so that it came to be called "European Community" (EC). Those changes happened on the basis of the Brussels Treaty.

EC was gradually expanded so that it was larger in terms of accession of more states and its market scope was expanded. In the 1970s and 1980s countries such as Britain, Denmark, Ireland, Spain and Portugal joined the "European Community".

In those years the European countries were working more closely with each other within various arenas. Those collaborations led to the idea of a full monetary and financial integration. It was based on the idea that the creation of those opportunities could be seen as necessary conditions for the formation of a single market. A monetary integration was still not as easy as it could touch the sovereignty issue in European countries. The idea of the monetary and financial integration was something, which became the background to the Maastricht Treaty in 1991. The Treaty was also an important step both in terms of the common foreign and security policy among the member states, and the adoption of common policies in their domestic and Justice Affairs.

The Maastricht Treaty was further accelerated in the convergence process among European Community members, so that under the Treaty there was a developed timetable for the creation of a European monetary unit. European Community's responsibility area also was spread to areas such as consumer protection, public health, transport, education and social policy.

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In the second half of the 90s the Union got several member states, and took serious steps towards the European monetary union. In January 1995 Austria, Finland and Sweden joined the Union, so that the number of members of the Union reached up to 15 countries.

With the collapse of the Eastern European bloc, countries in that part of Europe also were interested to join the EU. For the entry of those countries into the Union there were some demands, which new members should meet, including that they should accept the "free market" as an economic policy principle.

Until the late 1990s the Union had significant progress in removing barriers to the free movement of capital, people, goods and services. However, due to different national interests of major countries, the EU could not yet achieve a common foreign and defense policy.

In 1997 the Amsterdam Treaty was adopted. Challenges that had arisen as a result of EU enlargement towards the East, was the main axis of the Treaty.

According to the treaty, issues such as asylum, visa, immigration and border control should comply with EU rules and procedures. Similarly, policies on employment, sustainable development, and protection of human health and consumer protection were now among EU's official purposes.

In 1999 a majority of the member states agreed on the Euro as the Union's common currency, so that in January 2002 it formally began to circulate.

However, the Treaty of Amsterdam could not enough provide satisfaction in creating institutional reforms to facilitate the expansion of the European Union.

In 2001 the number of seats in the European Parliament increased. In the same year the Nice Treaty was formed.

Nice Treaty and Lisbon Treaty are in one chain, so that one can say that the Nice Treaty was the beginning of a reform process, which later has been linked to the Lisbon Treaty. Therefore, some, such as Craig (2010) believes that understanding the Lisbon Treaty is "an understanding of the reform process" (Craig, 2010: 1).

The Treaty of Nice was the result of a series of negotiations, which showed itself in the form of a set of agreements between the leaders of all states in the Union in February 2001. It was also decided that the implementation of the provisions of the Treaty should enter into force from two years later.

Originally, the Nice Treaty was on the basis of the need for institutional reform of the Union after its enlargement to the East, which above is mentioned.

In 2004, Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovenia, Malta and the Greek part of Cyprus were members of the Union, and finally in 2007 with the membership of Romania and Bulgaria the number of EU's members reached to 27 countries.

The European Union has always been in turns between two attitude groups relative to the Union's internal power structure. The one group is in favor of a federal Europe and the other group argues for an inter-governmental union. The former focus in powerful center at the expense of transfer of power and competences from the state-nation system to the powerful core, whereas the other group is in favor of a form of inter-state (inter-governmental) cooperation rather than an international integration. That part wishes a preservation of the national states' historical role.

In 2007, the Union adopted an agreement, which was considered to be a draft of the European Constitution. That agreement called "Reform Treaty" was reaffirmed in The Lisbon in October 2007. It was also agreed that it should be confirmed by the Union's individual national parliaments before the EU Parliament election in 2009.

In those years, there have nevertheless been a trend towards more domestic policies, as well as the European opinion which has been characterized by a lack of sufficient confidence to the Union's effectiveness and suitability. In addition, there has been the mobilization of the right-wing nationalist forces in each country, all of which made it difficult in the way of a desirable European integration.

