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Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies
Integrating Diversity in the European Union (InDivEU)

The Politics of Differentiated Integration: What do
Governments Want? Country Report - Romania

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Integrating Diversity in the European Union (InDivEU) is a Horizon 2020 funded research project aimed at contributing concretely to the current debate on the 'Future of Europe' by assessing, developing and testing a range of models and scenarios for different levels of integration among EU member states. InDivEU begins from the assumption that managing heterogeneity and deep diversity is a continuous and growing challenge in the evolution of the EU and the dynamic of European integration.

The objective of InDivEU is to maximize the knowledge of Differentiated Integration (DI) on the basis of a theoretically robust conceptual foundations accompanied by an innovative and integrated analytical framework, and to provide Europe's policy makers with a knowledge hub on DI. InDivEU combines rigorous academic research with the capacity to translate research findings into policy design and advice.

InDivEU comprises a consortium of 14 partner institutions coordinated by the Robert Schuman Centre at the European University Institute, where the project is hosted by the European Governance and Politics Programme (EGPP). The scientific coordinators of InDivEU are Brigid Laffan (Robert Schuman Centre) and Frank Schimmelfennig (ETH Zürich).

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Abstract

This working paper analyses the salience of differentiated integration (DI) for subsequent Romanian governments between 2007 and 2020, and the positions that Romanian decision-makers took with respect to DI during this period. The salience analyses indicate that there has been a relatively low salience of DI models (i.e. multi-speed and multi-end EU) and DI mechanisms (i.e. enhanced cooperation and opt-outs) but a high salience of DI instances (i.e. twenty-one differentiated EU policies) in the official discourse emanating from the Romanian government during this period. The position of successive Romanian governments with regard to DI was strongly in favour of more integration, especially through accession both to the Schengen area and to the eurozone, but fervently against any type of DI models. This is explained in part by Romania's pro-European electorate and decision-makers, and also by the desire of Romanian governments' to be on an equal footing with other, typically older, EU Member States within the EU's decision-making processes. It seems that this pro-European stance is not context-dependent but prevails across all DI instances, as Romanian decision-makers from across the political spectrum share the same general desire to strengthen the European project and to support its evolution towards ever-closer union.

Keywords

Romania, differentiated integration, multi-speed EU, salience, Schengen.

Summary of Results

I. Salience

The salience analyses indicate that there has been a relatively low salience of differentiated integration (DI) models and DI mechanisms but a high salience of DI instances in the official discourse emanating from the Romanian government between 2007 and 2020. From the systematic analysis of various forms of government discourse, two key findings emerge. First, the salience of DI models was generally low until it peaked around the debate on the Commission's White Paper on the Future of Europe in 2017 and has remained relatively high ever since. Second, most references to DI instances were made with respect to Schengen and to Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). The salience of Schengen and EMU are, in the case of Romania, an expression of a preference for more integration rather than for any 'opt-outs,' given Romania's legal obligations to join the Schengen area and the eurozone. While references to DI models were made mainly in the national parliament and on the fringes of European Council meetings, references to DI instances such as with respect to Schengen, EMU and Brexit were highly salient across all the arenas for government communication considered in this paper.

II. Position

The position of successive Romanian governments with regard to DI during the period under investigation was strongly in favour of more integration, especially through accession to the Schengen area and to the eurozone, but fervently against any type of DI models. This is explained in part by Romania's pro-European electorate and decision-makers, and also by the Romanian governments' desire to be on an equal footing with other, often older, EU Member States in EU decision-making processes. Therefore, any sort of European integration involving different speeds or different shapes is perceived as a sign of discrimination that would leave Romania in Europe's periphery, while any sort of enhanced co-operation is seen as a chance for Romania to boost its power and influence at the European level. Romanian leaders seem to perceive the 'enhanced co-operation' Treaty mechanism as an integration mechanism that provides room for all the European states to act together sooner or later, as the door remains open for Member States to join forms of enhanced co-operation when they are prepared to do so. It seems that this pro-European position is not context-dependent but prevails across all DI instances, as Romanian decision-makers from across the political spectrum share the same general aim of strengthening the European project and of supporting its evolution towards ever-closer union.

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1. Introduction

This report seeks to analyse the salience of differentiated integration (DI) for Romanian governments and the positions that Romanian decision-makers have taken with respect to DI.

The report distinguishes three levels of abstraction in government discourse on DI. **First**, two different models of DI are distinguished at the conceptual level. On the one hand, the ‘multi-speed EU’ model depicts DI as a temporary phenomenon and implies that all the Member States (MSs) will ultimately reach the same level of integration. On the other hand, the ‘multi-end EU’ model depicts DI as a potentially permanent feature of European integration. In this model, the MSs do not necessarily strive to reach similar levels of integration. Instead, each MS can ‘pick and choose’ to adjust its own level of integration to national preferences and capacities. **Second**, the analysis focuses on DI mechanisms. On the one hand, the enhanced co-operation mechanism allows a limited group of MSs – under certain conditions – to pursue deeper integration without having to involve all the MSs. On the other hand, the ‘opt-out’ mechanism allows MSs to refrain from participating in common policies. In short, enhanced co-operation allows a MS to integrate more than other MSs, while ‘opt-outs’ allow a Member State to integrate less than other MSs. **Finally**, the analysis looks at various instances of differentiated policies and policy fields. A total of twenty-one instances are included in the analysis. They are grouped in four different categories: (a) instances of enhanced co-operation, (b) instances of opt-out policy fields, (c) instances of inter se agreements and (d) instances of external agreements. Inter se agreements are agreements which EU Member States conclude outside the framework of the European Union. External agreements are agreements between the EU and non-EU states.

The results are based on an analysis of various government documents (Appendix 4). Six document categories were selected to cover a broad spectrum of venues and government actors. From the more abstract-programmatic to the more specific, the report looks at what government programmes say about DI, at what prime ministers say about DI and at parliamentary debates on DI. This report is the result of both quantitative and qualitative analyses of government programmes issued between 2005 and 2019, key speeches made by Romanian heads of state and prime ministers between 2006 and 2020 and parliamentary debates held between 1996 and 2020.¹

The paper is composed of two sections: the first contains a quantitative analysis of the salience of DI-related key words in the above discourse and the second comprises both quantitative and qualitative analyses of Romanian governments’ positions on DI. The salience of DI models, DI mechanisms and DI instances is assessed by counting key words in the above-mentioned documents (Appendix 5). The assumption is that the more a government talks about DI, the more relevant it is. While key word counts in government programmes and PM speeches show the salience of DI at specific moments in time, the analysis of parliamentary debates allows us to identify trends over time and situational peaks. To enhance the reliability of the findings, the key word counts were triangulated with a close reading of selected key documents. Regarding the governments’ positions, the results are based on a manual attitude analysis of parliamentary debates. To this end, references to DI key words in parliamentary debates were manually coded as negative, neutral or positive using the MAXQDA software.

As we will see, references to DI-related models, mechanisms and instances have been present in Romanian political debates since the early 2000s, but increasingly so ever since the country joined the European Union (EU) in 2007. Two of the DI instances that are perceived as opt-outs from the European integration process, namely Schengen and European Monetary Union (EMU), are perceived – in Romania’s case – as instances that allow for more European integration. Romania is legally obliged to join the Schengen area and the eurozone as soon as the country meets the technical requirements, and therefore is unable to opt-out even if it wished to. While accession to the eurozone has been repeatedly

¹ Note: The collection of data for the year 2020 covers parliamentary debates held up until 1 April 2020.

postponed by Romanian decision-makers due to the country's lack of technical preparedness, Romania's accession to the Schengen area has been repeatedly halted by the European Council. This stands in stark contrast with the European Commission's comprehensive technical evaluation and recognition of the country's full compliance with the Schengen accession criteria, which was issued in 2011.² Moreover, the successful completion of the technical evaluation process was acknowledged by the European Parliament, which approved Romania's accession to Schengen, at least in theory, in June 2011. The Interior Ministers of the member states also acknowledged Romania's positive results in complying with the Schengen accession criteria in June 2011. Given that the Council's vote is essentially based on political considerations rather than on technical or legal ones, ever since 2011 Romania has been caught in an indeterminate state between having fulfilled the technical requirements and becoming a fully-fledged member of the Schengen area. Hence, the country's protracted accession to Schengen has come to be seen by Romanians as a symbol of European differential treatment and distrust in the country's capacity to protect the EU's external borders. In spite of the breach of trust in EU decision-making processes that has been brought about by the politicised enlargement of Schengen – Romania is still keen to opt-in to the Schengen zone.

It is also worth noting that over the past 15 years, Romania has had a notably unstable political system, having had 13 prime ministers and 16 government reshuffles since 2004.³ This political instability at the domestic level is reflected in the relatively high number of government programmes considered in this report, with nine covered in total. To facilitate readers' understanding of the findings presented here, and to enhance analytical clarity, transparency and verifiability, I have included several appendices: the first captures Romania's degree of integration in Europe's variety of integration circles; the second summarises the status of Romania's participation in various instances of DI in the EU; the third lists the presidents and prime ministers that have governed Romania since 2004 together with the durations of their mandates and their political affiliations; the fourth provides an overview of the documents which were analysed for this report; and the fifth provides a translation of DI key words from the English language into the Romanian language. Two additional appendices provide further details of some of the findings in the main text.

The second section of the report details the results of the salience analysis. The third section details the results of the position analysis.

2. How salient is DI for Romanian governments?

To assess the salience of DI in Romanian government discourse, three levels of abstraction (i.e. DI models, DI mechanisms and DI instances) have been distinguished. A range of methods, including computer-assisted word counting, manual word counting and close reading, were employed to assess the degree to which and at which level of abstraction DI was referred to in government programmes, prime minister and head of state speeches and other key official pronouncements that make reference to DI, head of state European Council statements and parliamentary debates. The analysis proceeds from the more general (i.e. government programmes) to the more specific (i.e. Council statements/parliamentary debates).

² See, in particular, the report by European deputy Carlos Coelho in which the following is indicated: "*At this moment, both Romania and Bulgaria have proved that they are sufficiently prepared to apply all the provisions of the Schengen acquis in a satisfactory manner*" in 'Report on the draft Council decision on the full application of the provisions of the Schengen acquis in the Republic of Bulgaria and Romania', A7-0185/2011, 04/05/2011.

³ See Appendix 1 for a detailed overview of Romania's prime ministers between 2005 and 2020.

2.1 The salience of DI in government programmes

In a first step, Romanian government programmes issued between 2005 and 2019 (see Appendix 2) were analysed to gauge the salience of DI with regard to domestic political visions and outlook. To better grasp the salience of EU-related issues in Romanian government programmes, computer-assisted word count analysis was used to assess how often reference was made to the EU in comparison to other domestic issues. The word-count analysis was consistently complemented by qualitative analysis of the government programmes to ensure that the computer-assisted results correctly reflect EU-related issues.

The computer-assisted word count analysis showed that government programmes did not refer specifically to the key words associated with **DI models** (see Appendix 5). Reference was only found to the ‘future of Europe,’ which appeared twice in each of the government programmes issued by the Social Democratic Party (PSD) in 2017 and 2018. Although the specific debate revolving around the future of Europe made ground only from 2017, when the European Commission issued the White Paper on the Future of Europe,⁴ earlier versions of government programmes also made reference to the future of the European project (n=1 in 2008; n=2 in 2012; n=2 in 2013).

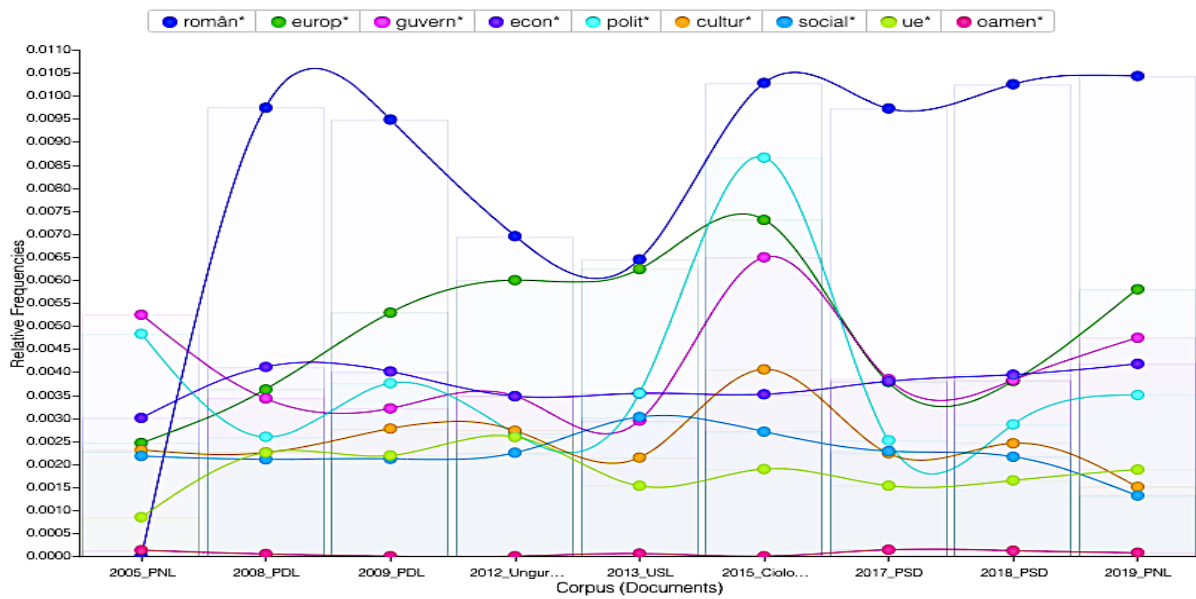
Following this, I proceed with an analysis at a more specific level by looking at the salience of **DI mechanisms** and **DI instances** in government programmes. With respect to DI mechanisms, relatively little reference was made to ‘enhanced co-operation,’ with the expression appearing 12 times in the nine government programmes analysed, while no specific reference was found for ‘opt-out.’

To get an idea of how salient EU-related issues have been in government programmes, I analysed the salience of ‘EU,’ ‘Europe’ and ‘European’ in comparison with issues pertaining to the domestic context. As I show in Figure 1, ‘Europ*’⁵ is the second-most salient term after ‘Romania*,’ being more central to Romanian politics than economic, political, social or cultural issues. Figure 1 clearly shows how Europe’s salience has gradually increased from 2005 to a peak in 2015, dropping to a low level in 2017 and 2018 and climbing up again in 2019. These trends reflect how after Romania’s accession to the EU in 2007 Europe has become central to the country’s government priorities. The 2015 peak can be explained by the fact that the 2015 programme was issued by a pro-European government led by Dacian Cioloş, an outspoken Europhile who – before being appointed Prime Minister (PM) – was the EU’s Agriculture Commissioner and who is currently the leader of the Renew Europe political group in the European Parliament (EP). A similar pattern, although in a far less salient way, was followed by the key word ‘EU’ (Romanian: ‘UE’), which points to a cultural attachment and a recognition of Romania belonging to a family of European nations rather than merely to a pragmatic economic view of the EU as a purely functional project.

⁴ See: European Commission. (2017). *White paper on the future of Europe: Reflections and scenarios for the EU27 by 2025*. European Commission. Brussels, March 2017.

