

## Trinomial Instrumentation: Romania's Quest for International Legitimacy and Representativeness

Trandafir Miruna Mădălina

Phd. Candidate, Year III, Faculty of History and Philosophy,  
Babes-Boyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania,  
e-mail: [miruna\\_trandafir@yahoo.com](mailto:miruna_trandafir@yahoo.com).

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**Abstract.** *The present interdisciplinary research attempt proposes, by appealing to the usage of a diachronic and hermeneutical grid, to highlight and to stance the conceptual-axiomatic instrumentation pertaining to the Romanian post-communist foreign policy, portraying, synthetically and thoroughly, the trinomial doctrine, consubstantial to the entire foreign policy strategy outlined at the governmental level. Within such a referential optics, we intend to punctually present, without claiming to be exhaustive, the trilateral format crystallized in the international relations spectrum, revealing the peremptory characteristics specific to the „openness to the world dictum“, the „concentric circles doctrine“ and the „axis policy via Washington-London-Bucharest“. Synthetically, the trinomial instrumentation advocates for Romania's legitimacy, representativeness, ubiquity in the external dimension, propelling it on the decisional arena of the international community. The novelty element that the paper proposes lies in the insertion of a distinct methodology based on a psycho-cognitive approach, having as a unit of analysis the sum of beliefs, perceptions, axiological and normative codes in shaping preferences, options and foreign policy decisions. Integrally, the paper is configured as a diachronic and radiographic incursion at the level of Romania's external trajectory, revealing a distinguished conduct imprinted by the complexity and substance of a trinomial instrumentation.*

**Keywords :** *foreign policy, trinomial instrumentation, openness to the world dictum, concentric circles doctrine, Washington-London-Bucharest axis.*

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### 1. Introduction

The repudiation of the communist regime in its various degenerative and reprehensible stances permitted Romania's rally to the democratic, state of law, economic market, and will of individual rights coordinates, generating visible political and structural mutations, both in the dimension of internal policy as well as in the international relations sphere. Romania's irrevocable rupture from the obsolete socialist spectrum, materialized with regards to a set of axiomatic assumptions, based on the elimination of the prior threats and the consolidation of an era of stability, internal and international security, and ultimately, on achieving prosperity in all the sectors of domestic policy, by creating the optimal institutional-democratic framework in this respect. In the international relations register, post-communist Romania has reconfigured and reevaluated its foreign status, through a process of fruitful collaboration with all European states, taking into consideration democratic and modern principles, according to international regulations, eliminating, therefore, the ideological ballast imposed by the former regime. Although predominantly discontinuous, imprecise and oscillating in the communist era, the Romanian foreign policy, revived from the lethargy specific to the old regime's ideology optics, has gained along with the post-communist transition, both increased organizational attributes and an optimized decisional capacity, the legitimate right to deliberate in the great issues, emerging to the post Cold War period, being conferred to it.

Within such an exponential optics, the present study, proposes, based on a punctual analytical approach, to highlight the progress registered by Romania in the foreign dimension, conferring a substantial attention to the springs and determinants that have justified Romania's propensity towards its openness and emancipation on the international arena. In the first part of the paper, we dare, by appealing to the usage of a retrospective technique, a brief incursion at the level of Romania's communist foreign policy orientation, focusing on its epic moment and on the main principles that have contributed to its glory. In the second section of the study, we intend, in an equidistant manner, to sketch Romania's post-communist individualized profile, through the trinomial complementary foreign policy instrumentation: *the axiomatic principle of the openness to the world, the concentric circles doctrine and the Washington-London-Bucharest axis.* Integrally, the paper wishes to capture Romania's specific and distinct conduct configured in the external dimension, indissolubly bound with the materialization of a set of cardinal and peremptory foreign policy formats and instruments.

