



THE POLITICAL CHALLENGES FACING THE INTEGRATION OF BULGARIA INTO THE EUROPEAN UNION

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ABSTRACT

The integration of Bulgaria into the European Union is a voluntary process and is the major goal of the foreign policy of the state after the beginning of the changes on 1989. The unification of more than 25 states in the beginning of the 21 century is a tendency without analogue in world political history. The inclusion of Bulgaria in this tendency is a chance for the state, as this will basically provide it with a place among the prevailing trends of world development. Bulgaria needs to participate actively in the debate for the future of Europe. The problem is to find a political formula for integration in the European Union. The current text aimed to outline the fundamental political challenges facing our country in the process of integration. The restructuring of the political space, the change of the functions of the Bulgarian

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political institutions, as well as social change are the basic lines along which the political elite of the state should work.

The European priorities should not determine the foreign relations of Bulgaria, even the opposite; they should be matched with interests in other directions. The integration of Bulgaria into the European Union has to become a factor in the development of relations with other countries. Bulgaria has to walk on its own the path to membership in the European Union, and to make the necessary “sacrifices”.

LOS DESAFÍOS POLÍTICOS QUE ENFRENTA BULGARIA EN EL PROCESO DE INTEGRACIÓN EN LA UNIÓN EUROPEA.

RESUMEN

La integración de Bulgaria en la Unión Europea es un proceso voluntario y el principal objetivo de la política exterior del estado desde el comienzo de los cambios en 1989. La unificación de nada menos que 25 estados al principio del siglo XXI es una corriente sin paralelismos en la historia política del mundo. La inclusión de Bulgaria dentro de esta tendencia es una oportunidad para el estado, ya que básicamente le dotará de un lugar entre los procesos del desarrollo mundial. Bulgaria necesita participar activamente en el debate sobre el futuro de Europa. El problema es encontrar una fórmula política para la integración en la Unión Europea. Este texto pretende subrayar los principales retos políticos que enfrenta Bulgaria en este proceso de integración. La reestructuración del espacio político, el cambio de las funciones de las instituciones políticas búlgaras, así como el cambio social, son las líneas básicas sobre las que debería trabajar la elite política del estado.

Las prioridades europeas no deben determinar las relaciones exteriores de Bulgaria, e incluso lo contrario, éstas deben encajar con los intereses que van hacia otras direcciones. La integración de Bulgaria en la UE debe ser un factor para el desarrollo de las relaciones de Bulgaria con otros países. Bulgaria debe seguir su propio camino para conseguir ser miembro de la UE y, para ello, hacer los “sacrificios” necesarios.

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After the breakdown of the socialist system in Central and Eastern Europe, the European integration faced a number of trials. Most of the countries in the region joined the integration processes. The negotiations for membership in the European Union marked a new phase in the process of enlargement. Until then the enlargement was proceeding under the sign of the Cold War and went through several stages, in which the leading force of the integration of the countries in the Community was the creation of the Common European Market.

In the Community were included countries that are located in Europe, possessing a multi-party system, parliamentary democracy, market economy and developed system for protection of human rights. The political system of the Community in practice combines into one a *federal* and a *functional* method in its set up.

The formula of “**federation**” is based on the understanding, that Europe is not created based on one or another global construct, but based on tangible achievements, the most important of which is solidarity. The establishment and development of the Community and its transformation into a political Union in practice do not have a historical precedent.

The enlargement of the Union with ten and more countries will undoubtedly lead to a number of institutional and political problems on the territory of the member states, as well as on the level of supranational institutions. The basic question that the Union faces is connected to the “model” of cooperation with the candidate countries and, of course, with the discussion of the “model” of future United Europe. In this way in the process of discussing EU enlargement an original new “model” for the development of negotiations with candidate states is created, based on the European agreements for association and on the fulfillment of a series of political and economic criteria for membership, as well as on the ability of the candidate state to assume the obligations proceeding from the community contracts - *acquis communautaire*.

On the other hand, the necessity of commencing negotiations with the states of Central and Eastern Europe puts on the agenda the question of the development of a Common foreign policy and de facto the Community starts to play a much more active role in the direction of its development as a *political union*.