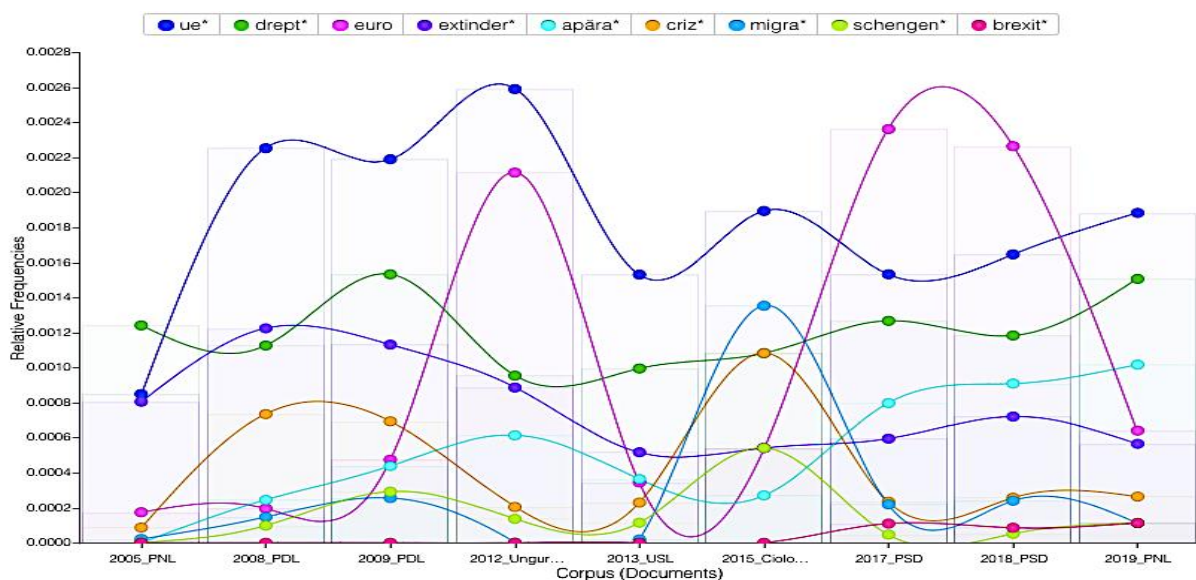
⁵ Note: The word ‘Europ*’ is a root for ‘Europe’ and/or ‘European’, and can therefore be used to refer to Europe at large and also to European institutions (e.g. the European Union, the European Commission, the European Council) or simply to European approaches or perspectives. The same stands for the root word ‘Romania’ (‘român’).

Figure 1 - The salience of the EU in government programmes



I proceed with the analysis by focusing on the salience of **DI instances**. As Figure 2 shows, issues that relate to DI instances in the EU, such as the euro single currency, rights, enlargement, defence, crisis, migration, Schengen and Brexit, are quite salient for Romanian governments. We can therefore see in Figure 2 that euro-related salience spiked in the programmes issued in 2012, 2017 and 2018, pointing to the priority of Romanian governments of the country’s prospects of ultimately becoming a member of the eurozone during these years. The subsequent falls in salience of ‘euro’ can be explained by Romania’s delays in adhering to EMU precepts, as the country failed to meet the accession requirements by 2012, and subsequently by 2019. In March 2018, the PSD-led government decided to postpone Romania’s target date to adopt the single currency to 2024.

Figure 2 - The salience of EU-related issues in government programmes



Similarly, the salience of Schengen is somewhat constant across the nine government programmes under analysis, with a peak observable in 2015. Romania’s protracted accession to the Schengen area has been one of the thorniest issues between Romanian governments and the EU. In spite of having met the

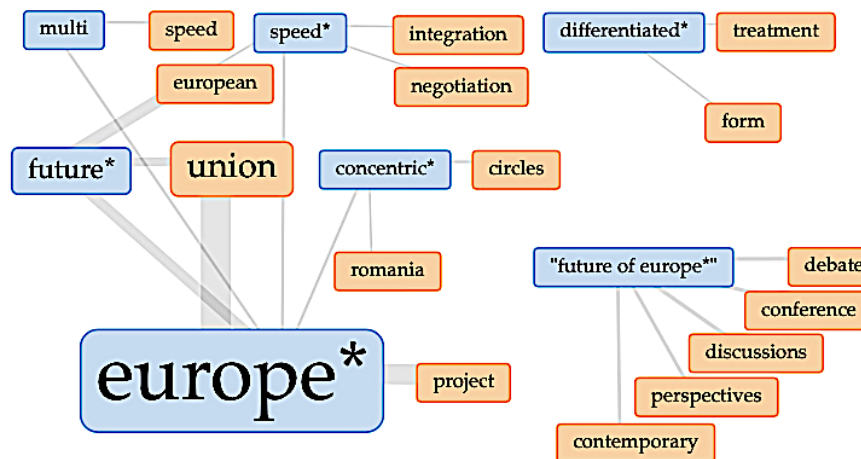
technical requirements since 2011, there has been a political standstill in the European decision-making process regarding Romania’s accession to the Schengen area. This, combined with the migration crisis from 2015, is therefore reflected in the relatively low salience of Schengen in the government programmes in 2017, 2018 and 2019. However, the latest government programme issued in 2019 by the National Liberal Party (PNL) stresses the importance of continuing steps towards joining both the Schengen Area and the eurozone. It is interesting to see that the key word ‘Brexit’ was mentioned 15 times in the government programmes issued since 2017 (i.e. n=7 in 2017; n=5 in 2018; n=3 in 2019), one of the main concerns of the Romanian governments being that of ensuring fair and non-discriminatory treatment for Romanian citizens in the context of future EU-UK arrangements (PSD, 2018; PSD, 2017).

2.2 The salience of DI in the context of the presidency of the EU Council

In a second step, given that Romania recently held the rotating presidency of the European Council in the first half of 2019, the study proceeds with an analysis of Romania’s government programme for the presidency and key speeches made by President Klaus Iohannis and PM Viorica Dăncilă held before, during and after Romania’s presidency mandate regarding the country’s assumed responsibilities, objectives and achievements during the presidency or regarding the future of Europe more generally. The computer-assisted analysis indicates that there was a relatively high salience of DI-related key words in the government’s official communications at both the domestic and European levels, be they relating to DI models, DI mechanisms or DI instances.

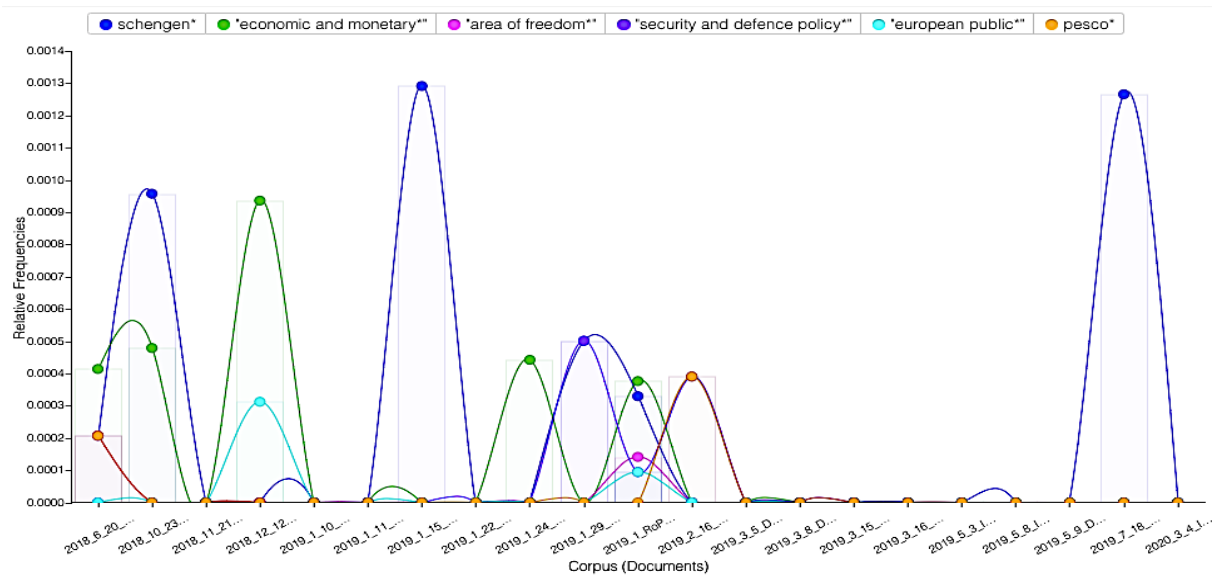
As we can see in Figure 3, which showcases the frequency of key words pertaining to **DI models** and the links between them, the most salient key phrases were the ‘future of Europe,’ and also ‘multi-speed,’ ‘concentric circles’ and ‘differentiated treatment.’ No reference was found for the key phrases ‘variable geometry,’ ‘core Europe’ or ‘two-tier Europe.’

Figure 3 - The salience of and links between key words related to DI models in the government’s official communications regarding Romania’s presidency of the European Council



When analysing the salience of **DI mechanisms** (see Figure 4 below), the results of the analysis are rather scarce. No reference to ‘opt-out’ and only one reference to ‘enhanced co-operation’ was found, which appears in the government’s programme for the presidency. The analysis of instances of internal DI indicates that the most salient term is ‘Schengen’ (n=17), followed closely by ‘economic and monetary union’ (n=14), ‘security and defence’ (n=13) and then the less frequent ‘area of freedom, security and justice’ (n=4), ‘European public prosecutor’ (n=3), ‘PESCO’ (n=2) and ‘Charter of fundamental rights’ (n=1).

Figure 4 - The salience of internal DI instances in the government’s official communications regarding Romania’s presidency of the European Council



As for the salience of external DI instances, the most frequently occurring reference was made to the Eastern partnership (n=13), whereas reference to the European Stability Mechanism, the Single Resolution Mechanism and the European Economic Area was made only once each, again in the government’s official programme for the presidency. These were the most salient terms that the government made reference to during the country’s presidency, which clearly points to an emphasis on further European co-operation on a range of economic, social, political and security-related fronts (Appendix 6).

2.3 The salience of DI in government key speeches

The study continues with the analysis of official government discourse in the domestic arena, namely the investiture speeches held in the Romanian Parliament by the prime minister and the president, and their speeches relating to the EU or to the future of European integration but excluding the government’s discourse with respect to Romania’s presidency of the European Council analysed in the previous section. This sub-section first analyses the investiture speeches by Romania’s presidents and prime ministers (12 speeches between 2009 and 2019) and subsequent parliamentary debates, and 47 other key government speeches held over the period 2006-2020, including those regarding the Future of Europe debate.⁶ The section then proceeds with the analysis of 54 documents collecting statements made by Romania’s head of state⁷ before and after European Council meetings held between 2011 and 2020.⁸

Following a similar pattern to that outlined in the previous two sections, the salience of DI-related issues in PM and president key speeches is relatively scarce, given the volume of discourse taken into analysis. Focusing first on the salience of **DI models**, the analysis found no explicit reference to ‘differentiated integration.’ However, the results indicate that the governments did consider the

⁶ No document was found on citizen consultations with respect to the Future of Europe debate.

⁷ According to the Romanian Constitution (Art.80) and according to the principle of loyal co-operation between the state institutions, as also interpreted by the jurisprudence of the Constitutional Court of Romania, the romanian head of state can delegate to the prime minister the authority to participate in European Council meetings. This was the case in December 2015, when President Iohannis delegated PM Ciolos to participate in the European Council meeting held in Brussels (17-18 December 2015).

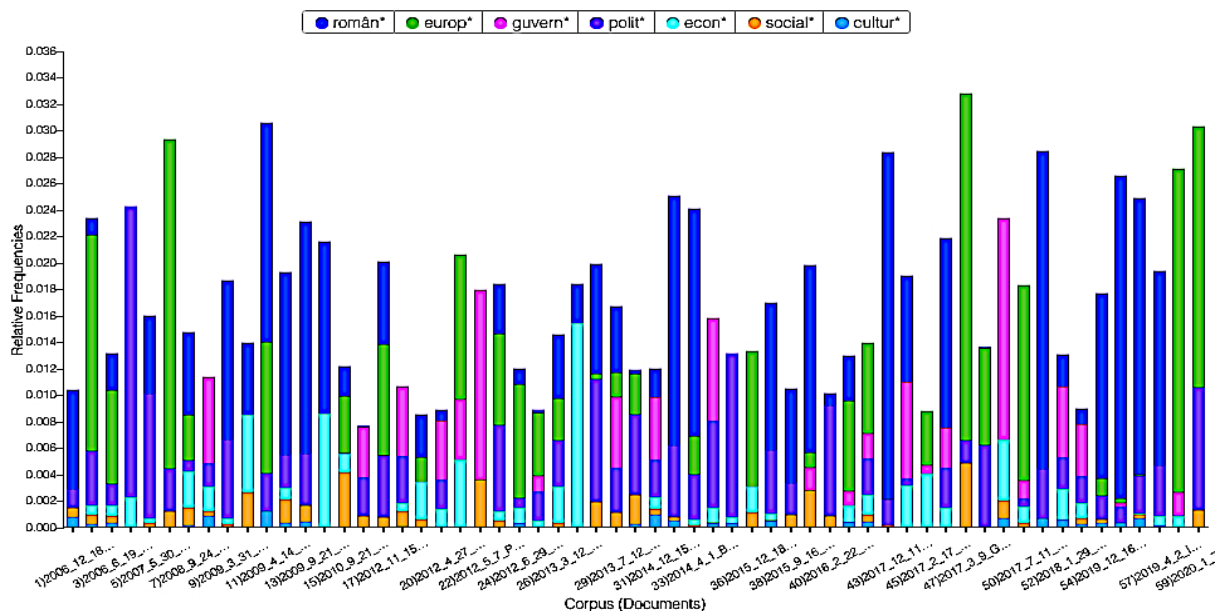
⁸ Note: no earlier statements were found.

emergence of a ‘two-speed Europe’ (n=2 in Basescu, 2013; n=1 in Ponta, 2013) and of ‘concentric circles’ (n=1 in Ciolos, 2016). Specific reference was made to the ‘future of Europe’ in 2006 by President Basescu before Romania’s accession to the EU, and in 2016 by President Iohannis – who also mentioned ‘ever closer union.’ A qualitative analysis of these speeches indicated that no further attention was afforded to the direction or speed of the processes of European integration.

In a second phase, I analysed the salience of **DI mechanisms** and **DI instances**, with the salience of ‘Schengen’ being notable: n=97, along with the Commission’s Co-operation and Verification Mechanism (CVM), with a frequency⁹ of n=43. Since 2007, the Commission’s CVM has monitored Romania’s judicial system and fight against corruption, and has a strong influence over Romania’s accession to the Schengen Area, although the CVM is not among Schengen’s accession conditions. These two terms – Schengen and CVM – have been relatively constantly present in government pronouncements since 2008, with a peak in 2012-2013, when Romania was expecting to be accepted into the Schengen area. While no specific reference was found with respect to the ‘enhanced co-operation’ and ‘opt-out’ DI mechanisms, scarce salience was found with respect to other DI instances, namely ‘Security and Defence Policy’ (n=1 in Tariceanu, 2008; n=2 in Basescu, 2009), ‘Area of freedom, security and justice’ (n=1 in Tariceanu, 2008), ‘Charter of Fundamental Rights’ (n=1 in Tariceanu, 2008; n=1 in Boc, 2009) and ‘Eastern Partnership’ (n=1 in Ciolos, 2015).