3. THE RESULTS OF THE LISBON TREATY

- **Improving of decision-making practice:**

The division of tasks and competences between the Union and the member states has always been among the points of disagreement in the Union. Overall, in the EU, there are three types of skills:

Exclusive competences: This means that the European Union holds an exclusive jurisdiction to legislation in specific areas. These areas include the customs union, the provisions relating to competition and so on.

Differentiated competences: competencies, which are divided between the Union and the governments based on the principle of the need to effective action. On the basis of this kind of expertise, is a case of where the government actions are not sufficient, the Union gets involved and takes decision.

The states' competences: These competences are reserved for the states. In areas in which the governments have competences, the EU sets only rules that have supporting and coordinated characteristics.

Under the Lisbon Treaty, in the event that the national parliaments believe that the governments' competencies are broken by the European institutions, they can give a hint to the Union and even they can in this regard submit complain to the EU court.

One can say that the Treaty has resulted in a more horizontal distribution of power within the Union. In addition, the Treaty through more participation in the EU Parliament and enhance the EU's internal and structural cohesion and accelerate the decision-making processes - increased EU citizens' role in the decisions.

In the previous EU system, the small countries were normally not able to play important roles in the Union's overall cases, while the large countries preferred their own national interests rather than the Union's.

- **The institutional reforms for more efficiency:**

One of the motives behind the Lisbon Treaty was more efficiency of the Union, in the sense that the EU in parallel to the global changes as well as the increase in the Union's member states had to be modernized. This means that the institutions needed innovations in order to meet the challenges, caused by both global and European economic, political and security changes.

The changes could of course not be a basic or include the entire structure. It was clear that it was not necessary to touch the traditional institutions such as the Commission or the Parliament, but that the changes would include specific reforms and adjustments in various institutions for some flexibility, and to have the institutional ability to adapt to new challenges.

Therefore, an institution such as the Parliament could not be restructured, but one of the Lisbon Treaty's aims was a more strengthened parliament. That is because the parliament is the closest institution to the EU citizens. The reason for this is that the members of parliament are elected through direct elections in all EU countries. A stronger parliament could be interpreted as a major step towards the democratization of the EU. Therefore, it could be seen more logical that the parliament should have more powers in the election of the Commission President.

In addition, the unequal balance between the Parliament and the Council was changed to a more equal balance between the two organizations with regard to various policies.

The Commission is, however, an institution, which has not been under much change reforms. The Council's powers are also not changed much with the Lisbon Treaty, but it has shared some of its powers with the Parliament.

One of the major institutional changes beyond the Parliament increased strengths and competencies, has been the establishment of a permanent responsibility for the European Council.

Using of nomination of a senior representative of the Union for Foreign and Security Affairs, the Union took an effective step towards strengthening of that institution. In that way the entire Union so coherent and continuously was raised in the international equations. The Union's bargaining power, using institution's necessary mechanisms which were increased.

In that direction the necessary means and resources were put available for that new institution.

- **The neo-liberal trends:**

One of the main developments, which were affected by the Lisbon Treaty, was a more neo-liberal trend in the EU countries. The intellectual basis for that development was the feeling that the European social and economic model in the light of globalization's challenges had reached deadlock. Europe in several decades, by adopting welfare strategy, had presented a different model of that concept.

Discrepancies between the welfare state's requirements on the one hand and the requirements of the globalization on the other side and thus the welfare state's failure to adapt to the conditions of international competition in the global economy caused a gradual breakdown of that model. By reducing the ability of competitiveness of European economies and the rise of the recession and unemployment, the European countries were facing the difficult choice between the traditional welfare state policies and the neo-liberal economic ideas based on market economy.

- **Democratization:**

To hold of public meetings in the Council of Ministers: In accordance with the Lisbon Treaty, the part of the Council of Ministers meetings to be made in the vote, should be open, so that, all the citizens now have the right to have access to attend the debates and discussions that have impact on their lives. This is actually a step towards more transparency in the European Union.

Presentation of draft laws by the citizens: According to the Lisbon Treaty, EU citizens through a million signature-collection can introduce a bill and pass the European Parliament for adoption. Thus the concept of "European citizenship" has found more content.