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Some of the most important decrees in the European agreement for association are connected with the perspective for full membership in the European Union and conduction of two-sided political dialogue. The goal of these decrees is to prepare the associated state to assume the obligations, proceeding from the community contracts, and in this way to satisfy one of the basic membership criteria. The agreement for association clearly shows the direction the efforts should take – towards political dialogue, the four freedoms of movement, various sectors of the economy, fighting inflation, science, technologies and the general macroeconomical stabilization, competition and coordination of legislation.

The development of political dialogue leads to strengthening of the rapprochement between the Union and Bulgaria and contributes to lying down of new relations of solidarity and new forms of cooperation.

In this direction **several basic spheres** of development of the political and institutional dialogue can be outlined, which have priority in view of the perspectives of concluding the negotiations with Bulgaria for full membership in the current year. These spheres to an extent will prove to be leading for the public policy of the country, for reaching political stability and consensus between political forces and institutions.

The **first sphere** is the harmonization of legislation and legislation reforms, necessary on the basis of preeminence of primary European law over the internal legislation of the country; as well as reaching the necessary level of political culture and development of the civil society.

The **second sphere is tied** to the problems of realization of the foreign policy orientation of Bulgaria, not only in view of the European integration, but as strategic development of the policy of security and the geopolitical strategy of our country.

From the point of view of the political dialogue, the third sphere is connected with the social problems of the transformation, the freedom of movement of people, development and application of specific social policy, on the basis of the social policy of the Union. The European Union has a positive experience in the integration in the social sphere: one of the most important spheres of life, which reflects vital parameters of the social organism.

The integration of Bulgaria, before all, is a political process, to the extent that the negotiations, as well as the everyday job of taking and applying different decisions is in the hands of political institutions or administrative structures, which increases the role of bureaucracy in the process of realization of political decisions. In this sense the political stability and the stability and independence of the administration and the lack of changes in it guarantee the possibility of quick and painless conclusion of the negotiations.

The cooperation between governments, combined with the application of the principle of subsidiarity, define the path of development of the relations between the states, candidates for the Union, and the associated states. The political partnership between them strengthens the capacity of the Union and makes its structures and procedures more democratic and federal.

The separation of competencies between the member states and the center, on one hand, and the candidate states, on the other, speeds the development of the decentralization processes and gradually supports the development of institutional structure and separation of competencies among the various institutions.

The development of political cooperation transforms the Union into a federal system, constitutional democracy with a two-camber legislative power, which includes the European parliament and the Council with some of its powers, the Commission as a peculiar executive power of the European government.

This “**variable geometry**”, which allows the development of the integration processes at different speeds, makes possible the institutionalization of the European Union. The institutions of the Union need strengthening, which may be realized in the process of accession of new member states or in the very process of integrating the candidate states.

Bulgaria, naturally, strives for full membership in the European Union. That is why it is particularly important during the process of association to assess the path to integration it is going to pursue, at what price, and, respectively, how fast it wants to move towards the desired goal. In this sense the responsibility falls not only on the political elite of the country, but on the civil society as well.

The states of Central and Eastern Europe possess some common characteristics, which determine their direction of integration: all of them are former socialist states, thus the reforms in the political sphere in order to achieve closer correspondence with the western democracies acquired vital role. The integration is of voluntary character, which predetermines the overall political attitude towards the criteria for full membership.

In this direction, in the process of association and negotiations for full membership in the European Union, three basic factors were outlined as decisive before us: the necessity of building a healthy and competitive economy, growing role of political stabilization, and achievement and maintenance of macroeconomic environment.

The necessity of building a healthy and competitive economy, capable of dealing with the results of economic restructuring and social reform, is tied to a reasonable balance between economic goals and social needs as a prerequisite for successful completion of the transition. The building of such an economy is inevitably connected to the political stability in the respective state.

The political stability will play in the future an ever increasing in importance role for the development of the processes of adaptation of the states to full membership.

Increasingly on the agenda will appear the requirement for viable and active institutions, which will fulfill the integration strategy.

In this context it is necessary to secure a relative stability of the prices as well, limiting the disbalances in the balance of payments and the budget deficit, stabilization of the currency and economic growth.

The challenges for Bulgaria are in the basis of the challenges for the European Union as well. The integration of Bulgaria will depend directly on the ability of EU to reform the institutions and the decision-making process on the basis of challenges it will face in the course of work after the admittance of the first 10 states as full members.

The analysis shows that a number of the formulations of the Contract for the European Union are out of date, while others are unsuitable, because at their preparation the current and future problems of Europe were not taken into consideration.