Notwithstanding the low salience of DI-related terms found in the analysis of government speeches over the last 15 years, the computer-assisted analysis indicated that the key word ‘Europ*’ (which is a root word for Europe and European) is, as was the case in the previous two sections, the second most salient key word after ‘Romania*’ (see Figure 5 below), having a higher frequency than other political, economic, social or cultural issues. A peak of salience with respect to Europe was registered in 2007, when Romania joined the EU; in 2017, when the debate on the Future of Europe was launched; and in 2019, when pro-European President Klaus Iohannis was re-elected and discussed the future of Europe at the ‘State of the Union’ conference organised by the European University Institute (EUI).

Figure 5 - The salience of the EU in the context in of governments’ key speeches



⁹ Given that CVM translates into Romanian as both ‘MCV’ (n=14) and ‘Mecanismul de cooperare si verificare’ (n=29), we consider the salience of the two key words jointly.

2.4 European Council statements

When analysing statements made by Romania's heads of state before and after European Council meetings organised between 2011 and 2020, a much higher salience of key words related to **DI models** was found compared to that found in other key government speeches. With a majority of references found in 2017, which was directly after the publication of the Commission's White Paper on the Future of Europe, the most frequent key words were those pertaining to a Europe of different-speeds ('multi-speed Europe' n=12 and 'two-speed Europe' n=9). To a much lesser extent, President Iohannis also made reference to different-end points DI by using key words such as 'concentric circles' (n=2), 'core Europe' (n=3) and even 'second-class country' (n=1), presenting the idea of a 'two-tier Europe' as something that would be detrimental to Romania's power and image in the EU.

References to 'enhanced co-operation' were highly salient, with the Head of State using it interchangeably to refer both to the EU's Treaty mechanism for differentiated integration (n=8) and to support more integration and co-operation in various areas connected to European integration (n=121, with peaks in 2017 and 2018). These are areas of more co-operation both within the EU, such as enhancing the stability of EMU, economic convergence, social cohesion, enhancing co-operation for managing the migration crisis and the external borders of the Union and for guaranteeing internal security in the EU (including in the fields of cyber-security, strategic communication, misinformation and fake news), and external co-operation and dialogue with non-EU partners, including eastern European countries seeking closer ties with the EU, southern neighbourhood countries and international partners such as the UN or NATO, all with the aim of enhancing the unity and sustainability of the European project. The focus on enhancing the EU's internal and external security is linked to a rather high salience of Permanent Structured Co-operation in Defence ('PESCO'), with n=8 in 2017 and n=4 in 2018, given that the European Council first activated PESCO in December 2017. Reference was made several times to the European Public Prosecutor, twice in 2017, when Romania formalised its participation in this new enhanced co-operation initiative, and twice in 2019, when the former Chief Prosecutor of Romania, Laura Codruta Kövesi, became the first person appointed to this new role. PESCO and the European Public Prosecutor were the only instances of internal enhanced co-operation DI to which I found specific references in the President's statements before and after European Council meetings.

As for references to external instances of DI, Brexit was by far the most salient (n=102), with a peak in 2019, although it had been mentioned fairly constantly over the years since 2016 when the referendum took place. References to Schengen (n=45) peaked in 2015 and 2016 and fell to zero in 2018, 2019 and 2020. The peaks seem to have been driven by the migration crisis that hit the EU in 2015-2016, and the lack of references to Schengen afterwards can perhaps be explained by the Council's focus on the Brexit issue, which might have left little room for debating Romania's accession to the Schengen area. The salience of the eurozone was again very high (n=79), with a peak in 2018, when the Romanian government adopted 2024 as a target date for joining the eurozone.

2.5 The salience of DI in national parliament debates

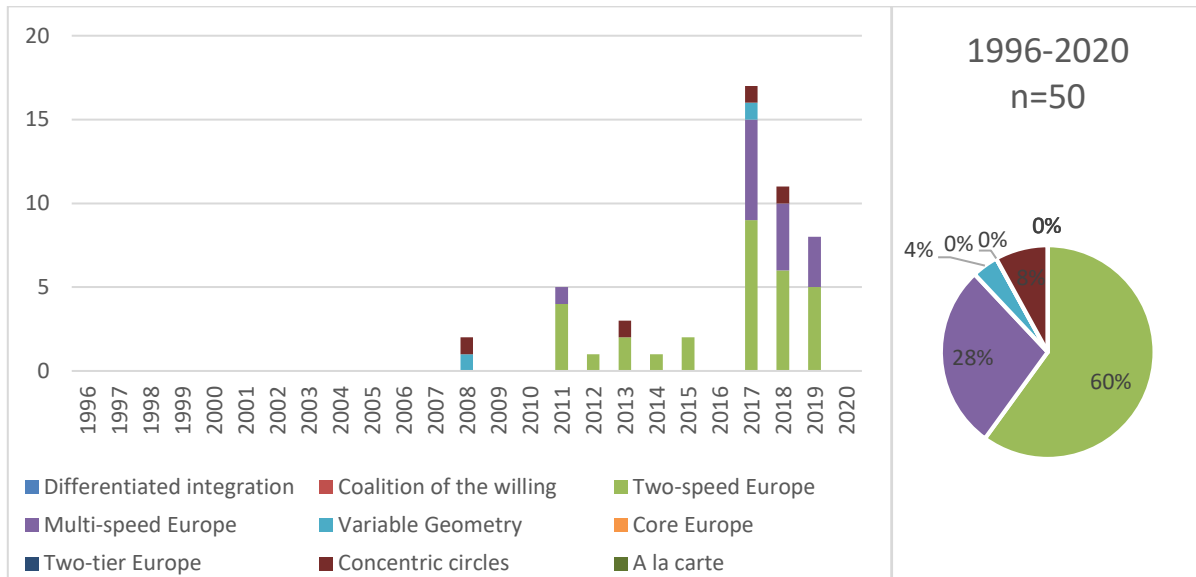
The investigation proceeds with an analysis of parliamentary debates between 1996¹⁰ and 2020. Computer-assisted and manual counts of key words in repositories of parliamentary debates were used as data. This analysis indicates that the salience of **DI models** was much higher in parliamentary debates than in government speeches and programmes. Notably, the first reference to DI-related key words was made in 2000, and over the years 2001-2020 a total of 1174 references to DI were found.

As is charted in Figure 6 below, the first most salient **DI model** was 'two-speed Europe' (n=30, with a peak in 2017), followed closely by 'multi-speed Europe' (n=14), while scarce reference was found

¹⁰ Note: No earlier debates were found in the online repository of the Romanian Parliament.

with respect to ‘variable geometry’ (n=2) and ‘concentric circles’ (n=4). No reference was found for ‘coalition of the willing,’ ‘core Europe,’ ‘two-tier Europe’ or ‘à la carte’ EU. The share of ‘multiple speed’ DI models accounts for around 90% of all the references made to DI models in parliamentary debates. The peak of DI-related debates was in 2017, with a gradual decrease in 2018 and 2019.

Figure 6 - The salience of DI conceptual key words in parliamentary debates



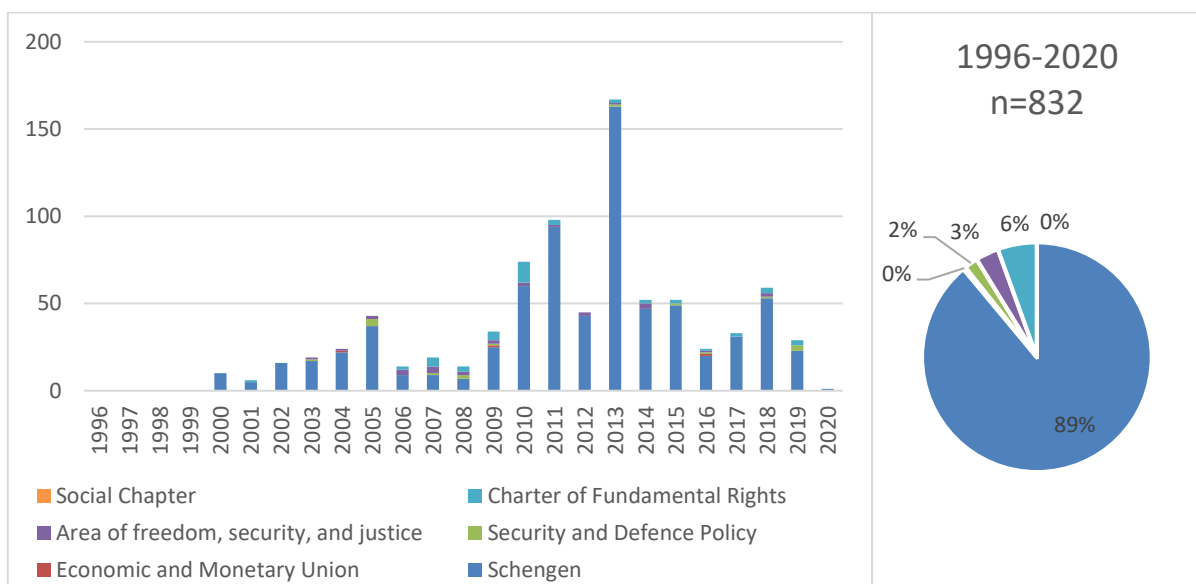
Moreover, the report looks at whether debates on differentiated integration were embedded in wider debates on the ‘future of Europe’ (FoE). To this end, the frequency of all the conceptual key words was compared to the frequency of the key phrase ‘future of Europe’ (Appendix 7). The ‘future of Europe’ has been salient in Romanian parliamentary debates since 2001, when Romania’s prospects of joining the EU became more tangible. The peak registered for the ‘future of Europe’ in 2003 may have been triggered by the fact that the Convention on the Future of the European Union was held between 2001 and 2003, with reference to the convention being made in the Romanian Parliament even in February 2008 by Puiu Hașotti MP (see section 2.2. below). The 2003 peak may also be related to the fact that Romania’s accession to the EU was delayed that year from 2004 to 2007, due to Romania having been deemed to have fallen short in terms of the EU’s accession conditionality. The peak in salience registered in 2017 and the subsequent lower peaks in 2018 and 2019 indicate that the European debate on the Future of Europe triggered an increase in the salience of DI-related debates in the Romanian parliament with respect to both the direction and speed of future European integration.

Moving next to the salience of **DI mechanisms and DI instances**, I found that little reference was made specifically to DI mechanisms (i.e. for ‘enhanced co-operation’ n=3 and for ‘opt-out’ n=1). In addition, **no reference was found to instances of enhanced co-operation DI** (e.g. the unitary patent, matrimonial property regimes, the European public prosecutor, PESCO). However, the scarce salience of enhanced co-operation DI instances should not be taken to mean that Romania does not want to enhance its integration with its European allies. As we will see in the second part of this report, while in theory ‘opt-out’ instances of internal DI indicate a preference for less integration, in Romania’s case the preference is for more integration through involvement in DI instances such as Schengen, EMU, Security and Defence Policy and the Charter of Fundamental Rights.

Therefore, when analysing the salience of DI instances that allow for opt-outs, we see a spike in salience compared to that found for DI models and enhanced co-operation DI instances. As in the previous sections, we see that ‘Schengen’ is outstanding again as the most salient term (see Figure 7

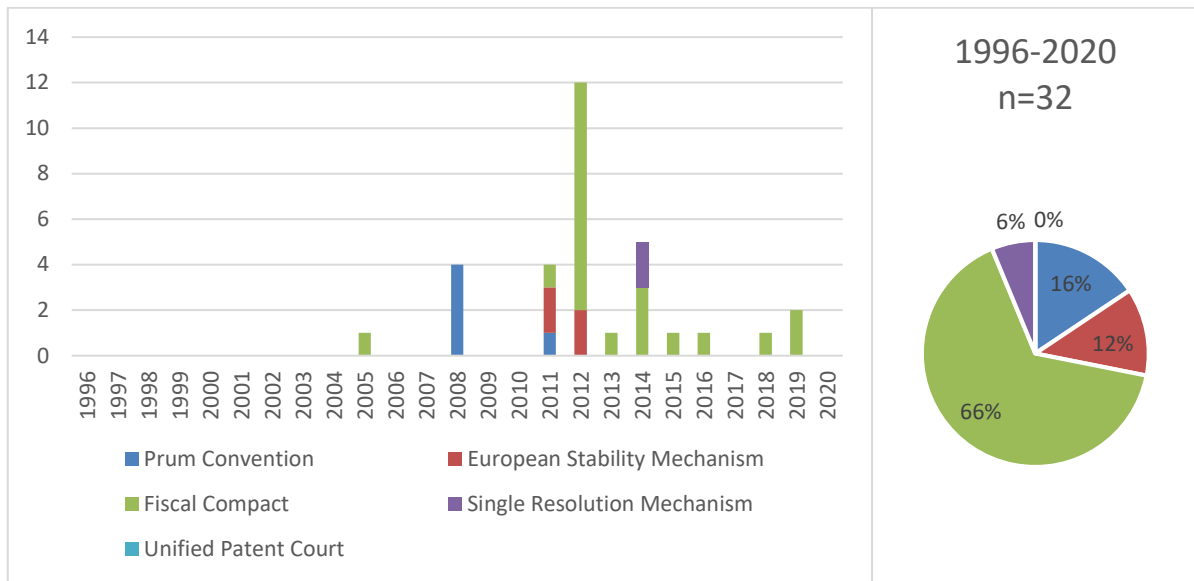
below), with a total of 741 references in 2001-2020 pointing to the high importance that the members of the Romanian Parliament afford to this particular DI instance. The high salience of ‘Schengen’ found in parliamentary debates is in line with the results found in the previous analyses, with ‘Schengen’ being the most salient DI instance across all the documents analysed for this report. Moreover, we observe that the peak in the salience of DI mechanisms does not coincide with the peak in the salience of DI models, and DI mechanisms have been debated more intensely over time than DI models. The peak in salience registered for ‘Schengen’ in 2013 and the lower peaks registered in 2011 and 2010 are most likely to be related to Romania’s protracted accession to Schengen, as was mentioned in the previous sections. We can also observe that between 2014-2019 the salience of Schengen decreased considerably, pointing perhaps, on the one hand, to the country’s frustration at seeking accession to Schengen in the face of a political opposition by other Member States and, on the other hand, to the country’s reaction to the refugee crisis and to the impact that potential Schengen membership would have on the country’s capacity to control the EU’s external borders.