The subsidiarity: A further consequence of changes after the Lisbon Treaty has been more involvement of the national parliaments in the EU decision-making because of the so-called principle of subsidiarity. In that way, decisions that touch the lives of a group of citizens, after the Lisbon Treaty's changes will be taken as close as possible to the citizens. The national parliaments also have the right to complain about and in some cases prevent the Commission's decisions. It has helped to strengthen a kind of transparency with respect to EU decision-making.

- **Expansion and application for withdrawal of the Union:**

One of the interesting points, which first with the Lisbon Treaty was opened, was the possibility of the members' withdrawal from the Union. This enable each country that requires resignation from the EU, to get out of the Union with the condition that it must be approved by the Parliament and that the Council should also adopt it with a qualitative majority. If the same country again wants to be a member of the Union, it should of course follow all the formalities once again.

- **More common defense policy:**

In terms of the European defense policy, Lisbon Treaty caused more cooperation between the member states. It was a big step in the way of a more European integration. The defense commitment, i.e. member states' obligation to provide help in case of an external attack against a member state has had an important effect in making the Union's members more united. In addition, the expansion of the EU's fight against terrorism has been a major point of the obligations relating to defense after adoption of the Lisbon Treaty.

In the context of European defense policy, the Lisbon Treaty tied the member states to take on more responsibilities, which had a very important role in the European integration process.

The security cooperation in EU is also another dimension of the decisions taken in order to protect the member states against external threats.

One of the main points of the Lisbon Treaty is a very close cooperation between the countries' police and judicial authorities, particularly in the fight against crime and security issues in the way that the boundaries gradually could be removed.

- **A peace-oriented Europe:**

Basically, the dominant mindset, which after the end of the World War II has been fighting for a European community, has always tried for pacifist and cooperative relationship, at least among the European countries. With the exceptions of involvement of countries like Britain and France in wars in some parts of the world outside the EU, EU countries' foreign policies since the World War II have been based on the avoidance of war in their relationship to other countries. The EU has even been criticizing positions relative to military involvements in Iraq and to some extent in Afghanistan. Even Gerhard Schröder, the then German chancellor, warned against an attack on Iraq, because he believed that an attack could undermine the international alliance against terrorism (Information, August 7, 2002).

Lisbon Treaty has contributed to this fundamental principle, so that the Union won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012. That was due to EU's efforts to bring peace, stability, democracy and ensuring human rights. In Article 21, it appears that the union's actions on the international perspective should contribute to peace. The article emphasizes, "preserve peace, prevent conflicts and strengthen international security ... " (Article 21, 2, c).

EU in the international perspective:

The international role: Basically, the new ideas in the EU indirect - in different ways - have had influences on other countries around the world. Different countries have at least within limited areas tried to copy the EU pattern, for example, in Latin America "Mercosur" has been created as an economic and political cooperation between Latin American countries. In South Asia and even in Africa there are also establishing such collaborations.

The EU is a successful example of inter- governmental cooperation. Therefore, it has been very inspiring in this regard.

EU's main international impact: With regard to changes caused by the Lisbon Treaty, the EU seen from the international politics is turned into a key player in par with U.S., Russia and China. In addition, one can predict that it is becoming more and more influential in many of the global issues. That is because the EU countries have been through several democratic processes.

A lot of the challenges facing the EU today take place outside its borders. Fighting poverty in Africa, the issue of nuclear energy in Iran, the continued Russian influence in the East of Europe and thus its threat for the European democracy, and the environmental issues are examples of these challenges. That is in contrast to the EU's earlier role, where the mechanisms of its foreign policy were not very effective.

The High Representative for EU foreign policy - Khavier Solana - because of him to be the representative of all the member countries - had politically been a respected position and status, but his resources and bargaining powers were very limited. He had not very diplomatic power, because the European Council and its nine commissions adopted the decisions. The cooperation between the commissioners was in situations difficult and in exceptional situations and actually uncoordinated.

The Lisbon Treaty merged those commissioners in a decision body, but because of pressure from the United Kingdom the name of that new position was not EU foreign minister.