At a first place, the Contract does not recognize that most of the candidate states are in favor of accession on the conditions of preserving their independent national identity. Reckoning with the national system of state is required in a procedural plan of the Union as well, through conducting referendums in the countries, candidates for membership in the Union.

At a second place, the affirmed model for development of policies and instruments of action of the European Union is characterized with preserving the right of choice of action or inaction of the separate member states. This approach is enforced as the most acceptable technology of choice of variants for incorporating the national interests into the policy of the European Union. The accepted model of “**variable geometry**” for participation will reinforced with the new enlargement of the Union in 2004.

At a third place, the enlargement will make necessary the development of the institutions of the Union. This institutional aspect of the European Union will have an important further effect on the requirements for preparation for membership in the Union.

Too much is expected in this regard, because the European Union now has to offer to its current members, as well as to the candidates for membership, a stable framework and clear direction of development in regard to the final goal. The longer the creation of this framework and the solution of institutional issues are delayed, the longer the Union’s enlargement with other countries, belonging to Europe, is delayed.

Besides on this common factor, the process of adaptation and full integration of Bulgaria will depend on a number of specific **factors**, which realization is in the competencies of the Union.

The provision of wider access to the markets of the member states of the European Union in the spheres, in which the goods produced in Bulgaria are competitive, is one of the fundamental factors that will influence the processes of integration. In practice this means opening the western European markets to these goods, for whose production we have comparative advantages, i.e. the so called “*sensitive*” goods, which still face and will face limitations in their export to western European markets in the near future.

As important as is the European agreement for association by itself, its practical realization in conditions of protectionist pressure is even more important. It has to be emphasized that the existence of the structural reform is highly dependent on the stable and favorable external conditions.

The transformation of the PHARE programme into an investment programme turns into a must, as this would allow it to play more active role in preparing the states for full membership. Along with a number of opportunities for assistance, for instance in bringing closer the legislation in different spheres, as well as the specific application of the Agreement, the PHARE programme could play a major role for the investment sphere. A considerable problem for Bulgaria is the growth of foreign investment in the country, as the successful preparation of the country for the integration process depends heavily on their increase.

The transformation of the PHARE programme into a predominantly investment programme can assist in finding solutions to a number of important problems for the states, thus, for its help to be effective, the PHARE programme needs greater flexibility and adaptation to the competitive needs of the states. This will allow for improving the efficiency of the programme and will increase its economic impact.

The opening of the programmes of the European Union for participation has a positive impact on the overall process of preparation for full membership. The participation in the programmes will increase the general capacity of the states for participation in the integration processes. Important in this case is not only the financial support, which the states may receive in the various programmes, but the opportunities, which the programmes offer for establishing contacts between institutions at different levels for teaching skills of preparation and management of European projects, for creation of a *lobby* among various milieus in the member states for the integration of the associated states in the European Union.

The participation in the European programs will activate the process of rapprochement and will assist in the solution of some critical for Bulgaria problems.

At the same time, the political stability in the country is the most important condition for the achievement of the necessary progress, conclusion of the negotiations and realization of the transition to the real entering of the state into the European Union in 2007. The case in point is not only the reaching of unanimity and unity of action of political institutions and political parties, but increasing the

capacity for completing the necessary changes in the political restructuring of the state with the aim to promptly fulfill the requirements for full membership.

One of the greatest challenges, facing the Bulgarian political elite is connected to the problem of the alteration of the Constitution of the state, harmonization of the legislation and the necessity of rethinking some functions of the current political institutions in the context of full membership.

The problem of the alterations of the Constitution precedes significantly in time the admittance of Bulgaria for a full member of the European Union. If the enlargement of the Union had included our country in the period till the end of the century or before 2005, it would have to be devoted to setting the Constitution of the state in correspondence with the requirements of the constituent contracts. Because of the fact that Bulgaria will be admitted as full member in 2007, and the European unification is a dynamic, irregular, gradual process, whose legal basis or primary law originates as international regulation and traverses the constitutionalisation of contracts to reach in the future to the creation of an European constitution, the character of the alterations will be conditioned on the tendencies in the development of the “Constitution of the European Union” as well.

In contrast to the legislative reforms, the alterations of the constitution require significantly more profound public discourse, as a result of which a higher level of societal agreement is generated.