### 2. Methodology

The conceptual and methodological base of the present paper is included in the context of the present achievements

gained in the scientific field of history, placing itself in „the register of immediate or recent historiography, a segment that comprises specific elements of historical criticism, analysis in terms of literary and narrative criticism, as well as components deriving from the psychohistory, psychoanalyses and anthropology relay”<sup>1</sup>. Consequently, the inclusion of the current subject in the category of immediate history implies the presentation of those methods and instruments specific to this historical typology. We must specify from the very beginning the fact that such a research is not and cannot be built up on archival documents from objective reasons. The situation of diplomatic archives is the same. Nevertheless, this particular history genre, meets other advantages from the ones derived from the knowledge based on archives. As an alternative, our research is based on consulting a series of specialized books, to which, through an interpretative analysis, we have impartially attributed scientific hypothesis, essential to the comprehension of the debated theme. Secondly, by the historical comparative method, we examined studies and documentary materials, juxtaposing them, in order to reveal the validity of information. Thirdly, the examined issue required the adoption of a diachronic technique, taking into consideration the fact that the debated phenomenon is evolving, being important as it generates imminent effects and substantial results. Last but not least, we opted for the insertion of a distinct methodology based on a psycho-cognitive approach, having as a unit of analysis the sum of beliefs, perceptions, axiological and normative codes in shaping preferences, options and foreign policy decisions. Within such a referential optics, concepts specific to the constructivist current of international relations such as – „identity, image, role- find, in the present context –an unquestionable usefulness”( Cioculescu, 2010).

Finally, by making an appeal to the methodological support specific to the oral history, which is the structured interview, we expressly aimed at reconstituting, through oral history instruments, this complex subject from the statements of participants or eyewitnesses, in our case major political decision makers. The prohibitive aspect of archival documentation and the limited character of information pertaining to the periods of time, determined us to appeal to one of the most effective ways to restore an alternative in relation to the historical lawfulness, namely, by interviewing the actors directly involved in the events reported in the paper. Regarding the personalities surveyed we can nominate the two Former Presidents of Romania ( Ion Iliescu and Emil Constantinescu), as well as Ex Ministers of Foreign Affairs ( Adrian Năstase, Teodor Meleucanu, Adrian Severin). As a consequence, by interviewing important personalities of Romanian politics, we asked for answers to a set of pre-established questions, with the purpose of gathering necessary information for the aimed problems, investigations that we subsequently interpreted, integrating them in the foundation of the paper. As for the bibliography, it is mainly underlain on consultation of speciality literature, as well as studies and articles, memoirs, documents and media sources.

### 3. Romania's communist foreign policy perspective

The consequences of the fatidic year 1948, announced for Romania the preliminaries of a painful and tragic tripartite process (communization, sovietization and satelitization), meticulously conducted by Kremlin's artisans, and implicitly, by the Soviet Union. Therefore, Romania suffered inexorable transformations, resulting in:

a) the elimination of any alternative traditional political sources and their replacement with the single party rule, the control of the church and the cultural consciousness and their replacement with the socialist realism doctrine, the ideologization of the educational system and the destruction of the political and intellectual elites ( the communization process);

b) the socialist transformation of the Romanian economy through nationalization, centralization and industrialization ( the sovietization process);

c) the transgression of Romania's foreign policy on Moscow's gravitational orbit (the satelitization process)” (Abraham, 2006).

The determinant logic was based on a simple rational calculus: Romania pertained to the Soviet's Union camp, therefore, „the occupier decided what to do with the occupied country” ( Malilia & Giurescu, 2011). In other words, Romania's general policy, was becoming, in an evident manner, a soviet-inspired one. By subsuming to the hegemonic dialectics, the Romanian external conduct was catalogued as vassal, subdued and obedient, respecting the directives that the state and party leadership had promoted. Therefore, in the context of the ubiquity of troops and soviet counselors

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<sup>1</sup> The recent or immediate history, represents the terminal part of contemporary history, including both the current one as well as the one that occurred 30 years ago. For further details regarding this topic, can be consulted: Jean -Francois Soulet, *Immediate History*, Bucharest, Corint, 2010.

in all central institutions, the defining attribute of Romania's foreign policy has rather been the lack of coherence, pragmatism and relevance in promoting the national interest. „ Systematically monitored and controlled by the soviet leadership in 1945-1952” (Hărlan, 2007), the Romanian foreign policy, visibly and deliberately atrophied, has been obliged to return, at the external reports level, to the requirements that Moscow and its leaders had ruled. Qualified as prevailingly hesitant and exploring, the Romanian foreign policy, in the absence of a mobilizing decision-making capacity, has been placed for a short period of time, in the sphere of anonymity.

