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Speech[2] - [Check Against Delivery]

- key points -

Schengen at Risk: Can We Keep the Freedom of Movement?

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Seul le texte prononcé fait foi
Es gilt das gesprochene Wort

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[2] The views and opinions expressed in this speech are those of the author alone and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position phf any organization he is connected to.

Ladies and gentlemen,

It is for me an honor and great satisfaction to be able to speak to you today here in Bratislava at this prestigious event.

I. General framework

- The refugee crisis – a result of the EU indecision to act as a single actor in foreign affairs + to get more actively involved in its neighborhood
- The EU doesn't end in the Western Balkans and the Eastern Partnership
- The Middle East is closer than we think
- The refugee crisis has strengthen the differences and we need to harmonize our visions
- The European affairs are an internal politics issue and not a foreign one
- We haven't finished our EU integration
- From an organizational point of view the EU works but we need more cultural integration as the main problem is the lack of confidence of the citizens
- We have an overlapping of three crisis: humanitarian, security and organizational
- Is Schengen Area a fair weather construction?
- The Schengen crisis led to unilateral solutions (fence construction)
- Causes: historical background (reduced solidarity due to the Euro crisis)
- The asymmetric impact of the refugee crisis over the Member States
- The diversity of societies attitudes toward migration
- A sensitive political character – the refugee crisis cannot be solved trough technocratic discussions
- EU doesn't have the initiative but is reactive – a strategic surprise

II. National framework

- refugee issue – complex one with many aspects

- 2 key components – security and integration
- we do not have a proper evolution of this phenomenon
- we have to answer 2 key questions:
    1. to what extent a pluralistic society, without disintegrating, can receive foreigners that they not recognize it ?
    2. how a foreigner can be integrated?
- integration is difficult
- the migrant – diversity excess (linguistic, customary, religious, ethnical)
- the "useful immigrants" problem from an economic standpoint- how soon do we get them? The useful immigrant *pro tempore* from an economic standpoint can not be useful for living together?(see Giovanni Sartori, „Multiculturalism and Foreigners: an Essay on Multiethnic Society"[3])
- politicians – trapped between obligations and public perception
- refugees – vulnerable group with multiple problems
- the key of integration – jobs
- the constant need of monitoring and legislative harmony
- what we want : assisted or integrated persons?
- the problem of the families that will come later
- increased attention to the reaction of the population that ca not be ignored
- "The Inside Enemy"- avoiding the radicalization of the 2nd and 3rd generation of migrants
- Romania- strategic point- to build a functional mechanism for integrating the refugees.
- We are against compulsory quotas but in favour of voluntary one – there is no real solidarity by force
- The Romanian public opinion opposes the idea of receiving migrants
- The solution is on the field
- Need also to take into consideration Romania's contribution to Frontex – second largest after that of Germany

III. Individual framework

- attitude- matters (comes from each of us)

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[3] See more at http://www.italialibri.net/opere/?Pluralismo,%20multiculturalismo%20e%20estranei&id=163

- the need for empathy and integration- we do not need people's right, but human's right→ each immigrant is an individual
- no integration of the refugees will lead to their livelihood in a located microclimate
- the need for strict observation of the law- e.g. sanctioning domestic violence drastically + to create a mechanism to expel refugee violators
- the need to "insert" refugees in local cultural and social environments
- no integration of migrants- negative political effects- ↑ rise of extremist religious phenomenon

IV. EU-Turkey Agreement

- first major solution
- legal and political risks (asylum bazaar diplomacy + a new Copenhagen criterion)
    o collective expulsion of foreigners is prohibited
    o the return is not allowed if there is not a collective hearing
    o is Turkey a safe country ?

V. *Cives Romanus sum*

- migration will not vanish→ solution: back to classics
- The Roman Empire- citizenship which will become inclusive (212 d. AD. - The Edict of Caracalla - the Roman citizenship extended to all inhabitants of the Empire)
- advantage for the Empire- migration brought power and wealth (see Cicero)
- Eneas- group leader of the refugees + Romulus- Rome was a place of "asylum" to all
- the acculturation phenomenon ≠ multiculturalism- undertaking the Roman lifestyle for all → EU has lost its appeal as a civilizational model that can expand into its neighbours, so everybody looks for individual solutions of salvation in EU
- IV century A.D.- Balkans- tribe migrated south of the Danube and the starved by the Romanian → revolted they killed a king → risk of ill-treatment of refugees

VI. End?

- three developments for the EU:

1. The Union weaker after possible Brexit;

2. a constellation of states (with variable integration) or

3. revival of the Schengen (desirable)

- no alternative to collective effort

I thank you for your attention.

For further references about Romania and the refugee crisis see *Romania's stance in the issue of the Refugees crisis. Preliminary observations* (Institute of European Democrats, March 2016, Brussels) available online at http://www.iedonline.eu/publications/2015/romania-refugee-crisis.php