The preparation for admittance of Bulgaria as a full member of the Union in the context of the ratification of the primary law, encompasses the problem for setting the Constitution in correspondence of the requirements of the constituent contracts, before concluding the agreement for accession and ratification of the primary law. The European agreement for Bulgaria and the White Book, which stipulate obligations for aligning the legislation, do not contain requirements for alteration of the Constitution. This is so because the countries, preparing for full membership in the period before the accession, face the problem of aligning legislation, and not the issue of ensuring the preeminence, direct, universal and immediate action of European law on the territory of the associated members.

The analysis of the alterations of the Constitution is based on several premises, which in basic lines can be systemized along the following trends: evaluation of the current condition, tied to removing discrepancies, preceding admittance; comparative exploration of the alterations in the constitutions of the member states of the European Union and in the ratification of the constituent contracts of the communities; as well as alterations in the constitutions of the states, admitted as full members after the enlargement of the Union after 1993 and, of course, the enlargement in 2004; drawing tendencies in the development of unwritten “constitution” of the Union and the already proposed by the European Covenant and discussed Constitution, which will change the range of alterations of the

Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria as of the moment, in which the state will be admitted as a full member.

Making the constitutions of the countries entering the EU uniform is different from introducing international standards to the internal juridical order, as part of the problem of applying international contracts. This process is different from the process of aligning the legislation due to the nature of constitutions which are underlying laws with supreme juridical power acting on the territories of the member countries.

The constitutional *acquis communautaire* is a level of correspondence and interaction between the primary law and the constitutions of the member countries. The ratification of the primary law whereupon a number of the EU countries made amendments to their constitutions outlines a tendency which suggests the need of constitutional amendments accompanying the acceptance of future changes in the primary law of the European Union, connected to changes in the EU Contract, or, even more important grounds, the acceptance of a new Contract or European Constitution.

The newly-admitted full-fledged members of the EU **will have to accept completely** the primary law and align their constitutions to its requirements as soon as they are admitted. It is obvious that the later a country is accepted, the more and bigger the changes to its constitution, inasmuch as the level of community reached will widen the gap between the primary law and the constitutions of the non-member states, and the EU countries.

The need for constitutional changes before Bulgaria is admitted to the EU is based on several factors, which, if cleared up in advance, will overcome opponents' arguments and will uncover to a large extent the imperatives of some of the future amendments to the constitution.

Above all, the changes related to the accession process originate from the inadequacy of the existing constitutional arrangements in Bulgaria when it comes to putting European law into action.

Next, the legal nature of the primary and secondary communal law rules out the possibility of using the existing constitutional mechanism to ensure an acting European law.

The nature of the necessary amendments does not allow the Constitutional Court to adapt via interpreting the mechanism for introduction of the international law in the national legal system as outlined in the Constitution's text. A comparative analysis of the constitutional changes the EU member states made before and after the Maastricht Treaty is indicative of the need of amendments to the Bulgarian constitution and presupposes the creation of a new constitutional mechanism in the country.

The directions of constitutional change are based on the necessity of aligning the fundamental law to the world standards in the field of basic rights and the need of improving the effectiveness in the functioning of the established institutional configurations, so that our country can comply with the recommendations related to the political criteria for membership.

The first group of directions includes amendments connected to the change of constitutional jurisdictions of the current political institutions in the country. Relegating part of the national sovereignty and delegating rights and jurisdiction to the European Union institutions presupposes limiting the function of the current institutions – Parliament, Constitutional Court, President, Central Bank, etc.

The National Assembly will be deprived of its exclusive right to pass the acting legislation of the country and to adapt to Bulgarian law through ratification of all international norms, pacts and conventions. EU law will have direct action on the country's territory and the National Assembly will lose its intermediary function. Undoubtedly, the interaction between the Government and Parliament will have to be reformulated with regard to their representation to European institutions. The jurisdiction of the President will also have to undergo changes until it is clear who will represent the country to the European Union – the president or the prime minister. If Bulgaria is to remain a parliamentary republic, it is only logical that the seat in the European Council will be taken by the prime minister. This change also touches upon the President's jurisdiction over issues of citizenship and his functions as a supreme commander of armed forces.

Bulgaria's accession to the European Union will influence the functions of the executive, too. Its jurisdiction will be expanded to the Council of Ministers, meaning that it will have more legislative initiative on a supranational level, but it will also have to carry out the decisions of these supranational institutions. Thus ministers will be able to adopt acts that will have supreme power over Bulgarian law.