Indeed short, this obsolete episode ended, because „after the withdrawal of soviet troops from Romania in 1958, a step of gradual detachment from the soviet line had followed, along with imprinting an autonomy line, limited to the foreign Romanian policy, further to the one drawn by the Declaration of April 1964” ( Pop, 2010 ), prefiguring timid and incipient attempts to counteract and bar the soviet control, through a policy of intensifying the contacts with multiple countries, both from the capitalist side and from the communist camp. An epic interlude in the history of communist Romanian diplomacy, relevant through its emancipation and rebellion component as opposed to Moscow, and materialized „through the amplitude and diversity of the contacts established with states such as Israel, the German Federal Republic and China, through high level visits, through the vehement opposition inside the Mutual Economic Aid Council and the Warsaw Treaty, and last but not least, through acquiring western technology in detriment of the soviet one, the autonomy episode has solemnly peaked at the same time as the damning by Romania, the invasion of the soviet troops in Czechoslovakia in 1968” (Boia, 2001). Romania's external revival within the socialist sphere cannot be dissociated from a set of subsidiary actions, but extremely relevant, worth of being mentioned: „the official visit in Romania of the Former President of France, Charles De Gaulle in may 1968, as well as the official visit of the Former U.S. President Richard Nixon in august 1969 and the maintenance of diplomatic relations with Chile after 1973” (Hărlan, 2007).

The project through which Romania gained this independent foreign policy position was based on a philosophy that assumed the necessity to obtain a greater freedom of action and movement within the communist block, taking into account the favorable circumstances crystallized in the international system. During the 60's, Romania subsequently, advocated and pleaded for an autonomy line with regards to its foreign dimension, having as a unity of action a set of peremptory principles (instruments):

- 1). *Realism : rough, tough, no fiction, myth and illusions.*
- 2). *Caution and skepticism : with regards to others (all, starting with the great powers).*
- 3). *Prodigious organisms : Romania's imperious duty to assert, to imprint a singular cadence on the international scene, to seek for friends, partners and pleaders.*
- 4). *Small organisms : if this organisms don't exist, then create them!*
- 5). *Good neighborhood policy: urgent practice without reserves. You don't invent the neighbors!*
- 6). *Assert on the civilization orbit: form your reserve of creative heads!*
- 7). *Conciliation: implies only intelligence and patience; it's a role created for the small ones.*
- 8). *Think and act on a long term, the present has already past, tomorrow matters little. What will you do in this decade and in the next one?*
- 9). *If there is peace, than you are assured. The war is a cataclysm, it's hell!*
- 10). *The capital sin in politics is the unjustified pride, the arrogance”( Malița & Giurescu, 2011).*

This decalogue of basic precepts has undoubtedly contributed to the formulation and conceptualization of a coherent, dynamic and flexible Romanian foreign policy. Romania's external rebirth decade (1962-1972), portrayed by the consistency, complexity and the substance of actions initiated in the foreign plan, resided in the subtlety of a set of strategic constructs and schemes with postulate value in the external dimension. Recorded in Romania's communist historiography agenda, the openness interlude cannot be dissociated from the conceptual matrix, perceived as the illustrative and determinative vein responsible for Romania's particular and distinct trajectory abroad. Although it belonged to an intransigent security system, Romania made considerable efforts for its external revival and individualization by appealing to a set of axiomatic guiding formulas, formulas which propelled and accelerated a pathway crowned with success for Romania's image and identity reflected in the international relations spectrum.