Figure 7 - The salience of opt-out policy fields in parliamentary debates



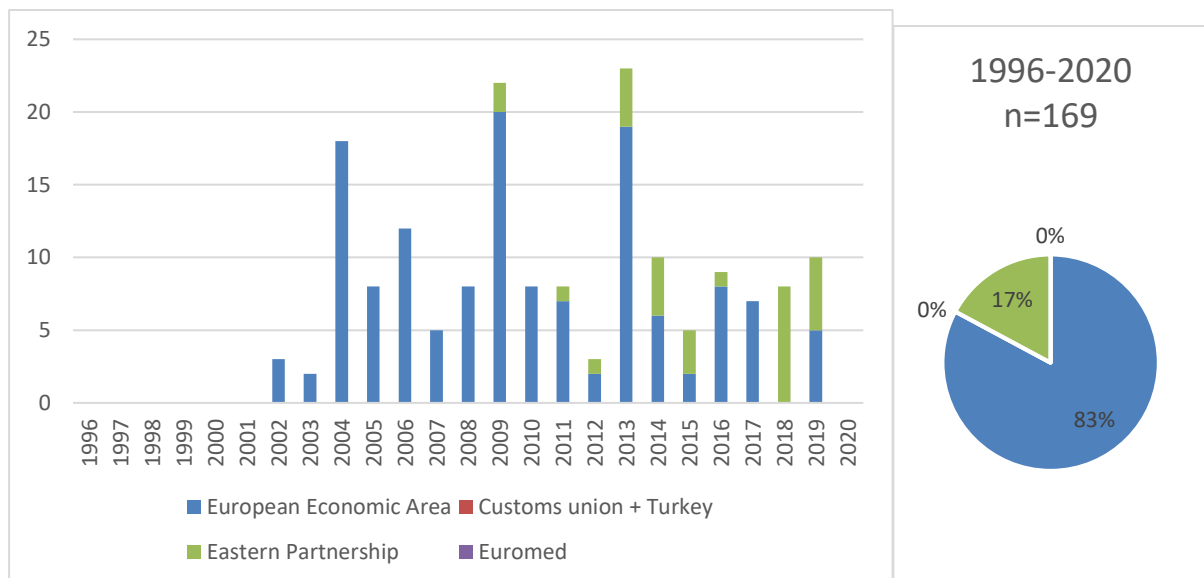
The analysis proceeds from internal instances of DI to external instances of DI, such as ‘inter se’ agreements and association agreements. First, inter se agreements are international agreements reached among EU Member States which allow them to circumvent the institutional constraints of the community method. Analysing the salience of five inter se agreements, I found no reference to the ‘Unified Patent Court’ and rather scarce references to the ‘European Stability Mechanism’ (n=4) and the ‘Single Resolution Mechanism’ (n=2, in 2014). The ‘Prüm Convention’ (n=5) was relatively salient in 2008, when Romania ratified the agreement. The most salient instance was the ‘Fiscal Compact’ (n=21), with a peak in 2012 (see Figure 8 below), when the Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union was signed by the EU Member States, with the exception of the Czech Republic and the United Kingdom. Although the Treaty was not binding for states that were not members of the eurozone, Romania chose to opt in and to ratify the Fiscal Compact nonetheless.

Figure 8 - The salience of inter se agreements in parliamentary debates



Finally, I analysed the salience of four instances of external association agreements. No reference was found for the Turkish ‘Customs Union’ or for ‘Euromed’ but rather high salience was found for the ‘European Economic Area’ (n=140) and for the ‘Eastern Partnership’ (n=29), as is reflected in Figure 9 below. We observe that the salience of the ‘European Economic Area’ peaked in 2009 in the wake of the eurozone crisis, and also in 2013 as the crisis was playing out in many European countries. The salience of the ‘Eastern Partnership’ can be attributed to Romania’s support for strengthening political association and economic integration between the EU and Moldova on the basis of the Association Agreement.

Figure 9 - The salience of external association agreements in parliamentary debates



3. What positions do Romanian governments have on DI?

This section presents the positions of successive Romanian governments regarding DI. The analysis is based on a review of all the documents examined in the previous section (i.e. government programmes, speeches by the prime minister and president, statements by the head of state before and after European Council meetings and parliamentary debates that occurred in (1) 2008; (2) 2012; and (3) 2017-2020, a total of 117 documents). This section is divided in two parts. The first provides a quantitative overview of the distribution of positive, neutral and negative statements regarding DI models and DI mechanisms. The second part reconstructs different government positions regarding DI based on a qualitative assessment of selected statements (bold emphasis added by the author of the report). The qualitative section is structured chronologically to assess the impact of context on successive governments' positions.

3.1 Quantitative overview of government positions

Regarding DI models, the analysis indicates that the two models of DI, i.e. multi-speeds and multi-end points, are viewed in a negative light by successive governments and opposition parties alike (Figures 10 and 11). As we can see from the two tables below, not only are both models assessed negatively but also there is very little difference between the government's position and that of the opposition on this score. While in the majority of cases there is a rejection of DI models for normative or substantive reasons, only in very few cases was there uncertainty or neutral observations regarding DI models and their implications for Romania. In even fewer cases did I find a positive perception of DI models with political figures presenting DI models as opportunities for Romania to boost its efforts to be among the top tier of the EU Member States. Finally, an aggregate assessment indicates that DI models were virtually absent from the Romanian political sphere before 2017, indicating that debates on the Future of Europe and also Brexit have left their imprints on Romanian politics.

Figure 10 - Position on multi-speed Europe (two-speed and multi-speed EU¹¹)

(n = 74)	Negative (n=59)	Neutral (n=8)	Positive (n=7)
Government (n=23)	41	2	1
Opposition (n=30)	18	6	6
2008	0	0	0
2012	1	0	0
2017-2020	58	8	7

Figure 11 - Multi-end Europe (variable geometry &, two-tier & and concentric circles¹²)

(n = 20)	Negative (n=13)	Neutral (n=5)	Positive (n=1)
Government (n=14)	9	4	1
Opposition (n=8)	4	2	0
2008	0	2	0
2012	0	0	0
2017-2020	13	4	1

¹¹ Note: two-speed n=39; multi-speed n=35.

¹² Note: variable geometry n=2; two-tier n=9; concentric circles n=8. No results were found for 'à la carte.'

Regarding DI mechanisms (i.e. *enhanced co-operation* and *opt-out*), the position of Romanian governments changes radically. As we can see from the table below, no negative or neutral reference was found with respect to enhanced co-operation in the three time periods considered in this analysis (Table 3). Moreover, a high number of positive remarks were made in favour of consolidating the European project, enhancing co-operation with the EU and enhancing Romania’s role in the EU by both government and opposition members. The results therefore point to the strong pro-European stance held by Romanian governments and opposition figures alike.

Figure 12 - Position on enhanced co-operation

(n = 55)	Negative (n=0)	Neutral (n=0)	Positive (n=55)
Government (n = 44)	0	0	44
Opposition (n = 11)	0	0	11
2008	0	0	3
2012	0	0	3
2017-2020	0	0	49

With regard to opt-outs, no specific reference was found to the key phrase ‘opt-out’ but a high number of references were made to Schengen (n=109), EMU, the eurozone (n=79) and Brexit (n=186), with the high salience of these DI instances having also been reflected in the analysis undertaken in the first section of this paper.

3.2 Qualitative assessment of government positions

The qualitative analysis confirms that in the period under investigation successive Romanian governments perceived DI models predominantly in a negative light but viewed DI mechanisms and instances that would facilitate more integration in a positive light. On the one hand, the reluctance to accept a multi-speed Europe can be explained by Romanian governments’ fear of being left behind in the EU’s periphery if the Union were to differentiate between various integration speeds and end-points. On the other hand, the preference for enhanced co-operation reflects not only the governments’ positive perception regarding EU-related instances of integration but also a high domestic demand for more integration, particularly with regard to the Schengen area and the eurozone. Therefore, the higher the degree of integration in the EU, the higher Romania’s perceived political influence in the EU becomes, and Romania’s access to the benefits of fully-fledged EU membership. The importance attached to the Brexit issue over the last three years indicates that Romanian governments were preoccupied, on the one hand, with safeguarding the rights and interests of Romanian citizens living in the UK and, on the other hand, with contributing to the Union’s stability and resilience after the UK’s departure from the EU. To be more concrete, I reinforce the study by analysing some specific remarks made by both members of governments and the opposition regarding DI models, DI mechanisms and DI instances in the three periods analysed.

3.2.1 2008 – The Lisbon Treaty

The government’s position

The Lisbon Treaty was voted on in the Romanian parliament on 4 February 2008, with 387 votes for, 1 vote against and 1 abstention. This result indicates the strong – and almost unanimous – support that the Treaty had among Romanian decision-makers. During the parliamentary debate dedicated to the ratification of the Treaty, in his opening speech Prime Minister Călin Popescu Tăriceanu presented the vote on ratifying the Treaty as a historic moment that marked an important milestone: that of Romania

playing an active and equal role in the EU like any other Member State in setting the direction of the European project:

“Today, in the Romanian Parliament, we will give a historic vote – the vote for the ratification of the Reform Treaty of the European Union. [...] We have had the opportunity to contribute to the negotiation and construction of this Treaty, **enjoying the same rights and obligations as any other European country**. [...] We can say that it is the first European treaty on which Romania actually makes its imprint, according to its interests, **no longer in the position of taking over what others have negotiated and decided**. [...] It is important for Romania to be among the first Member States to complete the ratification procedure. Bucharest thus sends a clear political signal: **Romania genuinely supports the development of the European project and wants a strong dynamic Union** oriented to the benefit of its citizens”¹³ (Călin Popescu Tăriceanu, Prime Minister (PSD), Romanian parliament, 04.02.2008).

The Prime Minister went on to emphasise the added value that the Treaty would bring to Romania and to the EU as a whole in terms of increased efficiency and democracy, calling for more co-operation and European integration across a variety of areas:

“What is the added value of the Lisbon Treaty compared to the existing treaties? [...] In short, we are creating a more efficient, more democratic, safer and more globally representative Europe. [...] The Treaty strengthens democracy in Europe. I am referring in particular to the Charter of Fundamental Rights, a document proclaimed by the European institutions which the Treaty of Lisbon gives legal value to. The Charter ensures better protection of citizens' rights and reaffirms the Union's community of values. [...] We have an interest in and the capacity to contribute to the current debates on European energy policy, climate change and European social policy, including from the perspective of inclusion policy and strengthening the international role of the Union”¹⁴ (Călin Popescu Tăriceanu, Prime Minister (PNL), Romanian parliament, 04.02.2008).

During the same debate in the national parliament, other members of the governing liberal parties, the PNL and the PDL, sought to defend the Lisbon Treaty for its role in consolidating democracy and the rule of law in the EU, highlighting the benefits that it would bring to the economic, political and security dimensions of European integration:

“I would like to point out that all the positive results in terms of strengthening democratic procedures and citizens' rights regarding the extension of competences and the definition of the values and objectives of the European Union have their origin exclusively in the work of the Convention on the Future of Europe, but I believe that the most important result of the Treaty of Lisbon is the progress made in the field of Foreign and Security Policy, in the context of globalisation, which increases

¹³ Original quote in Romanian: “*Vom da astăzi, în Parlamentul României, un vot istoric - votul pentru ratificarea Tratatului de reformă al Uniunii Europene. [...] Am avut șansa să contribuim la negocierea și la construirea acestui Tratat, beneficiind de aceleași drepturi și având aceleași obligații ca oricare altă țară europeană. [...] Putem spune că este cel dintâi tratat european pe care România își pune efectiv amprenta, conform intereselor sale, nemaifiind în postură de a prelua ceea ce au negociat și au decis alții. [...] Este important că România este printre primele state membre care finalizează procedurile de ratificare. Bucureștiul transmite astfel un semnal politic clar: România susține în mod autentic dezvoltarea proiectului european și dorește o Uniune puternică, dinamică și orientată spre beneficiul cetățenilor săi.*” Calin Popescu Tăriceanu, Prime Minister (PSD), Romanian Parliament, 04.02.2008

¹⁴ Original quote in Romanian: “*Care este valoarea adăugată a Tratatului de la Lisabona, în raport cu tratatele existente? [...] Pe scurt, creăm o Europă mai eficientă, mai democratică, mai sigură și cu o reprezentativitate mai mare pe plan mondial. [...] Tratatul consolidează democrația în Europa. Mă refer, în special, la Carta Drepturilor Fundamentale, document proclamat de instituțiile europene, căreia Tratatul de la Lisabona îi conferă valoare juridică. Carta asigură o mai bună protecție a drepturilor cetățenilor și reafirmă comunitatea de valori a Uniunii. [...] Avem interesul și capacitatea de a contribui la dezbaterile actuale privind politica energetică europeană, schimbările climatice sau politica socială europeană, inclusiv din perspectiva politicii de incluziune sau a consolidării rolului internațional al Uniunii.*” Calin Popescu Tăriceanu, Prime Minister (PNL), Romanian Parliament, 04.02.2008

economic, political and security competition”¹⁵ (Puiu Hașotti, MP (PNL), Romanian parliament, 04.02.2008).

“Is there better evidence of the rationality of a historic gesture, of **the future of a united Europe**, than signing a treaty that will **allow the further enlargement of the European Union**, a treaty that will streamline the decision-making process in the construction of Europe, a treaty that will give united Europe that important role on the international stage which, in fact, it deserves and which, in essence, will **bring the European Union closer to every citizen**? [...] Giving the **Charter of Fundamental Rights binding legal status**, strengthening the role of citizens, increasing the role of the European Parliament and strengthening the role of national parliaments are provisions that will ensure that the European Union is a representative body of its citizens, not an instrument of bureaucracy”¹⁶ (Anca-Daniela Boagiu, MP (PDL), Romanian Parliament, 04.02.2008).

The government’s position therefore points not only to its strong pro-European stance but also to the fact that certain DI instances, such as regarding the Charter of Fundamental Rights, social policy and security and defence policy, were perceived by the government as sources of more European integration rather than less.

The opposition’s position

During the debate that preceded the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty, only one representative of the opposition spoke before the vote, and that was former Prime Minister Adrian Năstase, then a PSD MP. While regarding the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty as being unquestionably in the national interest, Năstase signalled that the direction in which the Treaty was taking the European project could result in the emergence of *concentric circles* with a core and a periphery. However, taking a rather neutral position on the different end-points DI models, Năstase sought to incentivise the decision-makers to transform the potential problems into opportunities:

“What we are discussing today is a **move to a confederation project** [...]. The future will eventually shape the **same concentric circles** [...]. What we can do is turn the problems we have into opportunities. Will we know how to do this? This is, in fact, the main issue because **we will no doubt ratify this treaty**. It is a constitutive document of an organisation with **variable geometry**, which will probably become even more efficient over time. Ultimately, the problem is not just how we mould ourselves to what the standards from Brussels mean, but how we will be able to transfer some of our interests to Brussels”¹⁷ (Adrian Năstase, MP (PSD), Romanian Parliament, 04.02.2008).

¹⁵ Original quote in Romanian: “*Doresc să remarc faptul că toate rezultatele pozitive în ceea ce privește consolidarea procedurilor democratice și a drepturilor cetățenești privind extinderea competențelor și deținerea valorilor și obiectivelor Uniunii Europene își au originea exclusiv în lucrările Convenției privind viitorul Europei, dar cred că cel mai important rezultat al Tratatului de la Lisabona îl constituie progresul realizat în domeniul Politicii Externe și de Securitate, în contextul globalizării care mărește competiția economică, politică și în domeniul securității.*” Puiu Hașotti, MP (PNL), Romanian Parliament, 04.02.2008

¹⁶ Original quote in Romanian: “*Există o dovadă mai bună pentru raționalitatea unui gest istoric, pentru viitorul Europei unite decât semnarea unui tratat care să permită extinderea în continuare a Uniunii Europene, a unui tratat care să eficientizeze procesul de luare a deciziilor în cadrul construcției europene, a unui tratat care să confere Europei Unite acel rol pregnant pe scena internațională, pe care, de altfel, îl și merită și care, în esență, să aducă Uniunea Europeană mai aproape de fiecare cetățean? [...] Acordarea statutului juridic obligatoriu Cartei Drepturilor Fundamentale, întărirea rolului cetățenilor, creșterea rolului Parlamentului European, rolul întărit acordat parlamentelor naționale sunt prevederi care vor asigura faptul că Uniunea Europeană este un organism reprezentativ pentru cetățenii săi, și nu un instrument al birocrăției.*” Anca-Daniela Boagiu, MP (PDL), Romanian Parliament, 04.02.2008

¹⁷ Original quote in Romanian: “*Ceea ce discutăm noi astăzi este trecerea la un proiect de confederație [...]. Viitorul până la urmă va contura aceleași cercuri concentrice [...]. Ce putem să facem este să transformăm problemele pe care le avem în oportunități. Vom ști să facem acest lucru? Aici este, de fapt, principala problemă, pentru că vom ratifica, fără îndoială, acest tratat. Este vorba despre un document constitutiv al unei organizații cu geometrie variabilă, probabil că ea va deveni și mai eficientă în timp. În definitiv, problema nu este doar felul în care ne mulăm noi pe ceea ce înseamnă standardele venite de la Bruxelles, ci felul în care vom reuși să transferăm spre Bruxelles o parte dintre interesele noastre.*” Adrian Năstase, MP (PSD), Romanian Parliament, 04.02.2008

3.2.2 2012 – Schengen, CVM, the euro and the Fiscal Compact Treaty

The political debates in the Romanian domestic arena in 2012 revolved mainly around Romania's accession to the Schengen area and to the eurozone.