The prerogatives of the Constitutional Court will be limited, having in mind that it will not be able to contend the common EU norms.

If the country is admitted to the Economic and currency union, the role of the Bulgarian National Bank will also change, because it will participate in the development of a Common monetary policy but it will cease to perform its current functions. The lev as a national currency will be replaced by the euro.

The second group of directions is related to the fundamental rights of citizens. Article 22, which deals with the opportunity of foreign legal and natural persons to acquire property of land, is directly linked to this group, while other amendments are only indirectly related to the accession process as their function is to reinforce the principle of rule of law, which is one of the political criteria formulated as requirements in Program 2000. Keeping the existing form of Article 22 and full membership in the EU is incompatible, since the current law openly contradicts the underlying principle of common law for free movement of people, goods, services

and capital, and can also be seen as discriminating towards European citizens who do not have Bulgarian citizenship.

Moreover, the Constitution has to regulate issues such as the opportunity of foreign citizens to participate in elections for European institutions and local governance organs. This means that active and passive voting rights will be introduced – foreigners will be allowed to vote and be elected to the mentioned institutions.

Furthermore, some of the suggestions for constitutional amendments aim to improve institutional and functional constitutional guarantees for individual rights: establishing an ombudsman position similarly to the Union's member states and some of the associated new democracies, as well as in the European Parliament; improving the work of the judicial system; allowing for individual grievances to the Constitutional Court, which will make the citizens a legitimate side in the constitutional process of defending their rights whenever they have been breached by unconstitutional laws.

The suggestions for constitutional amendments in the field of institutions are directed towards assuring a more effective implementation of the constitutionally-limited governance, based on the principle of rule of law and political democracy.

In conclusion, the directions and content of the changes to the Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria can be only partially formulated as of now, because they are a variable defined by the content the *acquis communautaire* will have at the point when Bulgaria will be accepted.

The political and institutional compatibility of Bulgarian democracy with the European Union is not immediately clear. In many cases, there's a lack of institutions and procedures to coordinate the national efforts towards European integration. Bulgarian counterparts of various European institutions are not easily identifiable, either. For this reason efforts must be geared in at least two directions.

Firstly, an institutional network of organizations dealing directly with Bulgaria's accession to the EU is necessary. In this plan, a common inter-institutional committee for "European matters" can be created; specially designated highly placed officials will be responsible for European integration in each ministry and other institutions; a dedicated committee within the National Assembly will facilitate the coordination of party positions so that consensus can be reached, parties which are not represented in Parliament will be invited, i.e. a permanently functioning **European Round Table** will be created which will aim to wipe out each party's bias and give more room for consensus over tangible practical issues of accession.

Essentially this means a revision of the existing institutional structure in order to create analogues of the European institutional partners. At any rate, the whole spectrum of EU functions will have to find its analogue in Bulgaria, every functional unit must be able to communicate with a similar structure in the Bulgarian administrative system.

Determining the foreign policy goals of the Union is not an easy task, either. In many cases the influential political forces and the public opinion agree that the foreign policy interests of the European Union as a whole and of Bulgaria in particular coincide. This is an objective process, but the point is to expand the area of intersection even further. A political analysis shows that Bulgaria will have to “*sacrifice*” something in the name of goals which are more important, such as EU accession. The debate over the need of “**sacrifice**” is yet to begin, but so far nobody has started it.

Another important question is which scheme will Bulgaria support for the eastward expansion of the EU: “**all or no one**” or “**only those who are prepared**”? If it’s the latter case, Bulgaria will face the logical competition of other Central and Eastern European countries, as well as explicable jealousy.

The preparedness to handle these newly forming rivalries, competitions and even conflicts is part of the whole preparation for EU accession.

Last, but not least, is the preparation of the public opinion for the accession. Even though the European Union in general enjoys high authority in Bulgaria, the actual accession will bring about effects that will not be accepted unequivocally by the general public.

As far as the field of politics is concerned, the shifting of the decision-making centers from national to supranational level will fuel populist rhetoric about “*national interest*.” Here the problem lies primarily in overcoming the “state-centered” mode of thinking which is also related to nationalism. The decentralization and deconcentration of state power and the development of local self-governance will surely help to overcome this problem. The more self-identification is simultaneously regional and European, the less it is nationalistic.