Spectacular and meritorious in its external dimension, the independence part, promoted by the Romanian leadership, has abruptly ceased in the '80s, when, on the foundation of officiating visits to the Asian countries, materialized by personalizing the regime, by profiling economic and political autarchy, the external Romanian policy has regained the attributes of international coldness “(Iliescu & Tismăneanu, 2004), indubitably marking the debut of involution and regress registered externally by the Romanian diplomacy. The paradigm of isolation has been insistently conserved until the moment of the communist regime's implosion, but along with the victory of the Romanian Revolution over communism, Romania's international trajectory had been reconfigured, thus legitimizing a vertiginous transition from the logic of

reclusion to the opening dialectic. Finally, we recall the fact that Romania's external singularity was possible due to magisterially foreign artifices, perceived as veridical programmatic coordinates with concrete and visible implications in the international dimension. Romania's moment of openness in the international relations sphere constituted a precedent in the communist era, marking, undoubtedly, a first initiative of external emancipation, representativeness and legitimacy based on a set of fundamental principles that still preserve their irrefutable authenticity, uniqueness and value.

#### 4. Romania's post-communist foreign orientation : legitimacy and representativeness

Romania's admission as full member within the Euro-Atlantic Community of democratic values and principles as well as the recognition of its distinct stateliness in the repertoire of international activities, involved a diachronic and gradual process that began along with the dissolution of the communist structures and the coagulation of the new post-communist political entities, and ended in 2007. At a first appearance, we are tempted to believe the fact that Romania's present conduit profiled in the international relations sphere, circumscribes to a very simplistic algorithm: the renowned victories recorded on the external scale are the main result of the manner in which Romania's foreign policy was projected in its distinct stages: „the meetings with the foreign counterparts, the signing of agreements and treaties, as well as a speech carried out by individuals who have or claim to have a capacity of expertise”( Moșoc & Cioculescu, 2010). However, at a detailed insight and on the basis of a hermeneutical grid, it can be observed the fact that Romania's ascendant trajectory in the foreign dimension was materialized through a corroborated set of principles, norms, concepts and instruments that facilitated the formulation of the decisional act, and subsequently, its implementation in practice. In essence, each prior decision, initiative or action of foreign policy assumed by post-communist Romania, bears the label of a conceptual architecture based on three cardinal pillars: *the openness to the world dictum, the concentric circles doctrine and the Washington-London-Bucharest axis*, suggestively entitled *trinomial instrumentation*.

##### 4.1. The Openness to the World Dictum

Stipulated in the first frame document issued by the new political leadership from Bucharest, *the openness to the world dictum*, announced the abandonment of the dogmatically and extremely ideologically praxis tributary to the communist judiciousness and the initiation of a radical process of change towards Romania's international orientation „by intensifying the collaboration with traditional partners, in relation to mutual respect, apprehension, human rights and according to the norms of international law ” ( Iliescu, 1996). In addition, the foreign policy commandments tributary to this instrument, stated the defining desire to „express the democratization process of the Romanian society, ensuring the connection of Romania to the new trends emerging in Europe and around the world, with the intent to consolidate new relations among states and to directly participate to the international forum debates, starting with the fundamental interests of the country” ( International Journal, 1990). Briefly, a multitude of daring goals rallied to a „policy conceived as a complete circle, in which there are no major holes left”( Celac, 1996). In other words, a policy of high aspirations, aligned to all azimuths, „springing from a deep understanding of the fundamental interests of the Romanian society, where the traditional continuity lines intertwine with the imperatives of the historical moment” (Calafeteanu, 2003). Under the auspices of the openness to the world, the Romanian foreign policy subsumed to a pragmatic approach scoured on unshakable axioms: „cooperation, apprehension and mutual respect, the adherence to the norms and regulations of international law, principles adopted through the measures taken for the elimination of some previous decisions that conferred Romania a pronounced opacity in its external relations” ( Iliescu, 1996) . Concrete, among the first foreign policy actions, enrolled the ones that consecrated, „ Romania's detachment from the two structures pertaining to the Cold War period, the Mutual Economic Aid Council and the Warsaw Treaty, and Romania's option for the association to the European structures, primarily to the Council of Europe ( the largest structure, opened towards all the European states), to the Western European Union and assuredly to the European Union and to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization”(Iliescu, 2011). Simultaneously, concerted efforts were made in order to normalize and recalibrate the relations with the neighbors, paying considerable attention to the manner in which the relation with the Great Eastern Neighbor was reconfigured and reshaped. On the foreign policy agenda, initiatives for the maintenance and support of regional structures also rallied, based on the diversity of complementary criteria, capable of creating a community of interests and a network of cooperation, supporting in an efficient manner, the peace and security in that part of the European continent. A recurrent and predilection theme that has monopolized the Romanian diplomacy, has been, the one that involved the „construction of Romania's own security architecture” ( Dinu, 2009). The project of configuring a dynamic, flexible and active security armature, comprised the following directions, performed on several levels:

- The General-European level ( by the further development and consolidation of the security component of OSCE'S process, and the reiteration of the firm commitment to respect the 10 leading principles of Helsinki's Act, among which stood the obligation not to resort to force or to threat with force in international relations and the adoption of new measures in order to increase mutual trust and to strengthen the security on the continent.

- The Sub-Regional level (by promoting active cooperation programs with Romania's proximity states, such as :

1). creating a Balkan Forum, where the six states of the region, Romania, Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey, would act for a broader cooperation among them, for increasing the mutual trust and for promoting the human rights in the Balkan Area in accordance with Helsinki's Final Act and the other OSCE documents;

2). consolidating a Black Sea economic cooperation aiming at the realization of several extensive cooperation programs in various fields between the four riparian states ( Romania, Bulgaria, Turkey and the Soviet Union);

3).formulating and realizing several complex cooperation programs between the Danube countries.

- The Bilateral level ( by signing new treaties of friendship and collaboration with all the neighboring countries, as well as with other states from Europe or from other continents.

- The National level (by promoting a modern and efficient economy, by achieving a unity of action that involves all the Romanian people from home and abroad in promoting the national interests, and by ensuring a new and effective defense capacity).

- The Global level (by the dynamic promotion of the international rights and lawfulness within the United Nations Organization and within other universal forums, by pleading for resorting to force and threat of force, reducing the arms and armed forces, creating the proper mechanism to settle all the disputes between states by peaceful means only and within the UN peacekeeping operations" ( Năstase, 2007). Concisely, under the openness to the world dictum, were crystallized the preliminary steps towards Romania's association to the Euro-Atlantic constellation, as well as the outlining of a foreign profile that eradicated the ideology and discarded from the remanences specific to the former regime. According to the statements of Ion Iliescu, Former President of Romania in that period, the openness to the world dictum, „found its motivation and causal springs in an initiative of breaking the corset of interstate reports, thus, marking the restart of relations on the basis of principles of equity and mutual respect" ( interview with Iliescu, 2011). In addition, in Teodor Meleucanu's optics, Former Minister of Romania between 1992-1996, the openness to the world principle, constituted „a clear and categorical signal, a veridical independence statement in the foreign policy matter, that pointed out the fact that Romania didn't intend to stay imprisoned in a certain structure, namely the Eastern structure, the structure of the socialist countries, and implicitly, of the socialist camp" ( interview with Meleucanu, 2011). Secondly, we shall not neglect the testimony made by Adrian Năstase, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, between 1991-1992, who considered that under the appanage of the openness to the world, resided „the materialization of a real openness with the Western world, the normalization of relations with the neighboring countries and the expanding of relations with the Arabic states" ( interview with Năstase, 2011). Synthetically, the openness to the world dictum, has drawn the cardinal foreign policy lines on the basis of a poli-vectorial register, thus legitimizing a revitalized Romania in its international relation dimension. In conclusion, the openness to the world instrument, specific to the 90-96 period, represented for Romania the filigree of its progressive elan in the foreign spectrum, accelerating its connection to the Euro-Atlantic Community and facilitating its inclusion among the global decisional entities.