The government's position

The government programme proposed by PM Mihai Răzvan Ungureanu at the beginning of 2012 set out the objectives of joining Schengen and the eurozone as the top government priorities in the sphere of European affairs. This helps to explain the high salience of Schengen and EMU in parliamentary debates. With respect to **Schengen**, Ungureanu aimed to accelerate the accession process by improving political dialogue with the states that were blocking Romania's accession so as to join the area by the end of 2012 (Ungureanu, 2012). In this context, Ungureanu's programme paid special attention to the Commission's **CVM reports** by aiming to get a positive assessment with respect to the results achieved in the field of justice reform and the fight against corruption (Ungureanu, 2012), as this had a direct influence on the country's accession to Schengen. With respect to the eurozone, the government aimed to **sign and ratify the Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in Economic and Monetary Union** (Ungureanu, 2012) – the Fiscal Compact Treaty – even though the country was not a member of the eurozone. As part of the Copenhagen criteria, to which Romania had subscribed since 2003, the country had committed itself to adopting the single European currency when economically prepared to do so. Thus, while Schengen and the EMU can be seen as opt-out DI instances, we see that, for the Romanian governments at least, they were instances that allowed for advanced co-operation and integration with the country's European partners.

Ungureanu also made clear reference to his government's objectives to join Schengen and to ratify the Fiscal Compact in his first speech after being nominated PM in the National Parliament:

“Many of my efforts will be directed towards relaunching cross-party dialogue, especially when we have issues of national interest: the **Co-operation and Verification Mechanism, accession to the Schengen area** and the **Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union**”¹⁸ (Mihai Răzvan Ungureanu, Prime Minister (Independent), Romanian Parliament, 09.02.2012).

Similarly, Traian Băsescu, then Head of State, during an address to the national parliament stressed the importance of the country's accession to both the eurozone and the Schengen area, and of the ratification of the Fiscal Compact:

“**A major objective of Romania is to enter the euro area** [...]. You have to understand how important it is for the Romanian economy to become a Member State of the euro area. [...] The objective in the next period must be to reanalyse and increase the performance of the state economy. [...] I think that **the treaty [the Fiscal Compact] is a step forward, a step that Romania does not have the right to take halfway. We need to contribute to European consolidation** [...]

”¹⁹ (Traian Băsescu, Head of State (PDL), Romanian Parliament, 07.03.2012).

A staunch supporter of European integration, President Băsescu went on to support ever-closer union and integration with Romania's European partners, arguing that the only solution to the EU's problems was to federalise the EU by creating a United States of Europe:

¹⁸ Original quote in Romanian: “*O mare parte dintre eforturile mele se vor îndrepta spre relansarea dialogului transpartinic, mai ales atunci când vom avea în față subiecte de interes național, mecanismul de cooperare și verificare, aderarea la spațiul Schengen sau tratatul pentru stabilitate, coordonare și guvernare în Uniunea Economică și Monetară.*” Mihai Răzvan Ungureanu, Prime Minister (Independent), Romanian Parliament, 09.02.2012

¹⁹ Original quote in Romanian: “*Un obiectiv major al României este intrarea în zona euro [...]. Trebuie să înțelegeți cât de important pentru economia românească este să devenim stat membru al zonei euro. [...] Obiectivul în perioada imediat următoare trebuie să fie reanalizarea și creșterea performanțelor economiei de stat. [...] Cred că tratatul este un pas înainte, un pas pe care România nu are dreptul să-l facă pe jumătate. Trebuie să contribuim la consolidarea europeană.*” Traian Băsescu, Head of State (PDL), Romanian Parliament, 07.03.2012

“In my opinion, when it is possible to do more politically we will go towards a unification of the tax system, when the development gaps are reduced we will go towards a unification of the legislation on investments, we will go towards a unification of the legislation on royalties and many many more, even VAT, if not pensions and salaries, but this is probably the last stage. It is, in my opinion, **an irreversible process in which we have no choice but to move forward because no single state can cope with the effects of globalisation. The European Union has only one solution** to be at the forefront of the globalisation process, **and this one solution is called achieving a United States of Europe, with very strong integration**, including integration at the levels I told you about earlier. [...] Therefore, I want you to know that **Romania will be a strong supporter of a growing power of the European Commission, and not of one contributing state or another**. Our goal and the guarantee of correct management of European affairs is the European Commission. It can be a neutral arbiter to look after the interests of all. That is why **our efforts are linked to strengthening the authority and powers of the European Commission**”²⁰ (Traian Băsescu, Head of State (PDL), Romanian Parliament, 07.03.2012).

On 7 May 2012, an important change took place in the Romanian government when a no-confidence vote in PM Mihai Răzvan Ungureanu (independent) saw the election of Victor Ponta, the leader of the PSD – the main opposition party at the time – as the new PM. Soon after his nomination on 10 May 2012, PM Ponta went to Brussels and met Martin Schulz, then president of the European Parliament, to discuss Romania’s accession to Schengen. This episode highlighted the importance of the Schengen issue for the new Romanian government. While reaffirming that the European Parliament supported Romania’s accession to Schengen, Schulz insisted that:

“The European Parliament considers that Romania has met the criteria for joining the Schengen Area since last year. In conclusion, the criteria have been met, Romania must adhere to the Schengen area. In my opinion, and I said this in the European Council, it is Romania's right now to be a Schengen member, it is not an act of goodwill towards Romania but a right of Romania to become a member of the Schengen Area. I emphasised once again that the European Parliament supports strict compliance with the provisions of the Accession Treaty, namely admission to the Schengen Area as soon as the criteria are met, as is now the case”²¹ (Martin Schulz, President of the European Parliament, European Parliament, 10.05.2012).

According to the press release following the meeting between Ponta and Schulz, apart from Schengen membership the other topics discussed during the meeting included: continuing justice reforms in the context of the Commission’s CVM, the EU’s multiannual financial framework and the use of cohesion

²⁰ Original quote in Romanian: “În opinia mea, atunci când politic se va putea mai mult, se va merge către unificarea sistemului de taxe, atunci când se vor reduce decalajele de dezvoltare, se va merge către unificarea legislațiilor care vizează investițiile, se va merge către unificarea legislațiilor care vizează redevențele și multe, multe altele, chiar și TVA-ul, dacă nu cumva și pensiile sau salariile, dar aceasta, probabil, în ultima etapă. Este, în opinia mea, un proces ireversibil, în care nu avem altă soluție decât să mergem înainte, pentru că niciun stat singur nu poate face față efectelor globalizării. Uniunea Europeană are o singură soluție pentru a se afla pe puntea de comandă a procesului de globalizare și această singură soluție se numește realizarea uniunii statelor europene, cu o foarte puternică integrare, inclusiv integrare la nivele despre care vă spuneam mai înainte. [...] De aceea, vreau să știți că România va fi un susținător puternic al unei tot mai mari puteri a Comisiei Europene, și nu al unui stat contributor sau altul. Obiectivul nostru și garanția corectitudinii gestionării afacerilor europene este în Comisia Europeană. Ei pot fi un arbitru neutru, care să vegheze la interesele tuturor. De aceea, eforturile noastre sunt legate de consolidarea autorității și atribuțiilor Comisiei Europene.” Traian Băsescu, Head of State (PDL), Romanian Parliament, 07.03.2012

²¹ Original quote in Romanian: “Cu privire la Schengen, i-am reconfirmat domnului prim-ministru poziția Parlamentului European, faptul că Parlamentul European consideră că România îndeplinește încă de anul trecut criteriile pentru a adera la Spațiul Schengen. În concluzie, criteriile au fost îndeplinite, România trebuie să adere la spațiul Schengen. În opinia mea, și am spus asta și în Consiliul European, este dreptul României acum de fi membră Schengen, nu este un act de bunăvoință față de România, ci un drept al României de deveni membră a Spațiului Schengen. Am subliniat încă o dată că Parlamentul European susține respectarea strictă a ceea ce este prevăzut în Tratatul de Aderare, și anume primirea în Spațiul Schengen de îndată ce sunt îndeplinite criteriile, așa cum este cazul acum.” Martin Schulz, President of the European Parliament, European Parliament, 10.05.2012

and structural funds in Romania. However, it seems that the Schengen issue was the most important for the Romanian PM:

“The government is ready to prove to our European partners that **Romania deserves to be received in the Schengen Area**. [...] From the point of view of the Romanian government, **there is a total openness to have experts**, to have Dutch or European advisers of any kind, both at the Border Police and at the customs services, **to prove that we are open, that we have nothing to hide and that we are not criticisable**”²² (Victor Ponta, Prime Minister (PSD), European Parliament, 10.05.2012).

The opposition's position

Before becoming PM, Victor Ponta, the leader of the opposition, openly embraced the Ungureanu government's objectives to join the Schengen area and to bring to an end to the Commission's CVM oversight mechanism through the achievement of proven positive results in the field of justice reform. Addressing PM Ungureanu in the National Parliament, Ponta pledged that:

“**You have the full co-operation of the united opposition to Romania's European projects: entering the Schengen area**, and you will have our political support at the European level against the reluctance shown by our partners or certain countries in the European Union. [...] Do we want to lift the **Co-operation and Verification Mechanism**, is our justice currently perfectly functioning to European standards or do we still want to carry out a thorough justice reform and a reform that will lead to the citizens' trust in the act of justice?”²³ (Victor Ponta, MP (PSD), Romanian Parliament, 09.02.2012).

With respect to the Fiscal Compact, MP Ponta took a rather neutral position, calling for an open and honest debate on the Treaty so as to gain the opposition's support:

“The recently concluded EU governance treaty on fiscal governance must be honestly debated and presented to the public. People need to know what the advantages and disadvantages are for Romania and, if you do that, you will have the support of our opposition”²⁴ (Victor Ponta, MP (PSD), Romanian Parliament, 09.02.2012).

3.2.3 2017-2020: The future of Europe, Schengen, EMU and Brexit

The Government's position

The qualitative analysis of the documents collected for the period 2017-2020 reconfirms that “Romania clearly maintains its position on deepening the Union, with all its successful policies and projects, especially the Internal Market, the Schengen Area and the eurozone,” as PM Grindeanu stated in March

²² Original quote in Romanian: “*Guvernul are toată disponibilitatea să demonstreze partenerilor europeni că România merită să fie primită în Spațiul Schengen. [...] Din punctul de vedere al Guvernului României, există deschidere totală de a avea experți, de a avea consilieri olandezi sau europeni de orice tip, atât la Poliția de Frontieră, cât și la serviciile vamale, pentru a dovedi că suntem deschiși, că nu avem nimic de ascuns și că nu suntem criticabili*”. Victor Ponta, Prime Minister (PSD), European Parliament, 10.05.2012

²³ Original quote in Romanian: “*Aveți colaborarea totală a opoziției unite față de proiectele europene ale României: intrarea în spațiul Schengen, și veți avea sprijinul nostru politic la nivel european față de reticențele manifestate de partenerii noștri sau de anumite țări din Uniunea Europeană; [...] Ne dorim ridicarea Mecanismului de Cooperare și Verificare, justiția noastră este, în acest moment, perfect funcțională la standarde europene sau dorim în continuare să realizăm o reformă aprofundată a justiției și o reformă care să ducă la încrederea cetățeanului în actul de justiție?*” Victor Ponta, MP (PSD), Romanian Parliament, 09.02.2012

²⁴ Original quote in Romanian: “*Tratatul, recent încheiat la nivelul Uniunii Europene, de guvernanță fiscală trebuie dezbătut și prezentat opiniei publice cu onestitate. Oamenii trebuie să știe care sunt avantajele și dezavantajele pentru România și, dacă veți face acest lucru, veți avea sprijinul nostru, al opoziției*.” Victor Ponta, MP (PSD), Romanian Parliament, 09.02.2012

2017, when he also reaffirmed “Romania's support for a consolidated, unitary and inclusive Europe.”²⁵ Therefore, with reference to the Future of Europe debate, the government programmes issued by the PSD in 2017 and 2018 sought to reinforce Romania’s position on the European stage, making a priority of the following objectives and measures:

“Romania's main objective [...] will be to connect to the new formulas of **enhanced co-operation** which will be outlined at the EU level and to actively participate in the debates on the **future of Europe**, in parallel with an active foreign policy, which will take into account the mutations in the Euro-Atlantic world”²⁶ (Government Programme, PSD, 2017 & 2018).

“[Measure:] Increasing the role of Romania as a Member State of the EU, of the quality of our country's contribution to the consolidation of the Union. In order to fulfil this measure, the Government supports active participation in the debate on the future of the European project, with the consistent promotion of the objectives and interests of Romania and of the Romanian citizens, with emphasis on stimulating economic growth and employment, economic and social cohesion, internal and external security, including in managing migration and combating terrorism”²⁷ (Government Programme, PSD, 2017 & 2018).

These two quotations indicate Romania’s support for enhanced co-operation in the EU, together with the country’s support for the consolidation of the European project, pointing towards a preference for the fifth scenario – “doing much more together” – in the Commission’s White Paper on the Future of Europe. On the fringe of the European Council’s informal meeting held in Malta in February 2017, Romanian President Klaus Iohannis emphasised that with respect to the future of Europe Romania prioritised “the consolidation and deepening of the European project.”²⁸ After the Commission published its White Paper in March 2017, Iohannis reiterated Romania’s support for a consolidated and more deeply integrated Union on several occasions, but spoke out strongly against a multi-speed or multi-end points Union:

“We believe, and we have said this very clearly and firmly, in a strong united supportive European Union, and this consolidation must be done together, by all 27. For this reason, I did not think it was right for us to go for variants such as Europe with several speeds or Europe with two speeds or Europe with concentric circles. [...] This has been and will continue to be presented as Romania's position [...]. What is important is not to close variants that can be started by some and that can be reached by all. It is important not to develop exclusive projects. It would be totally counter-productive if the European Union accepted projects that are accessible only to some members and not to others. In fact, that would mean two-speed Europe, and we don't want that at all. We find that we now have such projects [i.e. Schengen, EMU and the European Public Prosecutor] but they must represent intermediate phases, transition phases and must represent

²⁵ Original quote in Romanian: “*România își menține clar poziția privind aprofundarea Uniunii, cu toate politicile și proiectele sale de succes, mai ales Piața Internă, Spațiul Schengen și zona Euro. Reconfirm susținerea României față de o Europă consolidată, unitară și inclusivă.*” Sorin Grindeanu, PM (PSD), Meeting of the Party of European Socialists - Brussels, 09.03.2017.