The theoretical glasses:

Among IR theories Liberalism is the most appropriate theory, so that the theory can explain the EU's work generally, and Lisbon Treaty's objectives specific in order to a further European integration. Liberalism believes in the positive development on the basis of a growing mutual cooperation both at the individual and international level, and understanding for the cooperation. The key factor in this argument is the belief on expansion of the modernization and its increasing need for cooperation (Zacher and Matthew 1995).

Within the international relations, liberalism and realism can be considered as two dominant and rival theories, so that the one theory is based on the idea of states' own security and self-interest at the expense of the other states' loss, while the second theory is based on the attitude of supporting freedom, cooperation and dynamics in various aspects of the intergovernmental relationships.

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Liberals' starting point in contrast to the realists is not the vicious and aggressive human nature but rather it is the good, pacifistic and cooperative side of man. They can recognize that man is a self-interested creature and competition seeker, but that man uses also his senses can negotiate, make compromises and go in peace with other people for at least its own advantage. Therefore realists' claims that war and violence are inevitable events in the human life are unfounded.

For better to look at liberalism one can refer to the main distinctions between realism and liberalism:

On that basis liberalism differs from realism in three key areas:

- a) In the same way, which the realistic assumptions are based on the negative nature of man, liberalism establishes own theory based on the positive assumptions of human nature.
- b) Unlike the realists, liberalists are concern to cooperation between states rather than conflict between them.
- c) Liberals believe in the ties between nations beyond the will of the governments. Their emphasis is on the free economic, cultural and social relationships between individuals through NGOs and various groups.

Therefore, progress for the liberals is always synonymous with progress for individual people.

Liberal theories may be the most appropriate theoretical mindset in order to substantiate a theoretical analysis of the European integration.

Since the Second World War, obviously there have occurred conflicts between the European countries and even wars such as the Balkan war. However, inter-state conflicts in the EU since the Union's establishment has been so minimal compared to other regions of the world. In addition, there have never been a war between the community's countries since its establishment in 1951. No agreement can ensure the never happened wars and conflicts between states, but the EU community in general and the Lisbon Treaty specifically are among the international collaborations that have reduced the likelihood of the occurrence of wars and violent conflicts to the ever minimized level.

Within the liberal thinking the position is assumed that war destroys or threatens the freedom, while peace is a prerequisite for the freedom and the guarantee to changes in a positive direction (Claude 1971). In a liberal thinking in IR it is the reconciliation and cooperation in relations between states, which can spend peace and stability in the world. "Freedom" is the main focus for liberals.

Liberals believe that all societies are interdependent; therefore there must be an international system that can ensure economic, political, social, cultural, relations between different communities. On this basis, they see war and instability as the worst situations for a dynamic relationship between individuals, groups and nations worldwide. They see the economic interdependence as one of the important characteristics of the modern world, so that modernity and economic interdependence come hand in hand. They emphasize that this dependence between countries in the modern era should be a determining factor for states to enter into dialogue with each other and avoiding the use of war as a solution.

The emergence of inter-governmental agencies and international organizations in cooperation between states are in itself a strong factor to international relations based on peace and cooperation rather than conflict. The Lisbon Treaty has intensified the already present factor among European nations, so that one can say that the movement of economic activities and labor, facilitation of transport and communication, and exchange of cultural and social knowledge and experiences take place today in the EU at a higher level than in the other regions of the world.

The idea that the creation and development of international institutions can promote democracy and peace around the world was the core of liberal thinking in International Relations (Jackson & Sørensen, 2003). That belief was the main reason for the design of the liberal perspective in IR after Second World War argued that the establishment of international organizations could be an important factor in the prevention of statesmen's warfare and a remedy for the prevention of disputes and conflicts. The classic liberal Immanuel Kant originally inspired this thinking.

EU's current status:

If the European Union is taken as a single country, this country will be the world of the third country in terms of population. Its currency, the Euro, became very impressive quickly to the second most important currency in the global trade. The European Union currently has an important role in the economic, financial and commercial international institutions' policies.

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Economics can be considered as Europe's main arena. Because of the lack of geopolitical power, Europe has chosen trade and economy as its main axis in the international system. Currently the Union's relative strong point lies in the use of civilian resources such as trade, foreign aid and diplomacy based on the economic logic.