The future enlargement of the EU is directly linked with more pervasive European integration and the creation of a united Europe. Several defining factors can be pointed out here: the institutional reform and stabilization of the European Union and the end of recession in member states, particularly Germany; the stabilization of the Central and Eastern European countries and Russia; and the gradual movement of candidate countries towards fulfilling the requirements and conditions for membership in the European Union.

The EU is at the threshold of its fifth enlargement. Since its establishment in 1957, it grew from six to fifteen members. Having in mind the number of current candidates, the 10 countries which are to become full members this year, Bulgaria and Romania, and the three Mediterranean states Cyprus, Turkey and Malta, probably by mid-21st century the European Council will have more than 25 members.

The fifth enlargement of the European Union is different from all previous ones. For the first time, the candidates for Union membership are significantly less

developed in terms of economy. These serious economic differences will probably persist after the accession, although not in the same proportions.

Such challenge never stood before the Union at previous enlargement stages. The differences between the northward and future eastward expansion can be traced in several directions: the common political context, the economic conditions, the driving forces, and the general level of readiness.

The political context is chiefly related to formulating a model of the European Union with its new structure, finalized in the Maastricht Treaty. The eastward expansion is characterized mainly by the period of euphoria in the beginning of the 1990s. As far as security was concerned, the Eastern European countries found themselves in the middle of a “gray” zone, and even more, separated from each other. In contrast to Northern European countries, we, Eastern Europeans are not questioning our foreign policy orientation. For many years now, since 1990, the European Union has been the driving force behind the reforms, and the public debate which is necessary for a future accession will hardly ever touch upon foreign policy issues seriously.

The assessment of the Bulgarian foreign policy and the politics of security today lead to the expectation that as a member of the European Union Bulgaria will be able to carry out its obligations effectively. This, of course, does not mean that a more careful analysis of the consequences of the joining of our policy in regard to the states from the Third World, some traditional partners, etc, is not needed.

Against our readiness, the European Union seems not ready today neither politically nor as a construction to admit a number of new members, without this undermining the balance on which everything in the Union rests. In spite of the changed political conjuncture, the chance of Eastern enlargement is in its historical uniqueness. Regardless of its high price and the difficulties, it can restore Europe’s homogeneity and transform it into a major factor on the international scene, which makes it a political challenge of first rank.

The positions of the member states of the European Union in regard to the enlargement are not united. France is against increasing the number of members of the Union, before the existing relations in the Union are further deepened. Spain and Portugal tie this enlargement with receiving better conditions and unifying the standard of living and economic development of all existing member states. Greece supports the enlargement in favor of the states from the Balkan region. This approach of the member states at this stage is due to and corresponds to the existing realities.

The eastern enlargement will happen in a new environment, characterized with significantly less inclination for making concessions, especially in view of the number of the candidates. This presumes that it will be almost impossible to negotiate exceptions for us, and that we will have to commit ourselves to accepting

the whole acquis. This will limit significantly our opportunities for maneuvers and applying a more flexible position.

WHERE IS BULGARIA'S PLACE IN THIS PROCESS?

The analysis of the matter has for its goal to clarify the processes, forms and methods, applied by the European Union in the process of integration, as well as the mechanisms for development of cooperation with the other states of Central and Eastern Europe.

In utilizing the opportunities, which the association in the European Union opened for incorporating Bulgaria into the eurostructures, inevitably there must be a reckoning for the political framework of development of European integration, as well as for the experience of the other associated states, to avoid undesired omissions and delay in the fulfillment of the obligations, negotiated with the European Union.

Bulgaria has to overcome a great challenge, combining in its strategy goals of realization of the necessary internal reforms and goals of the politics of integration. For the optimum fulfillment of its strategy, Bulgaria has to find and maintain a balance between the so outlined goals, so that they are mutually compatible and ensure mutual stimulation of the positive results.

At a first glance the goals of conducting the reforms and the goals of integration into the European Union are fully compatible. **The successful accomplishment of** these goals would provoke acceleration of the internal processes of the reforms, as well as of the process of adaptation to full membership of the Union and its achievement in shorter terms. The difficulty lies in the **choice of strategy**, which combines in the best way the fulfillment of the goals of reforms and the goals of integration of Bulgaria into the European Union.

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