²⁶ Original quote in Romanian: “*Principalul obiectiv al României, în aceste condiții, va trebui să fie acela de racordare la noile formule de cooperare consolidată, care se vor contura la nivelul UE, și de participare activă la dezbaterile privind viitorul Europei, în paralel cu o politică externă activă, care să țină cont și de mutațiile din lumea euro-atlantică.*” (PSD, 2018: p.14; PSD, 2017: p.5)

²⁷ Original quote in Romanian: “*Politica externă. Măsuri: 1. Sporirea rolului României, ca stat membru, în cadrul UE, respectiv a calității contribuției țării noastre la consolidarea Uniunii. Pentru îndeplinirea acestei măsuri, Guvernul susține participarea activă la dezbaterile privind viitorul proiectului european, cu promovarea consecventă a obiectivelor și intereselor României și ale cetățenilor români, cu accent pe stimularea creșterii economice și ocupării forței de muncă, coeziunea economică și socială, măsurile de întărire a securității interne și externe, inclusiv în ceea ce privește gestionarea migrației și combaterea terorismului.*” (PSD, 2018, p. 219; PSD, 2017: p. 85)

²⁸ Original quote in Romanian: “*Poziția României privind viitorul Europei are în vedere în mod prioritar consolidarea și aprofundarea proiectului european.*” Klaus Iohannis, Head of State (PNL), 03.02.2017

exceptions, by no means the rule”²⁹ (Klaus Iohannis, Head of State (PNL), Press Conference, European Council informal meeting in Rome, 25.03.2017).

During the same press conference, Iohannis provided clarification of the understanding and expectations that the Romanian government had with respect to the Treaty mechanism for enhanced co-operation:

“I would like to emphasise that the mention in the final text of the Rome Declaration of the concept of enhanced co-operation is made strictly within the limits of the provisions of the current Treaty on European Union, **with the aim of all states acting together**. In addition, the text of the Declaration states that **the door remains open for Member States wishing to join these forms of enhanced co-operation later. We certainly do not want to take steps back from what we have achieved so far. It is important for the Union to constantly evolve in order to strengthen those policies that ensure the foundation and effectiveness of the Union**. I am referring here to the internal market with its four fundamental freedoms, to cohesion policy, to enlargement policy and to neighbourhood policy”³⁰ (Klaus Iohannis, Head of State (PNL), Press Conference, European Council informal meeting in Rome, 25.03.2017).

Moreover, President Iohannis insisted during a European Council meeting in March 2017 that a multi-speed Europe “*could even lead to the splitting up of the European Union,*” as it would be “*more likely to amplify dissent between the Member States rather than leading to close co-operation.*”³¹ Among the greatest risks perceived by Iohannis was that of separating Europe in two, with industrialised countries fearing the loss of jobs to eastern European workers on the one hand side and of eastern European countries fearing the loss of their citizens to western European countries on the other, and being left behind in the European decision-making process:

“The greatest danger I see is a return to the geometry of the Iron Curtain, which would be deadly for the Union, because if we accept the concept – if we had accepted – Europe with two speeds, sooner or later the second speed would have been in the east and then it would certainly have returned some deep fears of eastern Europeans, the fear of being left behind. As in the west, certainly, slowly but surely, many Europeans are afraid that someone will take their jobs, that someone will come and push them aside in their own country. We are not allowed to let the Union reach a state where Europeans, instead of being optimistic and confident in their project, start to fear the European

²⁹ Original quote in Romanian: “*Poziția noastră este bine-cunoscută, am avut această poziție încă de la început, am reiterat-o de fiecare dată când a venit vorba despre acest lucru. Noi credem, și am spus acest lucru foarte clar și ferm, într-o Uniune Europeană puternică, unită, solidară, iar această consolidare trebuie să o realizăm împreună, toți cei 27. Din acest considerent, nu am fost de părere că este bine să mergem pe variante cum ar fi Europa cu mai multe viteze sau Europa cu două viteze sau Europa cercurilor concentrice. [...] Acest lucru a fost și va fi în continuare prezentat ca poziția României [...]. Ceea ce este important nu este să închidem variante care pot fi începute de unii și la care pot ajunge toți. Important este să nu dezvoltăm proiecte exclusiviste. Ar fi total contraproductiv dacă Uniunea Europeană ar accepta proiecte care sunt accesibile doar unor membri și altora nu. De fapt, asta ar însemna Europa cu două viteze, și acest lucru în niciun caz nu ni-l dorim. Constatăm că acum avem astfel de proiecte, dar ele trebuie să reprezinte faze intermediare, faze de tranziție și trebuie să reprezinte excepțiile, în niciun caz regula*”. Klaus Iohannis, Head of State (PNL), Press Conference, European Council informal meeting in Rome, 25.03.2017

³⁰ Original quote in Romanian: “*Doresc să subliniez faptul că menționarea, în textul final al Declarației de la Roma, a conceptului de cooperare consolidată este făcută strict în limitele prevederilor actualului Tratat al Uniunii, obiectivul fiind ca toate statele să acționeze împreună. În plus, textul Declarației menționează că ușa rămâne deschisă pentru statele membre care doresc să se alăture mai târziu acestor forme de cooperare consolidată. Cu siguranță, nu dorim pași înapoi de la ceea ce am realizat până acum. Este important ca Uniunea să evolueze permanent în sensul consolidării acelor politici care asigură fundamentul și eficiența Uniunii. Mă refer aici la Piața Internă cu cele patru libertăți fundamentale, la politica de coeziune, la politica de extindere și la politica de vecinătate*.” Klaus Iohannis, Head of State (PNL), Press Conference, European Council informal meeting in Rome, 25.03.2017

³¹ Original quote in Romanian: “*ar putea chiar să ducă la scindarea Uniunii Europene*”; “*și una, și alta, sunt mai degrabă de natură să amplifice o disensiune între statele membre, în loc să ducă la o colaborare aprofundată*.” Klaus Iohannis, Head of State (PNL), Press Conference, European Council informal meeting in Rome, 25.03.2017

project”³² (Klaus Iohannis, Head of State (PNL), Press Conference, European Council informal meeting in Rome, 25.03.2017).

From the way in which President Iohannis spoke during the press conference in March 2017, we see that he perceived the discussion on a two-speed Europe as being closed, as something already belonging to the past (i.e. “*if we had accepted,*” “*would have been*”).

Seeking to obtain domestic support for the Commission’s White Paper on the Future of Europe, Jean-Claude Juncker, then President of the European Commission, made an address on 11 May 2017 in the Romanian Parliament on the subject of the Future of Europe and on the potential of a multi-speed Europe, claiming that:

“[...] we can move forward together, even if we go at different paces. A multi-speed Europe already exists. This is enshrined in the Treaties. This is what we call enhanced co-operation. The debate on a multi-speed Europe [...] is, in fact, a non-debate. The real debate is on the necessary co-operation between our nations”³³ (Jean-Claude Juncker, President of the European Commission, Romanian Parliament, 11.05.2017).

Juncker’s speech initiated a heated debate in the Romanian parliament, with political figures on all sides rebuffing the idea of any differentiated integration that would result in varying degrees of power across the EU Member States. Therefore, in response to Juncker’s speech the government’s representatives took a rather moderate position regarding Member States’ preferences for European integration, but radically opposed the prospects of any differentiation that could entail prioritising the preferences of certain more powerful countries in the European decision-making processes over any other:

“Today [...] we are offered routes to the future which involve various speeds. So be it, if the common policies are to be carried out horizontally according to **geometries that may vary**, as at the beginning of the Community. Some states may decide to explore together deeper integration in a particular economic or social field, integration that other states may consider inappropriate or feel unprepared for. However, **it is inconceivable**, if we take seriously the spirit that set in motion the European construction, **for the Member States to be divided into groups vertically on the political decision. Some on stage, others in the lodge and the last in the periphery. It is unacceptable for the dynamics of convergence, no matter how slow, to be replaced by a process of prioritising decision-making and development**”³⁴ (Călin Popescu-Tăriceanu, President of the Upper House (ALDE), Romanian Parliament, 11.05.2017).

³² Original quote in Romanian: “*Am prezentat din punctul meu de vedere pericolele unei Europe cu două viteze, unde pericolul cel mai mare pe care-l văd este revenirea la geometria Cortinei de Fier, care ar fi mortală pentru Uniune, fiindcă, dacă acceptăm conceptul - încă o dată, dacă am accepta - a ieșit din discurs, dar că să vă răspund la întrebare, dacă am fi acceptat Europa cu două viteze, mai devreme sau mai târziu, viteza a doua ar fi fost în Est, și atunci cu siguranță ar fi revenit niște temeri profunde ale est-europenilor, temerea de a fi lăsați în urmă. Cum în Vest, cu certitudine, încet, dar sigur, foarte mulți europeni se tem că le ia cineva locurile de muncă, că vine cineva și îi împinge la ei în țară deoparte. Or nici una, nici alta nu au voie să se întâmple și nu avem voie să lăsăm Uniunea să ajungă într-o stare în care europenii, în loc să fie optimiști și încrezători în proiectul lor, să înceapă să se teamă de proiectul european și, sigur, am adus mai multe argumente.*” Klaus Iohannis, Head of State (PNL), Press Conference, European Council meeting, 25.03.2017

³³ Original quote in Romanian: “[...] putem să avansăm împreună, chiar dacă mergem în ritmuri diferite. Europa cu mai multe viteze există deja. Acest aspect este prevăzut în Tratat. Este ceea ce numim cooperarea consolidată. Dezbateră privind Europa cu mai multe viteze [...] este, de fapt, o nondezbateră. Dezbateră reală este cea privind cooperarea necesară între națiunile noastre.” Jean-Claude Juncker, President of the European Commission, Romanian Parliament, 11.05.2017

³⁴ Original quote in Romanian: “*Astăzi [...] ni se propun rute către viitor, ce comportă mai multe viteze. Fie, dacă este vorba ca politicile comune să fie desfășurate pe orizontală, după geometrii ce pot varia, ca la începuturile Comunității. Unele state pot decide să exploreze împreună o integrare mai profundă într-un anumit domeniu economic ori social, integrare pe care alte state o pot considera inoportună sau pentru care nu se simt pregătite. Este însă de neconceput, dacă luăm în serios spiritul care a pus în mișcare construcția europeană, ca statele membre să fie distribuite în grupuri pe verticala deciziei politice. Unele pe scenă, altele în lojă și ultimele la periferie. Este inacceptabil ca dinamica convergenței, oricât de lentă ar fi încă, să fie înlocuită de un proces de ierarhizare a capacității de decizie și a nivelului de dezvoltare.*” Călin Popescu-Tăriceanu, President of the Upper House (ALDE), Romanian Parliament, 11.05.2017

The same negative position against DI models continued in 2018 and 2019, and is reflected in various statements made in the parliament or at the European level by the Romanian Head of State, Klaus Iohannis, and by the former PM, Viorica Dăncilă:

“Ideas such as a multi-speed Europe or a Europe of concentric circles are not options, as we wish to preserve the unified and indivisible nature of the European Union, which makes it valuable and credible in its relations with the rest of the world” (Klaus Iohannis, Head of State (PNL), European Parliament, 23.10.2018).

“Romania has consistently promoted the importance of keeping the European Union united, without any divisions between the east and the west, between the southern and the northern parts of Europe, between older Member States and newer ones, or with various speeds of European integration. We want the initiatives to consolidate the European construction to be based on a positive, inclusive, consensual and citizen-oriented agenda” (Klaus Iohannis, Head of State (PNL), European Summit of Regions and Cities, 15.03.2019).

“I believe that this feeling of recognition of the significance that the European Union has for citizens needs to be constantly cultivated through concrete results. **Our project must not promote a multi-speed Europe or a Europe of concentric circles**. Romania will continue to promote the common goal of strengthening the European project and it will at the same time pursue the completion of its integration. I am referring here, of course, to the **full integration of our country in the Schengen Area**, within which we are already acting as a de facto member” (Viorica Dăncilă, Prime Minister (PSD), European Parliament, 18.07.2019).

As we can see, Romania’s protracted accessions to Schengen and to the eurozone have often been perceived by Romanian decision-makers as a sign of a de-facto multi-speed Europe but also as a symbol of the discrimination that the country is subject to in the EU:

“Schengen accession remains a goal to be pursued, seen in its correct dimension, as a symbol of Romania’s non-discrimination in the EU. [...]”³⁵ (Government Programme, PSD, 2017 & 2018).

“Obviously, I will emphasise that Romania wants to enter the eurozone, it wants a serious, sustainable approach and these things will be recorded. [...] We are not in a period in which the entry into the eurozone is imminent, but **it is a very important objective of Romania and it will be achieved**”³⁶ (Klaus Iohannis, Head of State (PNL), Press Conference before the European Council meeting, Brussels 18.10.2018).

“The slowdown in the process of accepting a Member State of the European Union more than a decade old into the Schengen Area does nothing but **fuel the idea of a two-speed Union**. Moreover, such cumbersome procedures also **contribute to the emergence and development of anti-European sentiments** such as those that have already begun to escalate in some Member States. The fact that a Member State of the European Union is **still deprived of access to the Schengen Area**, although all official documents state that our country has met all the conditions imposed on us since 2011, indicates that there may be some underpinnings and internal political calculations of opposing states, and even some distancing from the **principles of equality between members of the European Union**”³⁷ (Ștefan Mușoiu, MP (PSD), Romanian Parliament, 06.06.2018).

³⁵ Original quote in Romanian: “Aderarea la Schengen rămâne un obiectiv de urmărit, văzut în dimensiunea sa corectă, ca simbol al nediscriminării românilor în UE. [...] Vom putea asigura astfel premisele aderării României la Zona Euro într-un termen rezonabil, integrarea mai adâncă în UE realizându-se pe fondul unei fundații economico-socială competitivă și solidă.” Government Programme, PSD, 2017 & 2018.

³⁶ Original quote in Romanian: “Evident, voi sublinia că România dorește să între în zona Euro, dorește o abordare serioasă, sustenabilă și aceste lucruri vor fi consemnate. [...] nu suntem într-o perioadă în care intrarea în Zona Euro este iminentă, dar este un obiectiv foarte important al României și se va realiza.” Klaus Iohannis, Head of State (PNL), Press Conference before the European Council meeting, Brussels 18.10.2018

³⁷ Original quote in Romanian: “Încetinirea procesului privind acceptarea în Spațiul Schengen a unui stat membru al Uniunii Europene cu o vechime de peste un deceniu nu face altceva decât să alimenteze ideea existenței unei Uniuni cu două viteze. Mai mult decât atât, și astfel de proceduri greoaie contribuie la apariția și dezvoltarea unor sentimente antieuropene de genul celor care au început deja să escaladeze în unele state membre. Faptul că o țară membră a Uniunii Europene este privată, în continuare, de accesul în Spațiul Schengen, deși toate documentele oficiale conștințesc că țara noastră

“Please note that there have already been discussions on a **two-speed Europe** [...] We cannot say for sure at this time that the adoption of the euro will guarantee us a ticket on the train that will run at a higher speed. But it is certain that **membership of the eurozone will be a necessary condition for being part of the group of higher category states**”³⁸ (Marius-Constantin Budăi, MP (PSD), 20.03.2018).

Last but not least, as we have seen in the previous sections, the Brexit issue has figured quite prominently in political debates in Romania over the past three years. The government saw Brexit not only as a reason for the EU to become more efficient and more united but also as an opportunity for Romania to boost its power and influence within the European decision-making processes:

“The Romanian presidency of the Council of the European Union is just one step in our attempt to increase Romania’s European profile and to live up to the responsibilities incumbent on a country the share of which in the EU will be even greater after Brexit” (Viorica Dăncilă, Prime Minister (PSD), National Parliament, 20.06.2018).