The European Central Bank is responsible for managing the Europeans' monetary policy, and important aspects of national policy in the countries from immigration to the environmental issues, and from the social issues to matters relating agriculture are dealt in the trans-national institutions.

The major powers in the EU - Britain, France and Germany can be considered as the three major powers among EU countries. Of the three countries, the UK has a special relationship with the United States. These are relations, which are not anything new, but relations, whose beginning returns to the World War II. In many cases the British collaborate with the United States and in some cases they follow the U.S. policies with regard to international issues.

Because of this special relationship, the UK is not willing to design its foreign policy completely independent of the U.S., which in situations can create a non-coordinating foreign policy with other EU countries. The main reason for this is that Britain considers it to be one of the most important ways to ensure its own national interests.

France is another major power in the European Union. This country is one of the critics of the EU expansion. The French believe that the increase of new members, including the Eastern European countries, because of their security considerations, supports indirectly the strengthening of the U.S. military presence in the European region. They argue that the U.S acts in the way in order to block Russia's influence. France eyes the EU expansion in a factor that lead to slowing down the process of political consensus in the Europe Union. Therefore, France is in favor of a deeper integration rather than an expansion.

Germany is also a major power in the European Union. Within the context of a European integration Germany mainly focuses on economic priorities than political, since the country is the largest economic power in the Union. Therefore, the country avoids the kind of policy harmonization in the EU that would risk damage to Germany's economic relations with other countries.

In addition, Germany unlike France is the main supporter of the EU's expansion to the East. Germany sees the influx of new members as the possibility of opening new economic doors against German products and thus to strengthen the German financial system.

EU after the recent global developments:

In the recent decades, there have been policy changes at the international level, and thus in the European political arena, which have led to many ambiguities around the process of European integration. It has led to the question of which way the process goes. From the end of the Second World War the European political scene has been witness to a confrontation between liberal and socialist parties more or less in all the European countries. Every single of those political currents has had its own ideological tendencies and thus its solutions to society's economic and political problems. Those two old ideological traditions have had a decisive role in shaping the political, economic and cultural composition of the European countries. Both traditions during the Cold War have moved in the direction of a form of integration and national consensus in the framework of the European welfare state. It has created a distinct European model, which more or less is still dominant over the European policy.

Now, this model of the process of Europeanization and globalization has been faced with challenges. The relative decline of the welfare state and a gradual trend in Western Europe to a kind of neo-liberalism has led some upheaval in European countries, both economically and in foreign policy.

Therefore, an identity crisis among European political parties has played a major role in European citizens' relative party identities.

In a certain degree, fundamental and rapid economic and political changes caused a change from ideology orientation to a kind of program orientation, as well as a paradigm shift from the political trend to the management trend.

4. CONCLUSION

The moving process of the European integration has not had a linear path, but that it has experienced many ups and downs. That process throughout its life has had both supporters, who have fought for a complete European integration and also opponents, who have rejected a total European integration in favor of national values, sovereignty and independence. The Lisbon Treaty has been a step forward for the supporters, but it is clear that there is still a long road ahead of the supporters' ideal relation.

The conclusion can be divided in the following points as the main findings and implications of the Lisbon Treaty for the European integration:

- Institutional reforms led to efficiency of the already existing institutions. The reform was considered to be a decisive step towards an economic, political, security and social integration among the European community.
- The Parliament's increased strength resulted in more democratic legitimacy, since the Parliament was an institution that was developed through EU citizens' direct elections.
- Efficiency of the national parliaments' role in EU's decisions and regulations could contribute to the subsidiarity principle.
- After the Lisbon Treaty, the EU institutions as higher authorities than both the state institutions and inter-state organizations got strengthened competences.

In general, the Lisbon Treaty was a major step in a more united Europe. The Union's members more than any other time since the beginning of the creation of the Union have taken steps towards the full integration.

In addition, in the international perspective, the expansion of cooperation within the Union in the fight against terrorism and the Union's efforts for peace and conflict prevention since the Lisbon Treaty has been successful.

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