#### 4.2. The Concentric Circles Doctrine

The strategic reasoning that justified the construction of the *concentric circles doctrine* was a very easy one: it emphasized Romania's European identity, its Euro-Atlantic vocation and its proximity to the Balkans. Assuredly, Romania advanced on the same cardinal trajectory indicated by the openness to the world principle, but this distinct instrument, envisioned, the perspective of sketching a tripartit external profile ( regional, continental, global). Therefore, among the primordial foreign policy objectives that have been pursued under the aegis of the concentric circles doctrine, we can cite: 1). The immediate and strategic objective for Romania to be invited to join the North-Atlantic Treaty Organisation and to participate as soon as possible to the negotiation process in order to adhere to the European Union, on the basis of an appropriate approach to bilateral relations with Nato and EU organisms, and on the basis of resetting the bilateral relations with the member states of Europe, United States and Canada.; 2).The complementary objective to create a cooperation, solidarity and cordiality network in Romania's close proximity, through normalizing the relations with Hungary, concluding the Basic Treaty with Ukraine and developing good vicinity and friendship treaties with the Central European states, the South –Eastern states and the Eastern states, by involving the development of economic cooperation and political dialogue with the Russian Federation and with the states from the Black and Caspian Sea Region; 3). The objective of initiating substantial relations with Japan and India, as well as enhancing cooperation with the Latin American states, as

important partners for the United States of America and for the European Union; 4). The objective of increasing Romania's role, importance, and visibility within the following international organizations: OSCE, United Nations Organization, The Council of Europe" (Constantinescu, 2002). The circles doctrine portrayed, in the most eloquent manner, Romania's unique position in the international relations spectrum, based on a concentric cooperation and cordial reports network both with Western states, as well as with close and distant neighbors, conferring a broad, substantial and unprecedented framework for the development of political, economic, cultural cooperation relations for the benefit of its own citizens and of general development. According to the statements made by Adrian Severin, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of that period (1996-1997), „the concentric circles philosophy, assumed firstly, a stable relation with the neighbors as a basis for the consolidation of a regional leading position for Romania, secondly, it meant, a strategic partnership with the emergent powers of the continental zone, preeminently, with Germany and Italy, based on which, Romania acquired the quality of a continental protagonist, and thirdly, it assumed, the establishment of a privileged relation with the United States of America, The Russian Federation and China, after which, Romania acquired world leading valences”(interview with Adrian Severin, 2012). It had to be resolved firstly, the relation with the first circle for it to provide a base in order to enter in relation to the second circle, permitting, subsequently, the adherence to the third circle, the circle of the world leading actors. In the opinion of Emil Constantinescu, Former President of that period, „the conceptual framework of the concentric circles doctrine colligated the defining components of Romania's foreign policy” (interview with Constantinescu, 2011), determining for Romania the consolidation of an Euro-Atlantic status and contributing to an increased capital of image on a regional, continental and global level