“Romania will act as a state that is deeply dedicated to consolidating the European project, which must bring **a stronger more cohesive Union closer to European citizens**, able to ensure their security and prosperity, aiming to **increase the profile and influence of the Romanian state** in the EU, especially in the post-Brexit context”³⁹ (Government Programme, PNL, 2019).

“**Brexit was a hard test, but we, the 27 Member States, closed ranks and proved that our unity is strong.** Without unity, without cohesion, it would be harder for us to overcome the crises and the European project would be severely affected” (Klaus Iohannis, Head of State (PNL), at the Awarding Ceremony of the European Prize ‘Coudenhove-Kalergi,’ 04.03.2020).

The opposition’s position

The Brexit, migration and eurozone crises have all had a direct impact on Romania, but to a far smaller degree, it must be said, than on many other EU countries. However, each one of these crises was salient in Romanian political debate and in public discourse in the period under analysis. However, these challenges to European integration did not result in any notable preference for opt-outs from the European integration processes among Romania’s political leaders. Conversely, the opposition stressed the need for deeper integration with the country’s European partners while emphasising the need for this to be on an equal footing, undifferentiated by concentric circles or different speeds, so as to prevent the Union from falling apart:

“**The European Union has been put to the test after Brexit.** The migration wave, the terrorism manifested daily on a street corner, the exit of Great Britain, have given rise to the exacerbation of populism. Nationalist political movements are flourishing rapidly, stimulated by slow economic developments in the European space, and crises generate permanent fear at the crossroads of the European horizon. **The European Union has so far functioned with several speeds, but this present and obvious current has neither been recognised nor officially assumed until recently**”⁴⁰ (Emil-Marius Paşcan, MP (PMP), National Parliament, 28.03.2017).

îndeplineşte încă din 2011 toate condițiile care ne-au fost impuse, denotă că ar putea exista anumite dedesubturi și calcule politice interne ale statelor care se opun, ba chiar și o oarecare distanțare de principiile egalității între membrii Uniunii Europene.” Ștefan Mușoiu, MP (PSD), Romanian Parliament, 06.06.2018

³⁸ Original quote in Romanian: “Vă rog să țineți cont că s-a vorbit deja de o Europă cu două viteze [...] Nu putem spune cu certitudine în acest moment că adoptarea monedei Euro ne garantează un bilet în trenul care va circula cu o viteză mai mare. Dar este cert că apartenența la zona Euro va fi o condiție necesară pentru a face parte din grupul statelor din categoria superioară.” Marius-Constantin Budăi, MP (PSD), 20.03.2018

³⁹ Original quote in Romanian: “România va acționa ca un stat profund dedicat consolidării proiectului european, care trebuie să aducă o Uniune mai puternică, mai coezivă, mai aproape de cetățenii europeni, capabilă să le asigure securitatea și prosperitatea, fiind urmărită creșterea profilului și influenței statului român în UE, mai ales în contextul post-Brexit.” Government Programme, PNL, 2019

⁴⁰ Original quote in Romanian: “Uniunea Europeană a fost pusă la grea încercare după Brexit. Valul migraționist, terorismul manifestat cotidian la colț de stradă, ieșirea Marii Britanii au dat ghes exacerbării populismului. Înfloresc vertiginos

Similarly, in response to Juncker's speech in the Romanian Parliament in May 2017 regarding the Future of Europe debate, various representatives of the opposition voiced their disagreement with a multi-speed or a multi-end Europe:

Romania cannot support an approach of concentric circles or a Europe of multiple speeds. The risks involved in this policy approach are obvious: division, economic development gaps on both axes.⁴¹ (Raluca Turcan, MP (PNL), Romanian Parliament, 11.05.2017).

A multi-speed Union in the long term – and I do not mean different levels of development – **would be a catastrophic process.** It would cause major frustrations, push some in search of other solutions and imply tensions and conflicts. Sooner or later, the issue of **sovereignty**, in the most serious way, a rethinking of the **division of power** and the **establishment of a new balance** between the Member States and Brussels, between the European and national institutions, must be discussed⁴² (Kelemen Hunor, MP (UDMR), Romanian Parliament, 11.05.2017).

As for the Schengen and the euro-related issues, the opposition continued to support the country's efforts to join the areas while putting the blame on Romania's past governance for the protracted accessions:

"If Romania's accession to the Union did not bring all the benefits that the citizens expected, this is largely due to the parties that have ruled for the last 10 years. They must assume, among other things, the hesitant steps in the fight against corruption, the inability to access European funds to the maximum, the lack of a timetable for joining the eurozone and the lack of a more active European profile for Romania"⁴³ (Nicusor Dan, MP (USR), Romanian Parliament, 11.05.2017).

"'You have managed the performance' – I'm sure you see the quotes – to add nine more points in the CVM Report, pushing Romania further away from the goal of joining the Schengen area!"⁴⁴ (Florin-Vasile Cițu, MP (PNL), Romanian Parliament, 12.12.2018).

We can see from the analysis of political debates in the Romanian Parliament, and also from the various statements by the President and the PM, that Romanian decision-makers from both the government and the opposition sided *against* the development of multi-speeds and/or multi-end-points in the European Union but *in favour* of enhanced co-operation and consolidation of the European integration process. In this way, joining the eurozone and the Schengen areas have become a common goal for both the government and the opposition, as deeper integration in these areas has been consistently seen as a priority by Romanian decision-makers since 2007. Therefore, the government programmes issued by the PSD in 2017 and 2018 and the programme issued by the PNL in 2019 included accession to the Schengen area and to the eurozone among their main objectives:

mișcărilor politice naționaliste, stimulate de evoluțiile economice lente din spațiul european, iar crizele generează permanente spaime la răspântiile orizontului european. Uniunea Europeană a funcționat și până acum cu mai multe viteze, doar că acest curent prezent și manifest nu a fost nici recunoscut, nici asumat oficial până de curând." Emil-Marius Pașcan, MP (PMP), National Parliament, 28.03.2017

⁴¹ Original quote in Romanian: "România nu poate susține o abordare a cercurilor concentrice sau a unei Europe a vitezelor multiple. Riscurile implicate de această abordare politică sunt evidente: diviziune, falii de dezvoltare economică pe ambele axe." Raluca Turcan, MP (PNL), Romanian Parliament, 11.05.2017

⁴² Original quote in Romanian: "O Uniune cu mai multe viteze, pe termen lung - și nu mă refer la diferite niveluri de dezvoltare - ar fi un proces catastrofal. Ar produce frustrări majore, ar împinge pe unii în căutarea altor soluții și ar însemna tensiuni și conflicte. Mai devreme sau mai târziu, trebuie pusă în discuție problema suveranității, în cel mai serios mod, regândirea împărțirii puterii și stabilirea unui nou echilibru între statele membre și Bruxelles, între instituțiile europene și cele naționale." Kelemen Hunor, MP (UDMR), Romanian Parliament, 11.05.2017

⁴³ Original quote in Romanian: "Dacă aderarea României la Uniune nu a adus toate beneficiile pe care cetățenii le-au așteptat, asta se datorează în mare măsură partidelor care au guvernat în ultimii 10 ani. Ele trebuie să-și asume, printre altele, pașii ezitanți în lupta împotriva corupției, incapacitatea de a accesa la maximum fondurile europene, inexistența unui calendar pentru aderarea la Zona euro și lipsa unui profil european mai activ pentru România." Nicusor Dan, MP (USR), Romanian Parliament, 11.05.2017.

⁴⁴ Original quote in Romanian: "'Ați reușit performanța" - sunt sigur că vedeți și dumneavoastră ghilimelele - de a mai adăuga nouă puncte în Raportul MCV, îndepărtând și mai mult România de obiectivul de aderare la zona Schengen!" Florin-Vasile Cițu, MP (PNL), Romanian Parliament, 12.12.2018.

“We will be able to **ensure the premises for Romania's accession to the eurozone** in a reasonable time, with **deeper integration in the EU** being achieved against a background of a competitive and solid economic and social foundation”⁴⁵ (Government Programme, PSD, 2018).

“Joining the eurozone, as soon as possible, on the basis of sound criteria and a realistically set timetable, is an essential step for Romania's economic development. Romania's rapid accession to the Schengen space is another key objective. It is vital for all citizens to be able to move freely and work anywhere in the community area”⁴⁶ (Government Programme, PNL, 2019).

4. Concluding remarks

The findings of this report indicate that Romania is strictly against DI at a conceptual level, opposing both any ‘different speeds EU’ and ‘different end-points EU.’ Any such two-speed or two-tier Europe is seen as something that would be detrimental to Romania’s power and image in the EU. This position is shared both by governing parties and opposition parties, and seems to be independent of context.

The strong opposition to DI models is explained in part by Romania’s fear of being left behind in a ‘second-tier’ Europe, given its communist past and the country’s struggle to catch up with the more developed Western European countries. The government’s support for enhanced co-operation can therefore be understood at least in part as a preference for ‘more co-operation’ or for ‘doing much more together,’ as was framed by the European Commission in the White paper on the Future of Europe, rather than being taken to mean ‘moving ahead in small groups’ as foreseen in the TEU. Given that this analysis indicates that DI models were virtually absent from the Romanian political sphere before 2017, it seems that the Commission taking the initiative to debate the future of Europe was the main trigger for the peaks registered on this topic in 2017 in the Romanian political sphere.

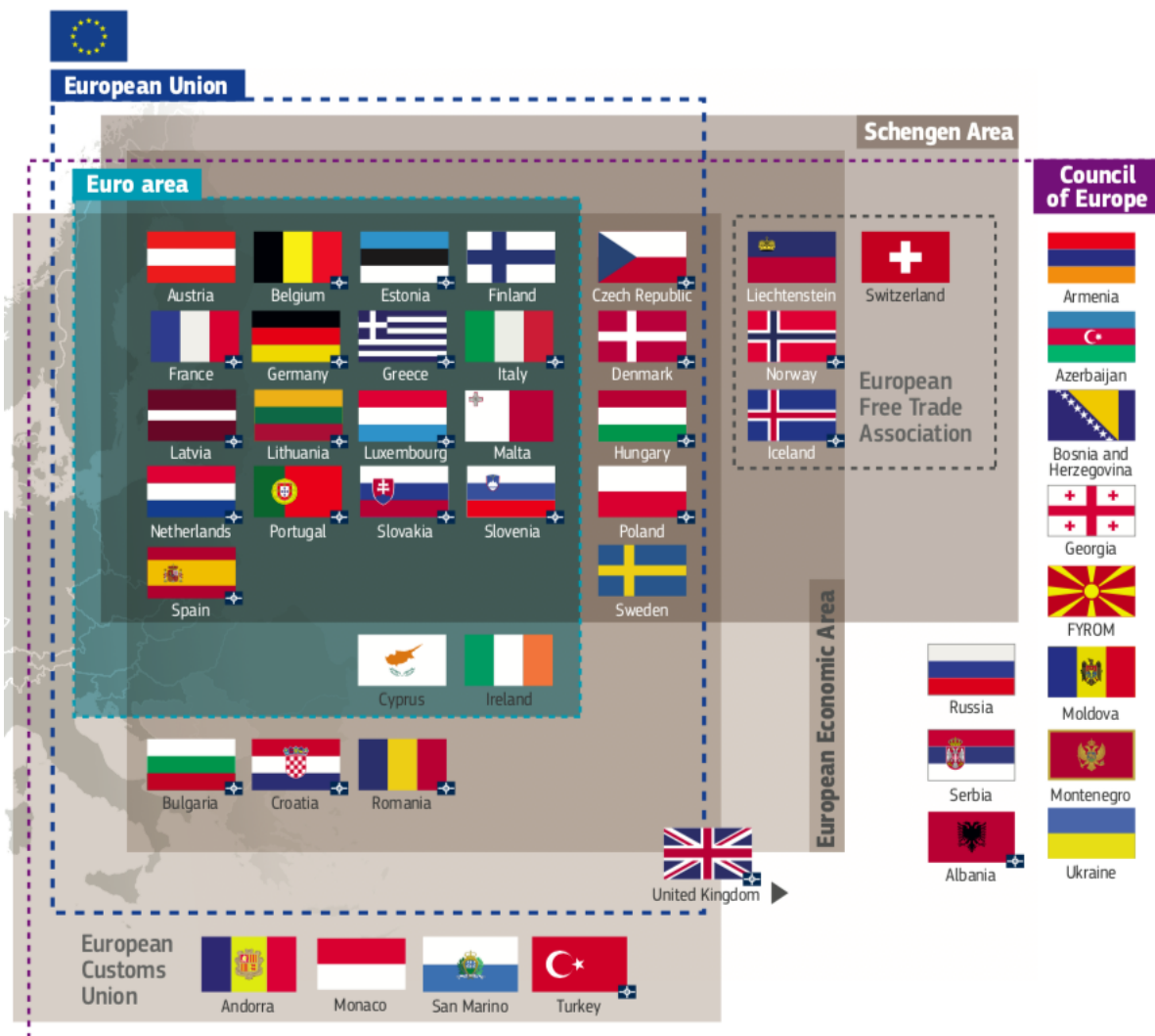
DI instances that are perceived by other countries as opt-out mechanisms, are – in Romania’s case – instances that allow for enhanced co-operation, i.e. more co-operation and a more consolidated European Union. Therefore, if DI in a conceptual model was unavoidable, Romania would seek to undertake the necessary measures to join the European ‘core,’ as it is arguably doing presently with respect to its accession to the Schengen area and to the eurozone. Joining the eurozone and the Schengen areas are seen to be a common goal for both the government and the opposition, as deeper integration in these areas has been consistently considered a priority by Romanian decision-makers ever since 2007, when Romania became a member of the European Union.

⁴⁵ Original quote in Romanian: “*Vom putea asigura astfel premisele aderării României la Zona Euro într-un termen rezonabil, integrarea mai adâncă în UE realizându-se pe fondul unei fundații economico- socială competitivă și solidă*”. Government Programme, PSD, 2018

⁴⁶ Original quote in Romanian: “*Aderarea la Zona Euro, cât mai curând posibil, în baza unor criterii temeinice și a unui calendar stabilit în mod realist, este un pas esențial pentru dezvoltarea economică a României. Aderarea rapidă a României la Spațiul Schengen este un alt obiectiv esențial. Este vital ca toți cetățenii să se poată deplasa liber și să poată munci oriunde în spațiul comunitar.*” Government Programme, PNL, 2019.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Romania's degree of integration in the EU



Source: European Commission. (2017). *White paper on the future of Europe: Reflections and scenarios for the EU27 by 2025*. European Commission. Brussels, March 2017.

Appendix 2 Romania's enhanced co-operation in the EU

Mechanism and instances of DI	Status
Applicable Divorce Law (Rome III)	Regulation/Treaty in force;
Area of freedom, security and justice (AFSJ)	Regulation/Treaty in force;
Charter of fundamental rights	Regulation/Treaty in force;
Economic and Monetary Union (EMU)	Not yet a member, awaiting accession;
Euro Plus	Regulation/Treaty in force;
European Public Prosecutor	Participation formalised;
European Stability mechanism	Not eligible to become a party as it is not a member of the eurozone;
Financial transaction tax	Not yet participating, showed interest in participating in the future; ⁴⁷
Fiscal compact	Regulation/Treaty in force;
Permanent Structured Co-operation on Defence (PESCO)	Regulation/Treaty in force;
Property regimes of international couples	Regulation/Treaty not in force;
Prüm Convention	Regulation/Treaty in force;
Schengen Zone	Not yet a member, awaiting accession;
Security and Defence Policy (CSDP)	Regulation/Treaty in force;
Single Resolution Fund	Derogation from full participation;
Social Chapter	Regulation/Treaty in force;
Unified Patent Court	Participation formalised;

⁴⁷ See http://economie.hotnews.ro/stiri-finante_banci-11249002-romania-sustine-introducerea-taxei-tranzactiile-financiare-daca-exista-acord-nivelul.htm

Appendix 3 Presidents and prime ministers of Romania between 2004 and 2020

No.	Name	Took office	Left office	Political affiliation
Presidents				
1	Traian Băsescu	20 December 2004 6 December 2009	6 December 2009 21 December 2014	PDL
2	Klaus Iohannis	21 December 2014 24 November 2019	24 November 2019 <i>Incumbent</i>	PNL
Prime ministers				
1	Călin Popescu-Tăriceanu	9 December 2004 5 April 2007	5 April 2007 22 December 2008	PNL
2	Emil Boc	22 December 2008 23 December 2009	23 December 2009 6 February 2012	PDL
3	Cătălin Predoiu (<i>Acting PM</i>)	6 February 2012	9 February 2012	Independent
4	Mihai Răzvan Ungureanu	9 February 2012	7 May 2012	Independent ⁴⁸
5	Victor Ponta	7 May 2012 21 December 2012 5 March 2014 17 December 2014	21 December 2012 26 February 2014 17 December 2014 22 June 2015	PSD
6	Gabriel Oprea (<i>Acting PM</i>)	22 June 2015	29 July 2015	UNPR
7	Victor Ponta	9 July 2015	29 July 2015	PSD
8	Gabriel Oprea	29 July 2015	10 August 2015	UNPR
9	Victor Ponta	10 August 2015	5 November 2015	PSD
10	Sorin Cîmpeanu (<i>Acting PM</i>)	5 November 2015	17 November 2015	ALDE
11	Dacian Cioloş	17 November 2015	4 January 2017	Independent ⁴⁹
12	Sorin Grindeanu	4 January 2017	29 June 2017	PSD
13	Mihai Tudose	29 June 2017	16 January 2018	PSD
14	Mihai Fifor (<i>Acting PM</i>)	16 January 2018	29 January 2018	PSD
15	Viorica Dăncilă	29 January 2018	4 November 2019	PSD
16	Ludovic Orban	4 November 2019	Present	PNL

Note: ALDE = Alliance of Liberals and Democrats; PDL = Democratic Liberal Party; PNL = National Liberal Party; PSD = Social Democratic Party; UDMR = Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania; UNPR = National Union for the Progress of Romania.

⁴⁸ Cabinet member parties: PDL, UDMR; UNPR.

⁴⁹ No member of the Cioloş Cabinet was politically affiliated, making this Cabinet the first entirely politically independent cabinet in Romanian history, only made up of technocrats.

Appendix 4 Overview of the documents analysed

	Category of document	Time period	Documents retrieved
1	Government programmes	2007-2020	The following government documents were retrieved: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2005 PNL 2. 2008 PDL 3. 2009 PDL 4. 2012 Ungureanu (Independent) 5. 2013 USL 6. 2015 Ciolos (Independent) 7. 2017 PSD 8. 2018 PSD 9. 2019 PNL
2	First speeches (and parliamentary debate)	2007-2020	The first speech after the election of each PM/president in parliament and the subsequent debates were retrieved: Presidents Basescu (2006-2014) and Iohannis (2014-2020): <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2009_9_21_Basescu 2. 2014_12_21_Iohannis 3. 2019_12_2_Iohannis PMs: Tariceanu, Boc, Ungureanu, Ponta, Ciolos, Grindeanu, Tudose, Dancila, Orban. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2008_2_4_Tariceanu 2. 2009_12_23_Boc 3. 2012_2_9_Ungureanu 4. 2012_5_7_Ponta 5. 2015_11_17_Ciolos 6. 2017_1_4_Grindeanu 7. 2017_6_29_Tudose 8. 2018_1_29_Dancila 9. 2019_11_4_Orban
3	European Council speeches (and parliamentary debates) <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. in the national parliament b. in the European Parliament 	2018-2019	Key speeches held during the European Council presidency by PM Viorica Dăncilă and President Klaus Iohannis in the national and the European parliaments (and the immediately following parliamentary debates, and the government programme for the presidency and debates related to the preparation of the presidency) were retrieved. Most of the documents were originally in English, except for files no. 7, 9 and 20, which were translated into English. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2018_6_20_Dancila_PN 2. 2018_10_23_Iohannis_EP_FutureEurope 3. 2018_11_21_Iohannis_EPdelegation 4. 2018_12_12_Dancila_PN_Presidency 5. 2019_1_10_Iohannis_OpenPresidency 6. 2019_1_11_Iohannis_EC 7. 2019_1_15_Dancila_EP 8. 2019_1_22_Iohannis_Aachen

			<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 9. 2019_1_24_Dancila_EESC 10. 2019_1_29_Iohannis_Bucharest 11. 2019_1_RoPresidency 12. 2019_2_16_Iohannis_security 13. 2019_3_5_Dancila_Guv 14. 2019_3_8_Dancila_Guv_czPresidency 15. 2019_3_15_Iohannis_ESRC 16. 2019_3_16_Iohannis_EPP 17. 2019_5_3_Iohannis_EUI 18. 2019_5_8_Iohannis_FoE 19. 2019_5_9_Dancila_9Mai 20. 2019_7_18_Dancila_EP 21. 2020_3_4_Iohannis_Kalergi
4	Future of Europe speeches	2017-2020	<p>Speeches by President Iohannis and PM Dăncilă in the European Parliament and the national parliament on the “Future of Europe” were retrieved.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2018_6_20_Dancila_PNational 2. 2018_10_23_Iohannis_EP_FutureEurope 3. 2019_5_8_Iohannis_FoE 4. 2019_1_24_Dancila_EESC
5	Head of State European Council Statements	2011-2020	<p>Pre- and post-Council statements by the Head of State were retrieved:⁵⁰</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2017_6_21-23_Iohannis_EC 2. 2011_10_26_Basescu_EC 3. 2011_12_14_Basescu_EC 4. 2012_1_30_Basescu_EC 5. 2012_5_23_Basescu_EC 6. 2013_2_8_Basescu_EC 7. 2013_3_15_Basescu_EC 8. 2014_3_21_Basescu_EC 9. 2014_12_6_Basescu_EC 10. 2015_2_12_Iohannis_EC 11. 2015_3_19-20_Iohannis_EC 12. 2015_4_23_Iohannis_EC 13. 2015_6_25-26_Iohannis_EC 14. 2015_9_24_Iohannis_EC 15. 2015_10_14-16_Iohannis_EC 16. 2015_12_18_Ciolos_EC 17. 2016_2_18-20_Iohannis_EC 18. 2016_3_18_Iohannis_EC 19. 2016_6_27-29_Iohannis_EC 20. 2016_9_15-16_Iohannis_EC 21. 2016_10_19-20_Iohannis_EC 22. 2016_12_15-16_Iohannis_EC 23. 2017_2_3_Iohannis_EC 24. 2017_3_9-10-24-25_Iohannis_EC

⁵⁰ According to the Romanian Constitution (Art.80) and according to the principle of loyal co-operation between the state institutions, as also interpreted by the jurisprudence of the Constitutional Court of Romania, the Romanian Head of State can delegate to the Prime Minister participation in European Council meetings. This was the case in December 2015, when President Iohannis delegated PM Ciolos to participate in the European Council meeting held in Brussels (17-18 December 2015).

25. 2017_4_29_Iohannis_EC
26. 2017_10_18-19-20_Iohannis_EC
27. 2017_12_14_Iohannis_EC
28. 2018_2_23-22_Iohannis_EC
29. 2018_3_23_Iohannis_EC
30. 2018_6_28_Iohannis_EC
31. 2018_6_29_Iohannis_EC
32. 2018_9_18_Iohannis_EC
33. 2018_10_18_Iohannis_EC
34. 2018_11_25_Iohannis_EC
35. 2018_12_13_Iohannis_EC
36. 2018_12_14_Iohannis_EC
37. 2019_3_21_Iohannis_EC
38. 2019_3_22_Iohannis_EC
39. 2019_4_10_Iohannis_EC
40. 2019_4_11_Iohannis_EC
41. 2019_5_28_Iohannis_EC
42. 2019_6_20_Iohannis_EC
43. 2019_6_21_2_Iohannis_EC
44. 2019_6_21_Iohannis_EC
45. 2019_6_30_Iohannis_EC
46. 2019_10_17_Iohannis_EC
47. 2019_10_18_Iohannis_EC
48. 2019_12_12_Iohannis_EC
49. 2019_12_13_Iohannis_EC
50. 2020_2_7_Iohannis_EC
51. 2020_2_18_Iohannis_EC
52. 2020_2_20_Iohannis_EC
53. 2020_2_21_2_Iohannis_EC
54. 2020_2_21_Iohannis_EC

6	Parliamentary (committee) debates ⁵¹	2008; 2012; 2017-2020.	On researching in the repository of parliamentary debates ⁵² using key words, we selected debates that contained the first and second most salient key words corresponding to multi-speed and multi-end Europe, and DI mechanisms. In Romania's case the following key words were the most salient:						
			<table border="1"> <tr> <td rowspan="2" style="vertical-align: top;">Multi-speed</td> <td>1st 'Europa cu doua viteze' (two-speed Europe)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2nd 'Europa cu mai multe viteze' (multi-speed Europe)</td> </tr> <tr> <td rowspan="2" style="vertical-align: top;">Multi-end</td> <td>1st 'cercuri concentrice' (concentric circles)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2nd 'geometrie variabila' (variable geometry)</td> </tr> </table>	Multi-speed	1 st 'Europa cu doua viteze' (two-speed Europe)	2 nd 'Europa cu mai multe viteze' (multi-speed Europe)	Multi-end	1 st 'cercuri concentrice' (concentric circles)	2 nd 'geometrie variabila' (variable geometry)
Multi-speed	1 st 'Europa cu doua viteze' (two-speed Europe)								
	2 nd 'Europa cu mai multe viteze' (multi-speed Europe)								
Multi-end	1 st 'cercuri concentrice' (concentric circles)								
	2 nd 'geometrie variabila' (variable geometry)								

⁵¹ The search for key words in the parliamentary repository was done first by including the exact expression and then by including all the words. A qualitative overview of all the results was undertaken so as to ensure the relevance of the results to the scope of this research.

⁵² Source: <http://www.cdep.ro/pls/steno/steno2015.home>

			Mechanisms	1 st ‘cooperare consolidata’ (enhanced co-operation)
				2 nd ‘opt-out’ (opt-out)
7	Miscellaneous government speeches referring to DI	2006- 2020		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2006_6_19_Basescu_PN 2. 2006_12_18_Basescu_PN 3. 2006_12_20_Basescu_PN 4. 2007_2_14_Basescu_PN 5. 2007_5_30_Basescu_PN 6. 2008_9_24_Basescu_PN 7. 2009_3_9_Basescu_PN 8. 2009_3_31_Basescu_PN 9. 2009_4_14_Basescu_PN 10. 2009_9_15_Basescu_PN 11. 2010_9_21_Basescu_PN 12. 2010_11_9_Basescu_PN 13. 2011_6_27_Basescu_PN 14. 2012_3_7_Basescu_PN 15. 2012_4_27_Ungureanu 16. 2012_5_10_Ponta_Schultz 17. 2012_6_12_Ponta 18. 2012_6_29_Ponta 19. 2012_11_15_Ponta 20. 2013_2_4_Ponta 21. 2013_3_12_Basescu_PN 22. 2014_4_1_Basescu_PN 23. 2013_4_25_Ponta_Rompuy 24. 2013_6_7_Ponta_euro 25. 2013_7_12_Ponta 26. 2013_7_13_Ponta 27. 2014_12_15_Ponta 28. 2015_6_15_Iohannis_PN 29. 2015_9_16_Iohannis_PN 30. 2015_12_16_Iohannis_PN 31. 2016_2_22_Iohannis_PN 32. 2016_3_8_Ciolos 33. 2016_5_6_Ciolos 34. 2016_2_15_Ciolos_Juncker 35. 2017_2_7_Iohannis_PN 36. 2017_2_17_Grindeanu 37. 2017_3_9_Grindeanu 38. 2017_4_25_Grindeanu 39. 2017_7_11_Tudose 40. 2017_12_11_Iohannis_PN 41. 2018_11_28_Iohannis_PN 42. 2019_4_2_Iohannis_PN 43. 2019_12_16_Iohannis_PN 44. 2019_12_21_Iohannis_PN 45. 2020_1_7_Orban

Appendix 5 Translations of key words from English into Romanian

English Version	Romanian Version	Comments
DI models (Conceptual Key words)		
Differentiated integration	Integrare diferențiată	
Coalition of the willing	Coaliția voluntară	Several combinations of key words (e.g. coalitie/coalitia benevola) were used for this search, with no results.
Two-speed Europe	Europa cu două viteze	
Multi-speed Europe	Europa cu mai multe viteze	
Variable Geometry	(Europa cu) geometrie variabilă	
Core Europe	Core Europe	Other key words (roots): nucleu* Several combinations of key words (e.g. Europa de baza, core Europa; miezul Europei) were used for this search, with no results.
Two-tier Europe	Europa pe două niveluri	
Concentric circles	Cercuri concentrice	
À la carte	À la carte	This expression is used in Romanian.
Future of Europe	Viitorul Europei	
DI mechanisms		
Enhanced co-operation	Cooperare consolidată	Other key words (roots): consolid*; aprofund*
opt-out	opt-out /optiune integrare europeană	Several combinations of key words (e.g. optare, optiune integrare europeana, iesire, poate opta, putem opta) were used for this search.
DI instances - Enhanced co-operation		
Pesco	Pesco	
Rome III	Roma III	Several combinations of key words (including Regulamentul (UE) nr. 1259/2010) were used for this search, with no results.
Unitary Patent	Brevet unitar	
Matrimonial property regimes	Regim de proprietate matrimonială	
Financial Transaction Tax	Impozit pe tranzacții financiare	
European Public Prosecutor	Procuror public european	
DI instances - opt-out policy fields		
Schengen	Schengen	

Economic and Monetary Union	Uniune economică și monetară	Other key word (roots): euro *
Security and Defence Policy	Politica de securitate și apărare	
Area of freedom, security, and justice	Zona de libertate, securitate și justiție	
Charter of Fundamental Rights	Carta drepturilor fundamentale	
Social Chapter	Capitol social (+ Uniunea Europeana)	A search for the exact phrase 'capitol social' gave 0 (zero) results. A search for debates that included all the words gave a few results, as shown in the Excel file.
DI instances - Inter se agreements		
Prum Convention	Convenția Prum	
European Stability Mechanism	Mecanismul european de stabilitate	
Fiscal Compact	Pact fiscal /fiscal compact	
Single Resolution Mechanism	Mecanism unic de rezoluție	
Unified Patent Court	Curtea de brevet unitar	
DI instances - external integration		
European Economic Area	Spațiul Economic European	
Customs union + Turkey	Uniune vamală + Turcia	
Eastern Partnership	Parteneriat estic	
Euromed	Euromed	

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