#### 4.3. The Washington-London-Bucharest Axis

Postulating the necessity of representativeness in the spectrum of international relations, the political leadership represented by president Traian Băsescu announced at the beginning of his mandate (2005) the conversion of foreign policy parameters, propelling Romania on the scene of the most important actors of the international community: The United States of America and Great Britain. Romania's foreign policy orientation towards *Washington-London-Bucharest*, covered both „maintaining and strengthening the strategic partnership with the United States of America, perceived as a fundamental warrant for the national security, as well as intensifying the steps to affiliate Romania with the European Union” (Andrei, 2005). „Circumscribed to a set of unchangeable prerequisites defined by the complementary Atlantic and European argument” (Ungureanu, 2008.), the axis policy intended to give credibility to Romania's image by conferring a dynamic, flexible and active profile on the international arena. By parity of reasoning, the construction of the axis „stanches the promotion of a Euro-Atlantic Romania, consequent, active and capable of generating security in the entire regional area” (Toboliaru, 2008). It undoubtedly cultivates a type of preferential relation that Romania encouraged with the two states indicated by their capitals. Specific to the presidential administration, the aspect of the axis subsumed both new initiatives and processes, as well as older ongoing ones, consequences of the profound geopolitical, strategic and regional changes profiled post December 89'. Resonating with the reality of geopolitical changes in which Romania was engaged at that time, primarily as a full member in the North Atlantic Treaty and secondly as a future one within the European Union, the axis strategy intended to represent, beyond the current rhetoric, a viable instrument capable of mobilizing pragmatic and concrete actions in the spectrum of international relations. Qualified in the specialized semantics and terminology as a genuine diplomatic aplomb, the axis policy generated a precedent in Romania's foreign policy dimension, precisely because, the new orientation had a clear, determined and pragmatic objective, via *Washington-London-Bucharest*. Although it was designed as an unequivocal political orientation, the axis project arose numerous comments and analysis regarding the phrase used, the more so as the term appointed the privilege of totalitarian regimes, indicating a bellicose position. Moreover, the obvious pre-eminence attached to the two partners, accredited the idea of a one-dimensional and unidirectional foreign policy calculation detrimental to Romania, generating isolation on the international relations arena. Contrary to its deficiency, the axis strategy is worth consecrated for it legitimates a particular way to represent Romania on the international scene, conferring an additional contribution of prestige, profile and visibility to Romania, both at a national and regional level. Among the zero foreign policy goals and priorities subsumed to the axis policy we can cite: „1). The consolidation of Romania's position both in the collective structures that it pertained to, as well as in those of which would take part, and Romania's reevaluation of bilateral relations with various states which presented interest in terms of Romanian foreign policy; 2) Completing the integration process in the European Union with all the requirements that assumed its finalisation; 3) Active participation in the consolidation of international security by promoting democracy, the fight against international terrorism, by countering the proliferation of mass destruction weapons; 4). Achieving regional security and stability in a reconfigured paradigm ; 5). Acting as a dynamic vector for the security and the prosperity in the Black Sea Region”(Romania's National Security

Strategy, 2006). Definitely, the axis policy, transposed in practice, older and newer foreign policy initiatives, like, strengthening the special relation with The United States of America and Great Britain, actively participating in the formulation and implementation of Nato's policies and strategies, consolidating new convergent bridges with the neighbors and not only, and eventually, galvanizing the adherence process to the European Union.

## 5. Conclusions

The renowned victories taken by Romania in the international relations, materialized through acquiring full membership both in the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance as well as in the European Union, are undeniable. Romania made assiduous and considerable efforts in order to gain this privileged position on the basis of an evolutionary and gradual process, often syncopated, but in no case inexpugnable. However, the foreign peremptory acquisitions would not have been possible without the explicit contribution of a set of masterfully principles and instruments conceptualized in Romania's diplomatic laboratory. Suggestively entitled, trinomial instrumentation, this conceptual dialectic, channeled the main initiatives and activities undertaken in the international arena. The brilliant tripartite construction (*the openness to the world dictum, the concentric circles doctrine and the Washington-London-Bucharest axis*), developed by the Romanian policy makers, aimed, essentially the same objective: legitimacy, credibility, representativeness on the external scale. Far from representing a common rhetorical tool, the trinomial architecture, acted in favor of increasing Romania's influence on the international relations dimension. Elaborated at the level of Romania's policy makers psycho-cognitive mechanisms, the trinomial instrumentation, was based on a set of norms and beliefs considered rightfully and beneficial: the belief in the moral and material superiority of the West, in the democratic preeminence, and in the valorization of the historic chance to join as soon as possible the Euro-Atlantic Community. Therefore, the conceptualization of this cardinal foreign policy instrument was legitimated through a set of pre-existing ideas, principles and norms, that shape the reality of the decisional factors. Definitely, the trinomial instrumentation, is worth consecrated in the contemporary pages, as a conceptual topos, where the masterfully foreign policy actions, initiatives and demarches permitted Romania's anchoring on the western democracies orbit, conferring it a surplus of prestige and visibility in the external dimension.

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